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**Mapping Myths:
The Fantastic Geography of the Great Southern Continent, 1760-1777**

Vanessa Jane Collingridge

**Submitted in fulfilment of the requirements of the
Degree of Doctor of Philosophy**

**School of Geographical and Earth Sciences
University of Glasgow**

November 2017

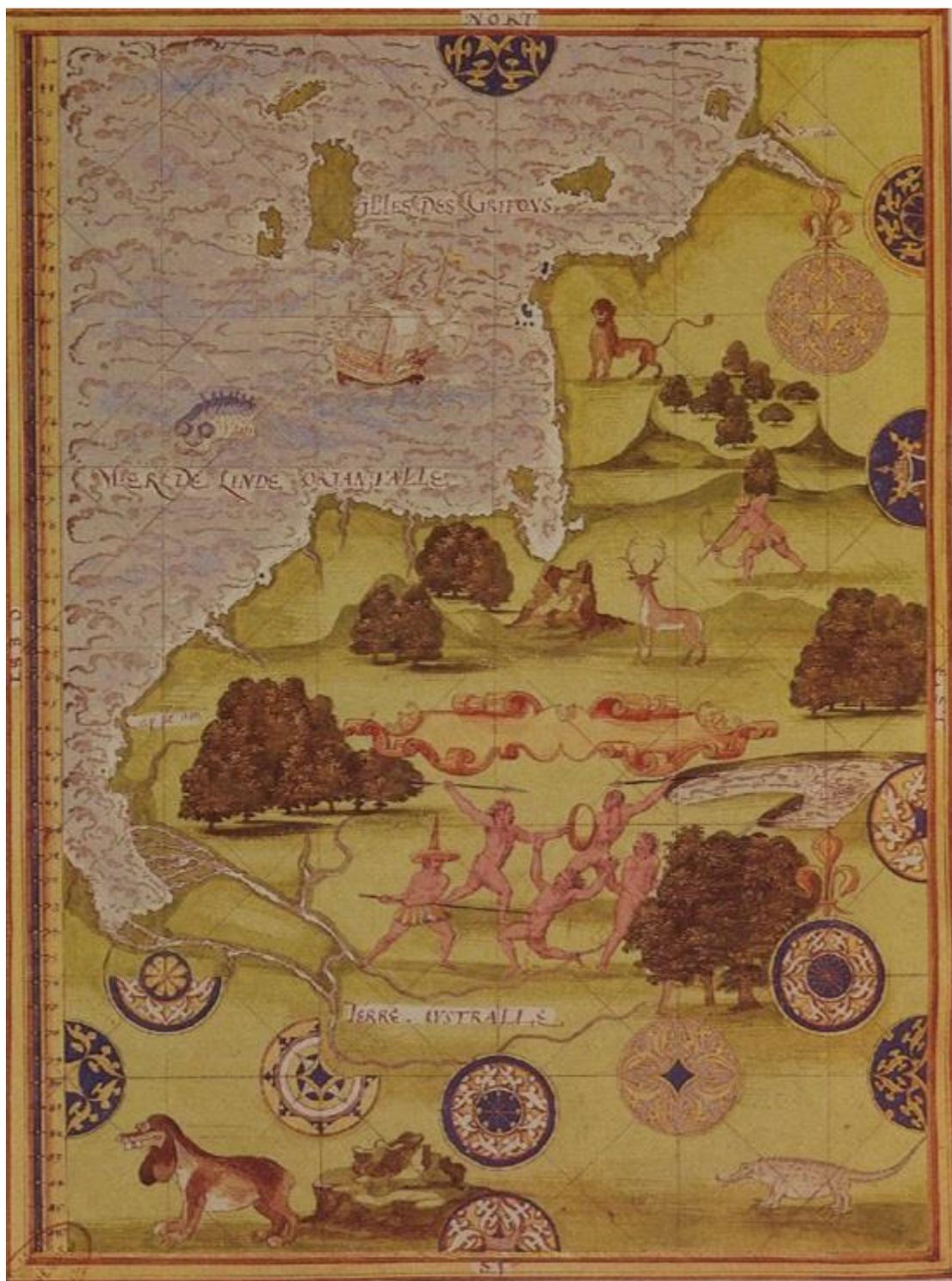


Figure 1. Guillaume le Testu: 'Terre Australle' (1555)

Section from his 56-map Atlas of the World showing a fantastic representation of the Southern Continent. Replete with (imagined or misplaced) flora and fauna, hunters and warriors, and with geographical features and toponyms, this map gives the strong impression that the region was already partly 'known' through experience or reasoning – a belief that persisted into the second half of the eighteenth century and underpinned the first and second voyages of Captain James Cook.

Abstract

This research explores the (re)production and circulation of geographical knowledge about the conjectured Great Southern Continent – one of the most enduring geographical ideas in the western world despite the fact that it did not exist, other than in books, maps and the human mind. The study examines how the fantastic Continent managed to survive - and even thrive – as an imaginary in Britain despite the absence of any hard evidence. The selected timeframe 1760-1777 covers a period of considerable flux in terms of cultural, imperial and global identities, witnessing a rapid expansion in geographical knowledge, provided in part by the voyages of Captain James Cook and the unprecedented rise of the British popular press who deliver this ‘news’ to the public. Using the twin archives of *The Gentleman’s Magazine* and daily, tri-weekly and weekly newspapers, this study critically examines the ways in which the landscapes of the Continent were variously imagined, represented and understood by the British public over the final seventeen years of its ‘life’, ‘death’ and ‘re-birth’ as the Antarctic. Specifically, it interrogates the mechanisms used by the press to (re)produce a public imaginary for the emerging South, and the roles played by the Continent in mid-to-late eighteenth century polite society. The thesis shows how the Continent’s status as an enduring geographical myth renders it an important touchstone in an imaginative global cartography held by the eighteenth century British public. It illustrates how external spaces are powerful constructs for internal identities and epistemologies. The ultimate revelation that this *provincia aurea* was a barren wilderness of sea and ice triggered arguably one of the most important cultural shifts in the Western geographical and imperial imagination since the discovery of the Americas – and, the thesis contends, provided an important proving ground in the battle between traditional scholarly speculation and the empiricism characterising the new scientific method.

Acknowledgements

This work represents at least a decade of communication with some of the most brilliant and generous scholars in the fields of geography, history, cartography, archaeology, polar and literary studies. Special mention must go to Peter Barber - (allegedly) “retired” Head of Maps at the British Library, Nick Millea of the Bodleian Library, independent map scholar Chet Van Duzer, John Moore at the University of Glasgow library, John Robson – author and map librarian at the University of Waikato, Andrew Cook - late of the British Library’s India Office, Robert Headland at SPRI, Catherine Delano Smith of *Imago Mundi*, and Edinburgh’s Carolyn Anderson for their support, advice and friendship. Professor Emeritus Glyndwr Williams provided not only lunch and stimulating conversations but books, articles, support and the inspiration for this work’s particular focus on eighteenth century newspapers; the genius and infectious enthusiasm of Dr Alison Sheridan – Principal Curator of Early Prehistory at National Museums of Scotland – transported me from a soggy Achnabreck to a deep appreciation of concepts of physical/metaphysical liminality and zones of transformation; Professors Julia Kuehn and Douglas Kerr from University of Hong Kong’s Department of English provided endless literary insight, reference materials, moral support and treasured friendship; Dr Doris Eikhof and Dr Jo Norcup have also been critical in sustaining a sense of humour and perspective amidst the travails of juggling research, professional work and family; Cliff Thornton, Ian Boreham and Alwyn Peel of the Captain Cook Society have been unstinting in their contributions over my years of research into maritime exploration; similarly, my deep appreciation to Cecilia Fattorini for use of the exquisite image of her embodied cartographic art, to Professor Chris Warhurst, Professor Rowena Murray and Dr Morag Thow for their structural advice, and Drs Ann Grand and Larissa Kempenaar for their help with the final formatting of the thesis. Thanks to my supervisors at the University of Glasgow – Dr Jim Hansom (who encouraged me to engage in this mission) and Professor Hayden Lorimer – for staying the course. Finally, deep gratitude to my friends and family for sharing what, at times, seemed like an endless journey.

“I declare that, except where explicit reference is made to the contribution of others, that this dissertation is the result of my own work and has not been submitted for any other degree at the University of Glasgow or any other institution.”

Printed Name: _Vanessa Jane Collingridge

Signature: _____

A legend may not be a record of fact, but the existence of the legend itself is a fact, and requires explanation.¹

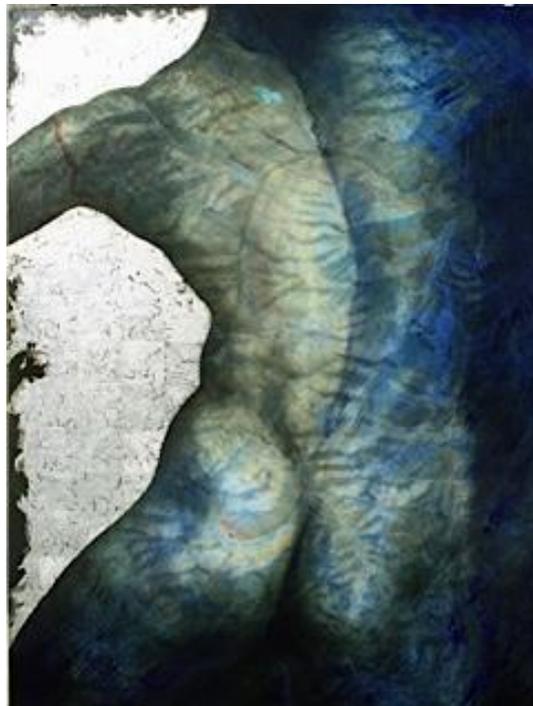


Figure 2. Cecilia Fattorini: 'As If Anything Here Belongs to You' (2009)

Cecilia Fattorini's 2009 work questions the way the West appropriates and embodies distant territories culturally, economically and militarily – arguably, a situation that has resonance in eighteenth century Europe's race to discover and take possession of the Great Southern Continent. Although the map here depicts Pakistan and surrounding regions, she describes the piece as representing in general "man's hubristic dominion over the planet".

*Oil and silver leaf on mapping.*²

¹ E.A. Freeman, cited by Geoffrey Ashe, *Land to the West: St Brendan's Voyage to America* (London; Collins, 1961) p49; R.A. Skelton, *Looking at an Early Map*, Annual Public Lecture at the University of Kansas, 1962 (Lawrence, KA: University of Kansas Libraries, 1965), p28.

² Profound thanks to artist Cecilia Fattorini for the use of this image and description (personal email, 12/11/2014).

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Preface

In November 2012, the BBC reported that an Australian hydrographic survey ship *Southern Surveyor* had gone out into the Coral Sea between Australia and New Caledonia to study plate tectonics.³ The ship headed to Sandy Island - a small island lying off New Caledonia. Cook first charted a 'Sandy Island' in the region in 1774 as part of his second voyage into the Pacific Ocean, in search of the mysterious Great Southern Continent. He marked it lying about 420 km due East of New Caledonia, at 19° South – and, from then on, Sandy Island was reproduced on printed maps, marine charts, and Google Maps.

The trouble was – when RV *Southern Surveyor* got to its projected location – Sandy Island was not there.⁴ The land that had been reproduced on the most up-to-date maps for nearly two hundred and fifty years simply did not exist – other than on computer screens and sheets of paper. The mistake was put down to simple empirical error: perhaps a trick of the light or a floating island of pumice from an underwater volcano. The island has since been removed from Google Maps and in its place there is now open ocean – and a twenty-first century reminder of the fallibility of human knowledge and imagination when it is locked into a system of unquestioned beliefs.

There are very few 'blank' or unknown spaces on the World Map of today but even these 'empty' spaces are filled with meaning. The fantastic history of the Great Southern Continent offers a cautionary tale to those who believe that geographical ideas can ever be taken at face value – and a salutary lesson to those who believe that knowledge and fantasy are polar opposites.

³ BBC News Report, 22 November 2012 (online). Available at: <http://www.bbc.co.uk/news/world-asia-20442487> [Accessed 6/12/2016]

⁴ Peio: 'South Pacific Sandy Island 'proven not to exist'', *Geogarage* [blog] <http://blog.geogarage.com/2012/11/south-pacific-sandy-island-proven-not.html> [Accessed 6/12/2016]



Figure 3. The changing cartography of Sandy Island: Location in Coral Sea (2012)



Figure 4. The changing cartography of Sandy Island: Location off New Caledonia (2012)

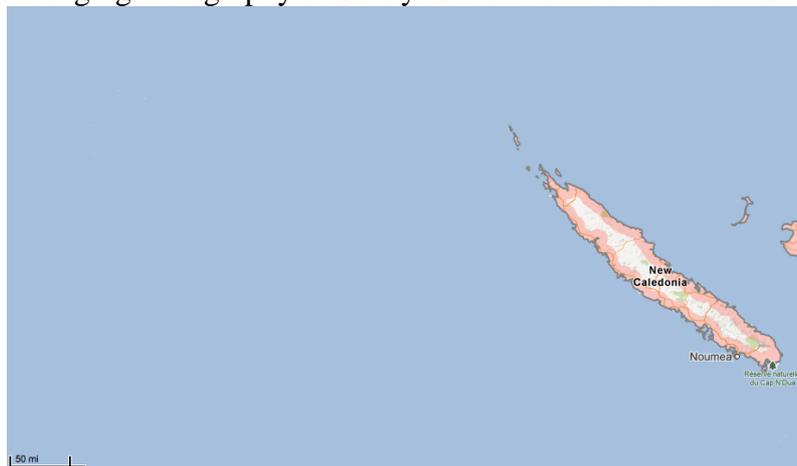


Figure 5. The changing cartography of Sandy Island: And finally, un-discovered and unrepresented in 2013.

©Google Maps, 2012 (2013)

Chapter 1. Introduction

Geographical Context

The conjectured Great Southern Continent⁵ can be seen as one of the most enduring geographical ideas in the former Greco-Romano Western world – despite the fact that it never existed, other than in books, maps and the human mind. For around two thousand years until the late eighteenth century, philosophers, geographers, religious leaders and politicians debated its existence and putative nature, locating it meaningfully on the map of the world and within the geographical imagination of successive Western cultures.⁶ With the discovery of the New World, the idea of a Southern Continent gained impetus: the landscape was given a shape, features, toponyms – and, at times, its own population and culture. Succeeding centuries saw its ascribed character fluctuate in both maps and text⁷ from monstrous exoticism (e.g., Guillaume le Testu, 1555⁸) to a land of vast potential (e.g., Cornelius Wytfliet, 1597⁹) to dystopian hell (e.g., Bishop Joseph Hall, 1605¹⁰) to a reasoned land of polar science (Philippe Buache, 1739 and c.1754¹¹) to a region of Enlightened opportunity and imperial power (e.g., Alexander Dalrymple, 1770-1771¹²)

⁵ The Great Southern Continent was an evolving construct. Other names throughout history have included *Terra Australis Incognita*, Magellanica and The Great South Land but for the purposes of this research, the umbrella-term Great Southern Continent or just “the Continent” (capitalised) is used. Here, it refers to the conjectured large continental mass encompassing the Antarctic which, in the sixteenth century, could reach as far north as New Guinea and the Spice Islands. For the period of this research (1760-1777), its extent was believed by many to encompass Tasman’s “Staten Landt” in what is now New Zealand, extending northwards into the Great South Sea.

⁶ Williams, Glyndwr & Frost, Alan, *Terra Australis to Australia*, (Melbourne; Oxford University Press), 1988; Stallard, Avan, *Antipodes to Terra Australis*, PhD Thesis, University of Queensland, 2010; Hiatt, Alfred, *Terra Incognitae: mapping the antipodes before 1600*, (London; British Library), 2008; Headland, Robert Keith: *A Chronology of Antarctic Exploration*, (London; Quaritch), 2009.

⁷ Collingridge, Vanessa, ‘The thing which is not’: Mapping the Fantastic History of the Great Southern Continent’, *New Directions in Travel Writing Studies*, Kuehn, J & Smethurst, P (Eds), (Basingstoke, New York; Palgrave Macmillan), pp163-179, 2015.

⁸ Le Testu, Guillaume: *Cosmographie Universelle selon les Navigateurs, tant anciens que modernes*, [World Atlas of 56 maps] 1555. See Barber, Peter (ed): *The Map Book*, (London; Weidenfeld and Nicolson), 2005, p104.

⁹ Wytfliet, Cornelius: ‘Vtrivsqve Hemisphereii Delineato’, *Descriptiones Ptolemaicae Augmentum*, [first Atlas showing the New World], 1597

¹⁰ Miller Wands, J.: *Another World and Yet the Same: Bishop Joseph Hall’s ‘Mundus Alter et Idem, 1605’* (New Haven; Yale University Press), 1981.

¹¹ Collingridge, 2015, p172

¹² Collingridge, 2015:173-174.

(see Figures 1, 8-12). Throughout its intellectual history, however, the fantastic Continent has been a contested space embodying geographical ideas about what lies beyond the limits of the known world, along with the sociocultural desires and anxieties of those ‘doing’ the thinking. The Continent is therefore both a putative physical landscape and a metaphysical site in which debates and difficult themes in contemporary society have been played out, safe (or at least contained) in its distant and speculative ‘otherness’.

The fantasy of a Southern Continent was finally debunked between 1772-5 when Captain James Cook made his second voyage to the South Atlantic, circumnavigating the polar region and dipping three times beneath the Antarctic Circle. He reached 71°10’ South on 31st January, 1774 - proving that what lay beyond was no *provincia aurea* but “a Country doomed by Nature never once to feel the warmth of the Sun’s rays, but to lie for ever buried under everlasting snow and ice”.¹³ Cook’s demolition of the Continental idea was absolute. Together with his published account and accompanying images, his iconic *Chart of the Southern Ocean* of 1777¹⁴ (Figure 11) became the new *de facto* representation of the region in the Western imaginary, effectively setting a southern limit on imperial ambition until the later nineteenth century.¹⁵ Despite the fervent searches over the previous two centuries, post-Cook, no other state or independent navigator would venture further south for almost half a century - although sealers inspired by Cook’s account of the profusion of sea-life in the area were active on South Georgia and the peri-Antarctic islands within a decade.¹⁶ It was only in the mid to late nineteenth century when the Antarctic’s ‘Commercial Era’ was well under way that the region was again reconfigured as a

¹³ Cook, James, *Journal of the Resolution and Discovery*, Beaglehole, J.C. (ed), London: Hakluyt Society, 1967, rpt Sydney: Boydell, 1999, pp638. Entry for Monday 6 February, 1775.

¹⁴ ‘A chart of the Southern Hemisphere; shewing the tracks of some of the most distinguished navigators’: by Captain James Cook of his Majesty’s Navy. Gulielmus Whitchurch, sculpsit; Anno. 1776. Published 1777 by Wm. Strahan in New Street, Shoe Lane & Thos. Cadell in the Strand, London, *Captain James Cook: A voyage towards the South Pole, and round the world. Performed in His Majesty’s ships the Resolution and Adventure, in the years 1772, 1773, 1774 and 1775*, London, 1777.

¹⁵ Collingridge, 2015:176.

¹⁶ While both von Bellingshausen and William Smith had sighted land in Antarctica in 1820, Cook’s southerly record was only exceeded by Weddell and Brisbane’s voyage of 1822-4 that reached 74°15’ South.

worthwhile destination *per se* as a proving ground for the ‘Heroic Era’ of state-sponsored south polar exploration.¹⁷

However, since its dismissal after Cook’s return and his iconic, Continent-less 1777 *Chart of the Southern Ocean*, the ‘fantastic’ geography has received relatively limited scholarly attention.¹⁸ This thesis contributes to a fuller understanding of the intellectual history of the Continent by examining the nature, utility and role of the conjectured landscape in the geographical, political and cultural imagination of the British public in period leading up to – and during – Cook’s first and second voyages (1768-1771 and 1772-1775), along with the immediate aftermath of his non-discovery, in order to understand why the Continental fantasy was so powerful and enduring, and the reasons behind its ultimate demise.

¹⁷ Headland, 2006; Simpson-Housley, Paul: *Antarctica: Exploration, Perception, and Metaphor* (New York; Routledge), 1992.

¹⁸ Tooley, R.V.: ‘Early Antarctica – a glance at the beginnings of a cartographic representation for the south Polar Regions’, *The Map Collector’s Circle*, Vol. 1, 1963-4:1-10, (online). Available at <http://www.antarctic-circle.org/tooley.htm> [Accessed 19/03/2017]; Hiatt, 2008; Stallard, 2010; Leane, Elizabeth: *Antarctic in Fiction: imaginative narratives of the far south* (Cambridge; Cambridge University Press), 2012.

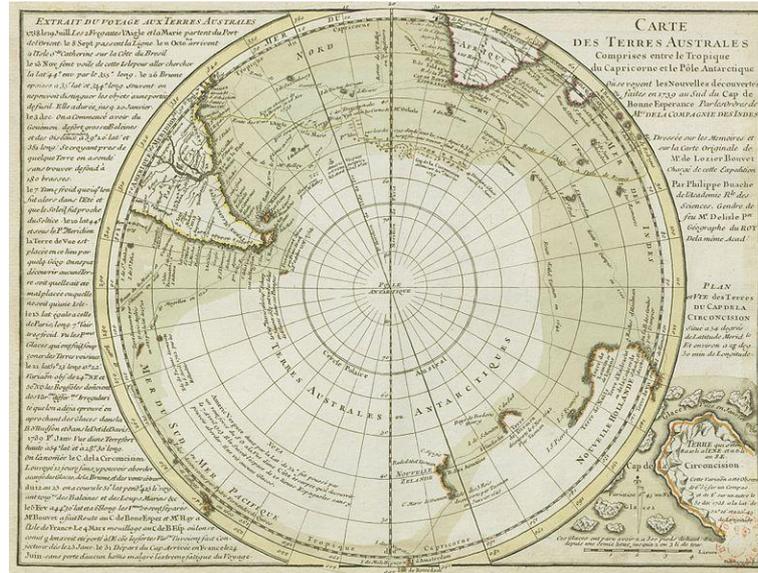


Figure 8. Philippe Buache: ‘Map of the Southern Lands...’ (1739)

This shows Bouvet’s discoveries “south of the Cape of Good Hope” and “[b]ased on the journals and the original map” of the explorer. Note the map’s uncluttered, ‘scientific’ appearance, the claims of empirical, first-hand experience to enhance its cartographic authority – and a South ripe for discovery.

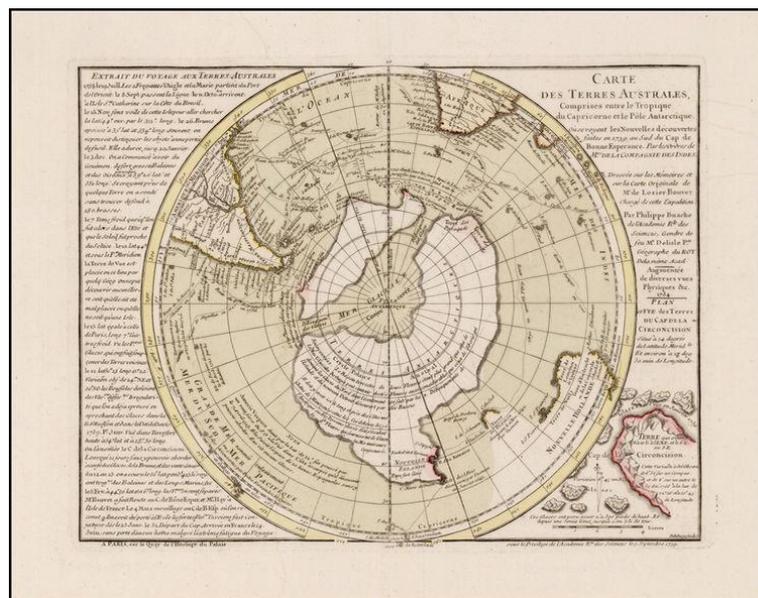


Figure 9. Philippe Buache: ‘Map of the Southern Lands...’ (c.1754).

Buache’s revised map shows a hypothesised Continent in two sections, separated by a glacier-filled polar ocean. The south polar projection privileges the audience with a ‘hidden’ point of view, portraying the hypothesised Continent as confidently as lands which are already known and explored – and even more so than (incomplete) New Holland.

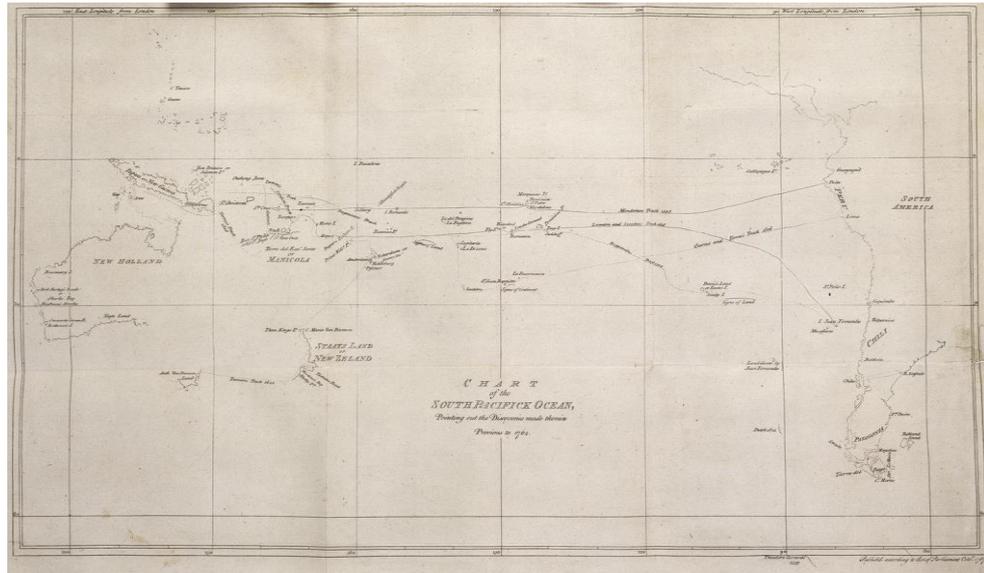


Figure 10. Alexander Dalrymple: 'Chart of the South Pacifick Ocean..., ' (1770). A leading Continentalist, his chart's uncluttered, 'scientific' appearance belies the mapping of anecdotal 'evidence' supporting the existence of Southern Continent.

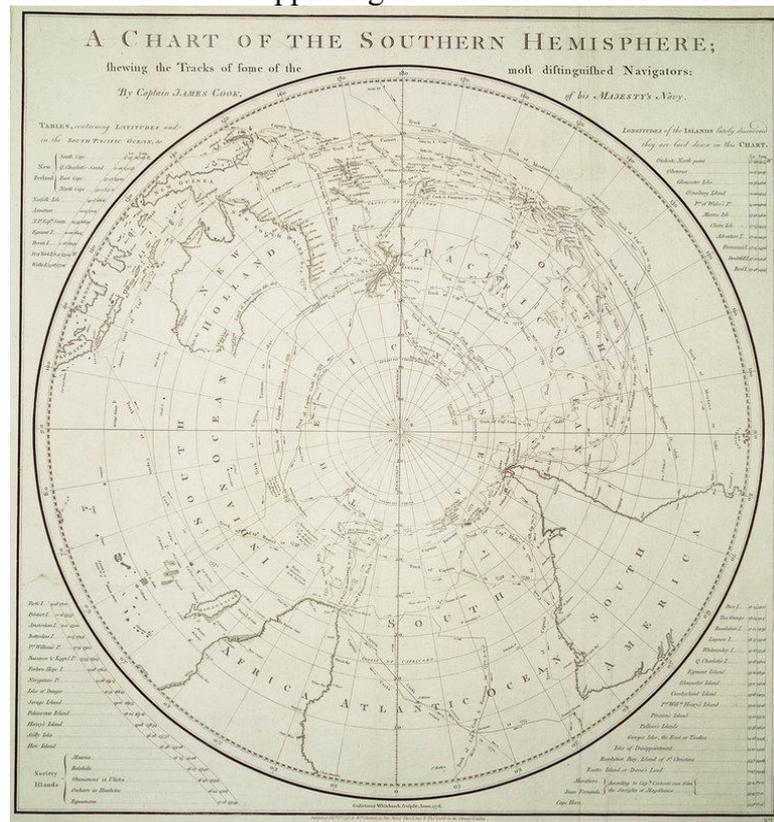


Figure 11. James Cook: 'Chart of the Southern Hemisphere...' (1777). This detailed chart marks the end of the Continental fantasy. The south polar projection with its navigational tracks provided conclusive 'evidence' that the region had been explored - and found empty of land and utility.

Research Aims

This thesis has three guiding aims: to examine critically the ways in which the fantastic landscape of the Great Southern Continent was variously imagined, represented and understood in the popular press in Britain from 1760-1777; to analyse the role of the British press in the (re)production of knowledge about the putative Continent, and in the construction of a popular geographical imaginary for the far South; and to assess why the Continental myth was so enduringly powerful – up to the point of its demolition – along with the wider reasons for its ultimate demise following Cook's non-discovery.

Research Objectives

In order to achieve these aims, this study centres around the following specific objectives: to construct and interrogate an archive of popular newspapers, magazines other periodicals (along with their map and graphic correlates) from 1760-1777 to track how the Great Southern Continent was variously represented and understood by differing parties within the public sphere; to conduct a detailed investigation of the mechanisms of knowledge (re)production about the putative nature of the South by - and within - the press. This will be achieved through statistical, literary and cartographic analysis of the archive, using six cross-cutting themes to track the changing nature and power of knowledge about the Continent over the timeframe; finally, to identify, map and analyse the complex and dynamic relationship between the Continent and wider society through the prism of the eighteenth century press over the final seventeen years of the Continent's 'life', 'death' and 're-birth' as the Antarctic in the popular imagination.

The analytical timeframe of 1760-1777 was chosen to encompass the start of George III's reign in 1760 and the end of the Seven Years' War in 1763 as the prelude to a period of intense overseas exploration. Culturally and geopolitically, these two events cast a long shadow over the successive decades of the eighteenth century. George III was the first British monarch to receive instruction in areas such as physics, chemistry, astronomy and mathematics, and his comprehensive collection of scientific instruments underscored a fascination with experimentation and empirical research.¹⁹ This imbued his reign with a strong curiosity for science, exploration and the acquisition of pragmatic as well as intellectual 'knowledge', interests profound enough to be acknowledged in the popular press of the day.²⁰ The Seven Years' War - largely fought from 1756-1763 - redrew the geopolitical boundaries in North America along with the European balance of power, and especially maritime power. It also accelerated the union of the military with mapping and surveying, locating scientific cartography within the essential toolbox of an expanding empire, and launching the career of Ship's Master James Cook who demonstrated what his superiors called a "genius and capacity" for the art and science of surveying.²¹

Cook's first and second voyages (1768-1771 and 1772-1775) form the focus for this enquiry as both had the explicit State-sponsored aims of going in search of the fabled Great Southern Continent. The charts, images and journals that resulted from these voyages radically transformed the geographical imaginary of the South and the geographical direction of state-sponsored exploration.²² The publication in 1777 of his official journal, lavishly illustrated with maps, charts, 'views' and 'scenes', effectively ended two thousand

¹⁹ See Science Museum: King George III Collection (online). Available at <http://www.sciencemuseum.org.uk/about-us/working-in-partnership/touring-exhibitions/king-george>. [Accessed 04/11/2016]; also, Peter Barber's 'George III as a map collector', 2016 Nebenzahl Lecture (unpublished), October 2016 and personal email communication, November 2016.

²⁰ "His Majesty, soon after his accession to the Crown...formed a design of sending out vessels for making discoveries of lands and islands hitherto unvisited by any European power" quoted in Review: 'John Hawkesworth's Account of Voyages...for making Discoveries in the Southern Hemisphere', *The Gentleman's Magazine: and historical chronicle*, 43, June 1773, p286.

²¹ Collingridge, Vanessa: *Captain Cook – Obsession and Betrayal in the New World*, (London: Ebury Press/Random House), 2002:51.

²² Collingridge, 2015:163-179.

years of speculation about what lay in the Southern Ocean, replacing it with an awful, neo-gothic imaginary of a barren land- and seascape of fog, snow and ice.

The chosen timeframe – spanning a seventeen-year period from 1760-1777 – critically bounds the final throes of the idea of the Great Southern Continent and the shift to a new re-imagining of the Antarctic.²³ A liminal zone between two thousand years of belief and forced reconceptualisation, this period marks a key moment in both the geography and history of an intriguing imaginary landscape, described by Leane as a “palimpsest of considerable complexity”.²⁴

Research Themes

Six cross-cutting themes were identified as an important early stage in the research process. This was achieved through an initial scoping of the Burney Collection of eighteenth century periodicals along with relevant contemporary writings and maps from journals, letters and reports. This process highlighted a series of key words and expressions pertaining to the Great Southern Continent. As discussed in Chapter 3, these key words were then used to build the two sub-archives of South-specific materials for the period 1760-1777: one for *The Gentleman's Magazine* and the other for the general Burney Collection of newspapers. A detailed close-reading was then carried out of the resultant 700 magazine and newspaper texts along with their (carto)graphic correlates; this identified a number of cross-cutting themes emerging from – and running through - the sub-archives. These six resulting themes were then rigorously re-tested against the two sub-archives to confirm their ‘fit’ and value as analytical tools. This process established their robustness and these six themes were then employed in a systematic interrogation of the sub-archives: each item in the archive was logged in a spreadsheet (see figure 17) noting how many of the themes it contained, and the strength (ranked 1-3) of each of those

²³ Stallard, 2010; Leane, E.: ‘Yesterday’s Tomorrows and Tomorrow’s Yesterdays: utopian literary visions of Antarctic futures’, *The Polar Journal*, Vol. 3, No. 2, 2013: 333-347.

²⁴ Leane, 2012.

themes. The themes therefore played a central role in the analysis and interpretation of archival materials that followed.

As well as underpinning the practical application of the research aims and objectives, these cross-cutting themes also provide the overarching intellectual basis for the thesis. For clarity, they are listed below:

The Control of Knowledge explores who controls the production and re-production of knowledge and how they attempt (or not) to maintain that control on its journey from its source to the public sphere. Those attempting to control knowledge might be an individual, an organisation or even an industry, profession or similarly self-selective group. This theme is particularly apposite given the tensions between the speculative theorists and the new breed of empiricists, and not least the increasingly challenged assumption that the Establishment has the right to control the collection and flow of knowledge to the masses.

The Credibility of Knowledge then interrogates how trust and credibility intersect with knowledge, particularly knowledge ‘created’ at a distance and conveyed across time and space, and from one group to another. Again, this theme is of heightened relevance given the fiercely contested ideas of the period about how best to produce reliable knowledge and protect against ‘fake’ news.

Knowledge *per se* identifies the specific nature, form and content of the new or re-presented information in the public sphere - that is, what the ‘new’ knowledge actually comprises. This theme is of particular relevance given the upsurge in new ideas and information about the South circulating in Britain, especially in a culture where ‘knowledge’ was an essential requirement for anyone wishing to engage in polite society.²⁵

The Utility of Knowledge, unlike the ‘new’ knowledge itself, focuses attention on the

²⁵ See, for example, Heyd’s work on the rise of the *Quidnunc* – or news-obsessed people - in the eighteenth

purpose, value and use of new knowledge to society, particularly knowledge derived from the voyages of discovery. The notion of ‘utility’ had a deep and profound currency in contemporary culture that made it fundamental to much social, economic, political and scientific decision-making in the eighteenth century.²⁶

(Re-)Making sense of the ‘New’ World seeks to address how ‘new’ knowledge, ideas and opinions actively (re)shape the public geographical imagination(s). Again, this theme is of central relevance in the mid to late eighteenth century, reflecting the epistemological agility – or intransigence - expressed in popular culture in the face of a rapidly expanding and diverse world.

The Transformative Power of the South analyses how new knowledge and experience of the South (gained both directly and indirectly) fundamentally affects those involved. This theme signifies not only the growing gulf between those who have experienced the new knowledge, and those who have not - but also the transformation affecting the land- and seascapes in the popular imagination and also that effected *by* the austral lands and seas in the popular imagination.

Although not explicitly a cross-cutting theme, an additional consideration throughout the study is the, often conflicted, relationship between the key players involved in the expeditions and the resultant published accounts, particularly those of Cook, Banks and Tupaia, Lord Sandwich, Stanfield Parkinson and Hawkesworth on the first voyage and Cook, Omai (Mai) and the Forsters on the second voyage. One’s ‘place’ on board – both geographically and in terms of the hierarchy of power - was determined at the outset by

century: Heyd, Uriel: ‘News Craze: Public Sphere and the Eighteenth Century Theatrical Depiction of Newspaper Culture’, *The Eighteenth Century*, Vol. 56, No. 1, Spring 2015: 59-84.

²⁶ Michael R. Lynn writes that, “In general, both *philosophes* and the public in the eighteenth century considered only useful knowledge worthwhile. Diderot noted, albeit with some disdain, that the common people [*le vulgaire*] always asked to what use philosophy could be put”. Lynn, Michael R.: *Popular Science and Public Opinion in Eighteenth-Century France* (Manchester: Manchester University Press), 2006. (online) Available at <https://books.google.co.uk/books?isbn=0719073731> [Accessed 03/11/2016].

social class and background. As such, this thesis aims to assess the impact of these factors on how knowledge about the Continent was being produced. Of particular interest is the relationship between Joseph Banks (the voyage sponsor, baronet and Continentalist with a passion for natural history), James Cook (working class, non-conformist, Continental sceptic who rose through merit through Navy ranks), and Tupaia (the Polynesian priestly navigator and ‘Other’ who joined the voyage in Tahiti). Power relationships will be assessed to gauge how they impacted upon the ‘scientific’ methods (or in Tupaia’s case, his Polynesian epistemology) used in constructing and reconstructing knowledge about the conjectured Continent.

As well as employing the traditional skills of scholarly historical analysis, three decades of practical professional experience in print and broadcast journalism on national newspapers, magazines, television and radio, both in a reporting and editorial capacity, have been brought to bear throughout the research process. This professional experience has informed a deep understanding of the day-to-day organisation of the media production process, from commissioning content to layout and publication decisions, and also the more over-arching competing pressures of editorial content, the market and political/legislative influences. Added to this, professional experience in writing and publishing historical biographies with an especial focus on James Cook and the eighteenth century, has enhanced experience of the production of longer-format works (for example, Hawkesworth’s *Voyages* that feature significantly in the archive) and added to an understanding of contemporary context including the science, mapping, sailing, exploration, language, politics and culture of the day.

Relevance: the evidence from Critical Interpretative Literatures

Until its resolution in the late eighteenth century, the existence of a Southern Continent was one of the most abiding and enduring geographical debates in the history of Western thought. Indeed, in his 2005 study of the subject, Murray goes as far as calling it

“unparalleled” in the history of geography.²⁷ Yet modern scholars such as Stallard, Dodds and Leane are still calling for more attention to be paid to the imaginative geographies of the austral regions – a *cri de coeur* first made half a century before by the carto-historian RV Tooley when he called the study of early speculative maps of the South Polar Region “almost totally neglected”.²⁸

This thesis seeks to draw together existing scholarship on the Continent from a wide variety of disciplines including the history of cartography, historical geography, the histories of science and ideas, archaeology, literary studies and colonial and post-colonial studies. However, at its heart is a detailed investigation of how geographical knowledge and ideas – particularly those about the nature of the South - are generated, mediated and circulated.

Key to the analysis of the map data in the thesis is the theoretical context of historians of cartography, such as Brian Harley and David Woodward, whose works culminating in the on-going *History of Cartography* project have transformed the way that maps are interrogated and used as historical artefacts. Van Duzer has produced a considerable body of work focusing on Sixteenth Century representations of the Continent²⁹ though he identifies a paucity of research into the Continental imaginary in the eighteenth century.³⁰ Murray highlights the fluctuating nature of Continental representation over two thousand years but is constrained by the limited space of a journal article³¹; Gilmartin takes an iconological approach to analysing maps of the Southern Continent³² but focuses largely

²⁷ Murray, Carl: ‘Mapping Terra Incognita’, *Polar Record*, Vol. 41, No. 217, 2005:103-112.

²⁸ Tooley, 1963.

²⁹ Van Duzer, C: ‘The Cartography, Geography and Hydrography of the Southern Ring Continent, 1515-1763’, *Orbis Terrarum*, Vol. 8, 2002:115-158.; Van Duzer, C: ‘Cartographic Invention: the Southern Continent on Vatican MS Urb. Lat. 274, Folios 73v-74v (c.1530)’, *Imago Mundi*, Vol. 59, No. 2, 2007:193-222; Van Duzer, C: ‘Waldemüller’s World Maps of 1507 and 1516: Sources and Developments of Cartographic Thought’ *The Portolan*, Vol. 85, Winter, 2012:8-20.

³⁰ Van Duzer, C: personal email correspondence, 1/4/2014.

³¹ Murray, 2005:103-112.

³² Gilmartin, P: ‘The Austral Continent on 16th Century Maps – An Iconological Interpretation’, *Cartographica*, Vol. 21, No. 4, winter 1984:38-52.

on internal map evidence. There is, therefore, a strong case for this thesis to interrogate in detail the dialectical relationship between the maps and wider geopolitical and cultural trends in eighteenth century society. Stallard sets out to do this throughout the two thousand years of the myth, focusing on the historiography of the traditional argument around “equipoisure” in support of the Continent’s existence and the development of the shape of the Continent on world maps.³³ However, unlike Stallard, this thesis focuses its attention on the reproduction and meaning of the Continental imaginary within wider contemporary culture, rather than on the development of the maps *per se*.

In terms of the history of science and ideas, Gascoigne’s work³⁴ examines the broader themes of Enlightenment science and exploration and how they intersect with culture and geopolitics but does not specifically interrogate the issue of the eighteenth-century search for the Continent, a topic this thesis aims to address. Similarly, while Sørensen draws attention to the role of the ship in the production of - and locus for – scientific knowledge in the eighteenth century³⁵, he does not follow this knowledge back to the shore to explore the (re)production of that knowledge in the public sphere. Notwithstanding this, his ideas are useful for exploring how knowledge about the emerging South was shaped, formed and manipulated en route to the microgeographies of the printed page.

One influence on this thesis is the work of archaeologists Sheridan and Bradley³⁶ which interrogates the efforts by early humans to collapse the distance between physical and metaphysical spaces through the performance of rites and ‘mappings’ on stone - thereby

³³ Stallard, 2010.

³⁴ See especially Gascoigne, J: *Science in the Service of Empire: Joseph Banks, The British State and the uses of science in the age of revolution*, (Cambridge; Cambridge University Press), 1998; Gascoigne, J: *Joseph Banks and the English Enlightenment – Useful Knowledge and Polite Culture*, (Cambridge; Cambridge University Press), 2003.

³⁵ Sørensen, R: ‘The Ship as a Scientific Instrument in the Eighteenth Century’, *Osiris*, 11, 1996:221-236.

³⁶ Sheridan, Alison: *Heaven and Hell: And Other Worlds of the Dead* (Edinburgh; National Museums of Scotland), 2000; Bradley, Richard: *Altering the Earth: The Origins of Monuments in Britain and Continental Europe* (Edinburgh; Society of Antiquaries of Scotland), 1993; see also Bradley, Richard: *Rock Art and the Prehistory of Atlantic Europe* (London: Routledge), 1997; see also Bradley, Richard: *The Moon and the Bonfire: An Investigation of three stone circles in NE Scotland* (Edinburgh; Society of Antiquaries of Scotland), 2005.

making the *unknown* ‘known’. This idea resonates strongly with the push by navigators, cartographers and media of the Enlightenment to ‘tame’ the *terra incognita* of the South through their maps, journals and periodicals and provides an intriguing intellectual context for this thesis.

In dealing with modern textual material, Kuehn and Smethurst have interrogated literary and post-colonial theories to provide fresh insight into the role of travel writing in the formation and sustaining of imaginary and moving geographies.³⁷ This thesis builds on their work while shifting its focus onto the relatively understudied area of eighteenth century writings in the ‘informal’ sphere of the popular press.

As for the representation of the emerging South itself, this also remains an understudied area. The *Imagining Antarctica* conference in 2008 and follow-up conference in 2010 was an attempt to refocus scholarly attention to the southern Antipodal lands – efforts that were reflected in the eponymous volume a year later.³⁸ Leane has since directed more attention to fictional literary works about – and within – the imaginative South³⁹, while Dodds - addressing the lack of attention from post-colonial scholars, - has also called for “an emerging post-colonial engagement with Antarctica” through “a deeper interrogation of polar colonialism and associated practices such as territorial claiming”.⁴⁰ In turn, that “territorial claiming” formed the basis of a short cartographic history of the Continent by Collingridge in Kuehn and Smethurst’s 2009 work.⁴¹

The present study, however, addresses the current gaps and contributes to existing scholarship by connecting the antipodal space with the public sphere, exploring how the region was claimed in the eighteenth century cultural and geopolitical imagination –

³⁷ Kuehn, Julia & Smethurst, Paul: *Travel Writing, Form and Empire: The Poetics and Politics of Mobility*, (New York & London; Routledge), 2009.

³⁸ Crane, R, Leane E & Williams, M, (eds.): *Imagining Antarctica*, (Hobart; Quintus), 2011.

³⁹ Leane, 2012; 2013:333-347.

⁴⁰ Dodds, Klaus: ‘Post-colonial Antarctica: An Emerging Engagement’, *Polar Record* 42, 1, 2006:59-70.

⁴¹ Collingridge, 2015:163-179.

arguably an inherent part of the British imperial project and a foundation stone for the intellectual colonisation of one of the last ‘empty spaces’ on the map of the world.

Structure of thesis

The multi-disciplinary nature of this research presents some challenges to the traditional structure of a thesis. In order to resolve these and to answer fully the research aims and objectives, this thesis is structured into often disparate but ultimately related sections that build both methodologically and conceptually towards the conclusion.

Chapter 1, introduced the purpose of this thesis: to understand why in mid-to-late eighteenth century Britain large sections of society believed in a Great Southern Continent *and continued to do so* despite any empirical evidence until the demolition of the idea by the second voyage of Captain James Cook. Together with the six cross-cutting themes – and an overview of the thesis’s relevance - this informs the aims and the objectives outlined in Chapter 1.

The **Literature Review** that forms the basis of **Chapter 2** critically assesses the existing scholarly literature pertaining to beliefs about the nature of the world and what, in particular, lay to the South in the period 1760-1777. To ease navigation through its many parts, this chapter is divided into thematic sections covering traditional histories of the Continent, histories of cartography, critical literatures in travel writing, histories and philosophies of maritime science, the monstrous realm of myth and magic, and the literatures of metaphysical and liminal space. Each of these thematic sections also deals with the gaps in the existing literatures that this research aims to address.

Chapter 3 lays out the **Contextual Background** and **methodological approach** to the research. This clarifies the intellectual foundations of the analysis, unpacking the constructs behind terms and ideas used in the thesis, including what is understood by the

term ‘the public sphere’. It also explores the production of geographical knowledge in eighteenth century Britain, giving a detailed history of the eighteenth century periodical press, and conducting an interrogation of literacy and reading cultures in the eighteenth century public sphere. This is followed by a short history of *The Gentleman’s Magazine* and the five leading papers in the eighteenth-century press – the basis of the twin archives for the detailed analyses that follow. Chapter 3 finishes by discussing the **methodological approaches** used to interrogate the nature and scope of the production of knowledge about the fantastic Continent in *The Gentleman’s Magazine* and the twenty-four other periodicals under review.

Chapter 4 makes a detailed, longitudinal interrogation of *The Gentleman’s Magazine* from 1760-1777. Using a sub-archive selected by a series of key word searches from the Burney Collection for the period, it analyses the nature, form and variety of knowledge produced and reproduced about the Continent and the region where it was believed to exist. Using the six cross-cutting themes outlined above, the chapter explores the mechanisms being used to control the volume, flow and forms of information appearing in the press. The magazine’s archive is also used to investigate how the battle for credibility was played out in the later eighteenth century, along with the motivations for pursuing voyages in the far South. The archive is also analysed for what it reveals about the transmutational power of the austral regions being explored by Cook and his peers, and experienced vicariously by the reader back home.

Chapter 5 embraces all extant **newspapers** in the archive for the period 1760-1777, selected into a sub-archive by key-word search. The resultant data set – consisting of over 500 articles, classified adverts, reviews and notices – is interrogated according to the six cross-cutting themes outlined above to reveal a nuanced picture of knowledge production

and reproduction about the fabled Continent, and of the intellectual fall-out when it was proven not to exist.

Chapters 4 and 5 both end with a **summative section** reviewing and discussing emerging patterns and insights according to the aims and objectives laid out in this introduction. These lead into the **conclusions** that form the basis of **Chapter 6**. This revisits the aims of the research and assesses its success in achieving them. Drawing together the results from the twin archives, it reviews the relationship between the press and the public in the mid to late eighteenth century – and how the Great Southern Continent was variously imagined, represented and understood. This chapter also evaluates the role played by the press in the (re)production of knowledge about the putative Continent - and its power as a dominant cultural meme in the later eighteenth century. The chapter concludes with an assessment of the contribution made by this research and identifies areas for future study.

Chapter 2. Literature Review

"Second to the right," said Peter, "and then straight on till
morning."

J. M. Barrie: *Peter Pan*⁴² Peter's directions, navigating by the
stars, for how to get to Neverland

“Keep to the left of the setting sun in November.”

Sailing directions given by the legendary Kupe to his followers
who sailed from Ra‘iatea to discover New Zealand.⁴³

Introduction

Research into the Great Southern Continent cuts across a broad range of subject areas from geographies of imagination and exploration to literary studies and the history of cartography, science and ideas. For clarity, therefore, this Literature Review chapter is broken down into individual sections.

The Chapter begins with an exploration of **Traditional Histories of Continental Beliefs** and their underlying assumptions before moving on to examine histories of Continental beliefs in the eighteenth century. This is followed by **Journeys into Enlightenment Science and Eighteenth Century Geographies** that interrogates the variety of actors and the ‘new’ methods of producing knowledge in this period along with the way different spaces produced different characters of geographical knowledge. **Journeys into Map History** examines changing research paradigms in the history of cartography with particular regard to the ‘cultural turn’ of Harley *et al* – and assesses the contribution made by the limited body of modern map studies of the south polar region that employ

⁴² Barrie, James M: *Peter Pan and Wendy*, 1911, (Project Gutenberg) (online) Available at <http://www.gutenberg.org/ebooks/26654> [Accessed 12/12/2016].

⁴³ Kawainui Kāne, Herb: *Voyagers*, 2nd edn. (Honolulu; Kawainui Press), 2006:68.

contemporary carto-historical theories. **Journeys into Print** appraises the exciting scholarship emerging from critical literary theory and travel writing. The focus here is on writings about the Antipodes in their broadest sense of being not only geographically ‘opposite’ but culturally antithetical or ‘other’. This section also explores the role of perception and the geographical imagination in contemporary literature, including competing ideas of space and place and ‘here’ and ‘there’. This is followed in **Journeys within the History and Philosophy of Maritime Science** by an assessment of ideas in the philosophy and history of science with particular focus on the evolving field of geographies of the sea. **Journeys within the monstrous realms of myth and magic** explores emerging themes in the history of ideas, including ‘curiosity’ about the world along with the role of myth and magic. Finally, **Locating Ourselves in Time and Space** explores the themes of liminality and transformation, and those who get to mediate between the known and unknown.

In all sections, the case is interrogated for developing further scholarship to address the aims laid out for this body of work in Chapter 1 (research aims and objectives). The chapter’s **Conclusion** underlines the need for further scholarship to address the important issue of how and why people believed in a Continent in the mid to late eighteenth century.

Traditional Histories of Continental Beliefs in the Eighteenth Century

The Antarctic has an enduring fascination that is represented in a vast body of literature and other media devoted to its history, science and human experience. However, while information abounds for the late eighteenth and early twentieth century onwards, the eighteenth-century history of the region is extremely poorly served, with very little of its fantastic history before Cook’s second voyage of discovery. In fact, in his 350-page history of Antarctic exploration, Rosove devotes just seven pages to Cook’s second voyage in

search of the Continent, despite it being considered “one of the most successful voyages of exploration ever”.⁴⁴

The limited range of literature that does touch upon the evolution of Western thinking about the Great Southern Continent is most commonly found in broader histories of the south polar region; however, these works are often mere sketchy prologues to what is considered the ‘real’ history of the Antarctic in the nineteenth century Commercial Era of exploitation and late nineteenth/early twentieth century Heroic Era of exploration. Examples of this type of history include Balch’s 1902 *Antarctica*⁴⁵, Mathieson’s 1932 *Story of Antarctic Exploration, 1716-1931*⁴⁶, Cameron’s 1974 *Antarctica – the Last Continent*⁴⁷, and Hansom and Gordon’s 1998 *Antarctic Environments and Resources*⁴⁸ - all of which present geographical knowledge about the south polar region as sparse, flawed or erroneous until the conjectured landscape was whittled away by the empirical discoveries of successive voyages of exploration; in other words, there is scant consideration *per se* of why people believed in a Great Southern Continent – just that people did believe in it, and were foolish and mistaken to do so.

These attitudes conceptualise earthly knowledge as an inexorable progressivist trajectory from ‘ignorance’ to true enlightenment. Cameron for example, describes Alexander Dalrymple as “able but unbalanced” for his Continental beliefs⁴⁹, and then Dalrymple and Kerguelen as the “last and most vociferous champions of this mythical continent”, deriding their fallibility and painting them as tragi-comic Don Quixotes of geographical delusion –

⁴⁴ Hume, Howard: Review: ‘Let Heroes Speak: Antarctic Explorers 1772-1922’ Michael H. Rosove, 2000, *Arctic*, Vol. 54, No. 3, Sept 2001:343-345.

⁴⁵ Balch, Edwin Swift: *Antarctica*, (Philadelphia; Allen, Lane and Scott), 1902.

⁴⁶ Mathieson, John: The Story of Antarctic Exploration, 1716-1931: with a map showing the tracks and discoveries of recent explorers, *The Scottish Geographical Magazine*, Vol. XLVIII, No. 6 (November 15), 1932:321-329.

⁴⁷ Cameron, Ian: *The Last Continent* (London; Cassell & Company), 1974.

⁴⁸ Hansom, James D., and Gordon, John E.: *Antarctic Environments and Resources: A Geographical Perspective* (Harlow; Addison Wesley Longman), 1998. Thanks to Jim Hansom for alerting me to this reference.

⁴⁹ Cameron, 1974:31.

the last of their time before Cook ushers in a new era of modern, respectable scientific rationality. There is no appreciation or acceptance that Continental beliefs were entirely reasonable in their time and worthy of serious scientific and political consideration. By ignoring the historical and cultural conditions that helped to form past geographical beliefs, these ‘histories’ leave us with an impoverished understanding of the epistemologies underpinning eighteenth century thinking.

In contrast, this research aims to close the lacuna left by Cameron and his peers by interrogating the basis for the strong beliefs in the conjectured Continent held by the public in the mid to late eighteenth century press in order to understand better the cultural, scientific and geopolitical forces operating at the time – especially in relation to the production of geographical knowledge.

The esteemed maritime historian Glyndwr Williams has written extensively on both the cultural and (geo)political context of Pacific exploration and on the lives of navigators including Cook.⁵⁰ He argues that although the “pursuit of knowledge and all that followed seems relentless and logical” when considering the British naval discovery voyages of the later eighteenth century, it would be a mistake “to see this activity as part of some government master plan”: instead, he claims that “[c]hance, and the impact of individual personality, could be as important as the heavy weight of official policy”.⁵¹ Williams cites Anson (particularly for his circumnavigation of 1740-1744 which refocused attention to the South Seas), along with fellow First Lords of the Admiralty Egmont and Sandwich, and the naturalist Sir Joseph Banks as the key strategic personalities for shaping the trend

⁵⁰ Glyn Williams’s remarkable corpus of work includes *Captain Cook – The Great South Sea: English Voyages and Encounters 1570-1750* (Newhaven & London; Yale University Press), 1997; *Explorations and Reassessments*, Ed. (Suffolk & Rochester; Boydell Press), 2004; *Buccaneers, Explorers and Settlers: British Enterprise and Encounters in the Pacific 1670-1800* (Farnham; Ashgate), 2005; *The Death of Captain Cook: a Hero Made and Unmade* (Boston; Profile and Harvard), 2008; *Naturalists at Sea: Scientific Travellers from Dampier to Darwin* (New Haven & London; Yale University Press), 2013.

⁵¹ Williams, Glyndwr: ‘To Make Discoveries...’, Alan Frost & Jane Samson, eds, *Pacific Empires: Essays in Honour of Glyndwr Williams* (Melbourne; Melbourne University Press), 1999:30.

towards scientific voyages of discovery and improved knowledge of the South Seas in the mid to late eighteenth century.

Interestingly, Williams's assertions of personality and chance-driven events put him at variance with historians such as John Gascoigne who argue instead that this period is marked by science and government being united in an Enlightened agenda of economic and geopolitical imperialism, with each supporting the other to further their mutual aims. Gascoigne's work will be considered later in this chapter but the marked difference in how these two leading scholars regard the drivers in eighteenth century exploration will be interrogated further below.

Meanwhile, in his iconic account of the life of Captain James Cook, Beaglehole explores the scientific background and beliefs underpinning Cook's voyages of discovery, including the search for the Great Southern Continent.⁵² However, after dealing briefly with Classical beliefs (including the competing geographical ideas of Pomponius Mela and Ptolemy about the nature of the earth), he skims over the early modern history of the Continental quest and does not engage at length with the curiosity surrounding its nature and shape, asserting that prior to Cook's voyages, "the history of Pacific exploration is a history of faith, hope, accidental discovery, missed objectives, disillusionment, disaster". Instead, he contrasts the few actual discoveries in the region with "a vast amount of fancy – or, as some of the geographers would have preferred to call it, rational deduction."

Beaglehole summarises eighteenth century British interest in the Continent in terms of the potential for colonisation and trading opportunities, citing the "obvious connection" of Dr John Campbell's 1744 edition of Harris's *Collection of Voyages and Travels* - which urges the merchants of Great Britain to "plant a new colony for the benefit of trade" – with George Anson's voyage around the world from which he returned an extremely wealthy

⁵² Beaglehole, J.C.: *The Life of Captain James Cook* (Stanford; Stanford University Press), 1974:99-127; 273-305

man.⁵³ As Campbell argued, “Let us maintain Trade, and there is no doubt that Trade will maintain us”.⁵⁴

In contrast, Beaglehole claims that French Continental interests, typified by the writings of Charles de Brosses, stemmed from “a different spirit”. For the French,

Commerce and naval power, certainly, were not to be despised while Britain so visibly affected the universal monarchy of the sea; but the fame that discoverers should pursue was the fame of scientific knowledge.⁵⁵

According to Beaglehole, the morally - and culturally - superior overtones of France’s intellectual exploring agenda are further enhanced by de Brosses’s suggestion to locate a colony on the sought-after Continent for criminals to slough off their former vices and be reborn in civility. This French belief in the capacity of the Continent to re-form human nature is an interesting twist to the ideas of Noble Savagery and underlines the huge imaginative potential of the Continent in the eighteenth century to change not just the shape of the world but the very nature of mankind. As demonstrated in the succeeding chapters, this transformative power was a significant feature in the British press’s representation of the far South, particularly in the period during and after Cook’s second voyage. Moreover, such is the power of the *idea* of the Continent that – just like the real battles being played out in the Anglo-French War of 1756-63, this undiscovered (and undiscoverable) fantasy land becomes a contested space between France and Great Britain in the war of words and ideals: when de Brosses lays out his intellectual claim to the territory in 1756, Scotsman John Callander challenges this French priority by translating

⁵³ Beaglehole, 1974:118 (Beaglehole’s own words)

⁵⁴ Campbell, John: 1744 (2nd edition) *Harris’s voyages: Navigantium atque Itinerantium Bibliotheca*, (1705) I, xvi, quoted in JC Beaglehole, 1974:118-119. Of course, it should be noted here that Anson plundered Spanish possessions for his riches, rather than indulging in trade *per se*.

⁵⁵ Beaglehole, 1974:119

and publishing de Brosse's work under his own name (without permission) and asserting the moral right of discovery of *'Terra Australis Cognita'* to the British.⁵⁶

It is important to note here that Callander published his three-volume work from 1766-1768 – just at the time the Royal Society and Admiralty were planning what would become the *Endeavour* voyage, the second secret part of which was to go in search of the fabled Continent. Unfortunately, Beaglehole makes no comment on this coincidental timing but Callander's plagiarism does establish how belief in – or at least curiosity about – the Continent was embedded in cultural life in Britain at the time. Establishing the precise nature and scope of the British public's geographical thinking about the Continent from 1760-1777 will form the significant part of the research that follows.

Journeys within Enlightenment Science and Eighteenth Century Geography

Whilst the very concept of [the] Enlightenment has come under considerable scrutiny and redefinition in recent years⁵⁷, there is broad agreement that the eighteenth century witnessed a growing desire to measure, map and make sense of the world for the benefit, or utility, of mankind. At its core, Withers argues that 'enlightenment' can be understood as "a historical and geographical process in which the world and its products were put in place" – a globalising process that took different forms over different periods and places but one by which the world was explored and appropriated.⁵⁸ Its emblematic product – the *Encyclopédie* of Diderot and Jean D'Alembert (1751-1766) – systematised, situated and connected knowledge while geographical and natural history knowledge (including George

⁵⁶ Beaglehole, 1974:120

⁵⁷ For a resume of scholarship, see: Golinski, Jan: 'Science in the Enlightenment, revisited', *Journal of the History of Science*, xlix (2011):217-231; Withers, Charles W.J.: '(The) Enlightenment in new places', *Journal of Historical Geography*, 35 (2009):601; see also: Robertson, John: *The Enlightenment: A Very Short Introduction*, (Oxford; Oxford University Press), 2015:1-14

⁵⁸ Withers, Charles W.J.: 'Geography, natural history and the eighteenth-century Enlightenment: putting the world in place', *History Workshop Journal*, 39 (Spring, 1995):142-143

Louis Buffon's *Histoire Naturelle*, the geodetic 'Cassini' survey of France and schemas like Linnaeus's 1735 *Systema Naturae*) provided "a new linguistic authority, a new means of and for ordering the world".⁵⁹

This process of putting the world in order and putting it in its place, was matched by a growing curiosity, desire and social need for natural knowledge, and what Withers describes as the "characteristic enlightenment rhetoric of 'otherness'".⁶⁰ This 'otherness' represents one of the more unsettling aspects of enlightenment, one that – in theory - could be tamed and 'made safe' by being described, classified, and mapped by exploration. However, in this context, Outram argues that enlightenment science becomes a source of unease for the eyewitness observer whose body becomes the instrument for the necessary recording and processing and who is inherently *dislocated*.⁶¹ The supposed objectivity of the explorer is cast into doubt by the sensory onslaught experienced by their body and the resulting impact on scientific 'observation'. Moreover, the resulting self-doubt of the explorer is doubled by doubt from the audience upon returning home, underlining the difficulty of establishing trust in scientific knowledge when that knowledge is at a distance.

This sense of inherent tension and unintended consequences is paralleled in Godlewska's epistemological history of French geography from around 1760 to the mid nineteenth century.⁶² Despite a seemingly disparate field of scholars, cartographers, scientists, civil servants and surveyors carrying out a vast array of practices, she argues there was in reality a "shared community, standards, sense of professional turf, and concern with continuity".⁶³ Her wide range of biographical subjects, including Buache and Cassini, might not always have regarded themselves as geographers but they were 'doing geography' that helped

⁵⁹ Withers, 1995:142-143

⁶⁰ Withers, 1995:144

⁶¹ Outram, Dorinda: 'On being Perseus: new knowledge, dislocation, and Enlightenment exploration', Withers, Charles WJ and Livingstone: *Geography and Enlightenment*, (Chicago; University of Chicago Press), 1999.

⁶² Godlewska, A.M.C.: *Geography Unbound: French geographical science from Cassini to Humboldt*, (Chicago; Chicago University Press), 1999.

⁶³ Godlewska, 1999: 309

describe not only France (eg. Jean Dominique Cassini and his great Gallic map project) but much of the eighteenth century world.

The idea of a situated community of practitioners with disparate lives but similar interests is developed by Pedley on the map trade in Paris from 1650 to 1825.⁶⁴ Mapping their workshops and business relationships, Pedley reconstructs forensically the connections and disconnections that sustained the *géographes*, cartographers, engravers, printers and publishers – and patrons - who in turn sustained the European map trade until a combination of the French Revolution and cheaper forms of map production triggered the beginning of the end of Paris’s cartographic pre-eminence. Despite Pedley’s focus on a small set of professionals and neighbourhoods in the capital, far from being parochial, she instead underlines how the demand for precise astronomical observations from outside France spurred the *Académie des Sciences* to support Jesuit missionaries in China along with missionaries and explorers throughout the western hemisphere, locating Paris at the centre of an “international programme with global reach” providing data and observation that “drew on the map as a reporting device”.⁶⁵ In return, the growing reputation of French science, combined with its royal patronage and support, attracted artists, engravers and other skilled practitioners to Paris, especially from Flanders and the Netherlands but also from the French provinces, making it “the centre of scientific and artistic activity”.⁶⁶

While studies like these provide invaluable detail and nuanced understanding of how ‘Enlightened’ thinking played out in different contexts, Outram urges consideration of the central tension between “its claims of locality and claims of universality”⁶⁷ – a tension Withers argues underlines the value in thinking geographically “as metaphor *and* reality, as language, subject, way of thinking, space for interdisciplinary exchange”. He contends,

⁶⁴ Pedley, Mary Sponberg: ‘The map trade in Paris, 1650-1825’, *Imago Mundi*, Vol.33 (1981): 33-45.

⁶⁵ Pedley, ‘Science, Innovation and the Public Sphere’, Keynote Lecture, TOSCA *Enlightening Maps* Conference, University of Oxford, 22/9/2017

⁶⁶ Pedley, 1981: 33.

⁶⁷ Outram, Dorinda: ‘Place in the Enlightenment and the Enlightenment in place’, *Journal of Historical Geography*, 35 (2009): 594-596.

“[i]deas within Enlightenment, ideas about the Enlightenment: neither, ever, float free from their geographical settings”.⁶⁸

Mayhew develops this theme on the making of geographies in the eighteenth century, investigating the people and processes responsible for shaping much of the public knowledge about the world. Whilst exploring the role geography and especially geography books played in cohering political and national identities⁶⁹, he notes “most authors who compiled information about the earth’s surface at a world level were normally either historians or Grub Street [hack] journalists, the distinction often being opaque”.⁷⁰ This idea of the fluidity in what constituted geography, and of those ‘making’ and ‘practising’ it, is extended by Withers’s exploration of how geography was taught in British universities by⁷¹:

professional men, some distinguished natural philosophers in their own right, but men who did not call themselves ‘geographers’ and who drew, in the main, not upon their own in-the-field investigations but upon others’ textual compilations.

However, as he (among others) points out, eighteenth century geography as both a “descriptive and historical” pursuit and a “mathematical” practice was not made solely - or even largely - in the universities.⁷² Geography and those making it came from a wide variety of backgrounds and sites, formal and informal, practical and intellectual, academic and commercial, all of which should be properly included to gain a “fuller picture of what eighteenth-century geography was”.⁷³ Of direct relevance to the current research, Withers argues⁷⁴:

⁶⁸ Withers, Charles W.J.: ‘The Enlightenment in new places’, *in Journal of Historical Geography*, 35 (2009): 602.

⁶⁹ Mayhew, Robert J.: *Enlightenment Geography: The Political Languages of British Geography, 1650-1850*, (New York; St Martin’s Press), 2000.

⁷⁰ Mayhew, R.: ‘The character of English geography, c.1660-1800: a textual approach’, *Journal of Historical Geography*, 24, 1998, p402.

⁷¹ Withers, Charles W.J.: ‘Eighteenth-century geography: texts, practices, sites’, *Progress in Human Geography* 30, 6 (2006) p718.

⁷² Withers, 2006: 717.

⁷³ Withers, 2006: 724.

⁷⁴ Withers, Charles W.J.: ‘Towards a history of geography in the public sphere’ *in Journal of the History of*

if we are to understand in a particular historical context the spaces in which geography, however understood, has been produced, consumed and negotiated, we should not uncritically privilege the academic in considering the sites of its making and consumption.

Ogborn acknowledges the manifold forms taken by eighteenth century geography and geographical knowledge, including geographical grammars, gazetteers, public lecture courses and private lessons and “the many ways in which forms of geographical knowledge were implicated in the process of ‘Enlightenment’, exploration and empire”.⁷⁵ In a study of writing practices and the making of geographical knowledge in the long eighteenth century, he reminds us how “closer attention to the practices, techniques and technologies of writing itself can show how they give shape to the meaning of geographical knowledge” – a knowledge that combined both the commercial and practical and traditional humanist scholarship. He explores the production, carriage and use of texts as material objects *and processes* as part of the English East India Company’s role in the making of an early modern trading network and global geographies.⁷⁶ Moreover, in his study of engraver George Bickman’s works of the 1740s, he lays bare how the connections between “polite writing” and geographical knowledge were implicated in the workings of mid-eighteenth century imperial and domestic politics.⁷⁷

Withers foregrounds the understudied relationship between writing and late eighteenth century geographical knowledge in his research into “networks of correspondence” which

Science, xxxvi (1998), p46.

⁷⁵ Ogborn, Miles: ‘*Geographia’s* pen: writing, geography and the arts of commerce, 1660-1760’, *Journal of Historical Geography*, 30 (2004): 294-315

⁷⁶ Ogborn, Miles: ‘Writing travels: power, knowledge and ritual on the English East India Company’s early voyages’, *in* *Transactions of the Institute of British Geographers*, 06/2002, Vol. 27, Issue 2: 155-171

⁷⁷ Ogborn, 2004: 310

explores the “central” role of letters in circulating scientific and geographical knowledge.⁷⁸ Despite its importance, he argues that “almost no attention has been given to the culture of letter writing in the making of geography, to the networks of correspondence underlying geography’s books or, indeed, to the geographical and epistemological implications of correspondence”.⁷⁹ Highlighting the reliance of the letter on conventions of sociability to ensure both the credibility of the respondent and the accuracy of the information, he identifies their key role in circulating ideas and information among and between intellectual networks at scales ranging from the local and regional to the international. Wither’s draws on Goodman’s work on the Republic of Letters in the French Enlightenment⁸⁰ to underscore how letters were a key element in the public sphere of Enlightenment sociability, mobilising [scientific] knowledge out of the academies and *salons*, between private and public spheres, and creating an active and reactive reading public. In other words, he argues, the Republic of Letters was not just critical to epistolary history, it is also “a matter of epistolary *geography*”.⁸¹

In his study of English eighteenth century textual geography, Mayhew identifies “textual construction”, the “readers and their sites of reading”, along with “the writers and their sites of book production” that combine to give the “twin character of geography in the eighteenth century”⁸²:

On the one hand, geography ties in to a commercial and practical milieu. The texts themselves emphasized their utility to statesmen and that merchants were a segment of their intended readership. The actual readership of geography books also showed that the public lectures and commercial academies encouraged aspirant merchants to read geography. Finally, the production of geography books was doubly commercial:

⁷⁸ Withers, Charles W.J.: ‘Writing in geography’s history: *Caledonia*, networks of correspondence and geographical knowledge in the Late Enlightenment’, *Scottish Geographical Journal*, 120 (2004):1-2, 33-45

⁷⁹ Withers, 2004:34

⁸⁰ Goodman, D: *The Republic of Letters: A Cultural History of the French Enlightenment*, (Ithaca, London; Cornell University Press), 1994.

⁸¹ Withers, 2004:35

⁸² Mayhew, 1998: 406

the conditions of book productions were those of cut-throat commercial competition, encouraging plagiarism: and moreover the authors of geography books wrote them in order to eke out a living. On the other hand, geography books were also linked to the tradition of late-humanist education, which emphasized Christian and classical scholarship. The books produced proclaimed their utility to those reading about classical civilisations and scripture.

Much useful work has been done in recent years by Mayhew, Withers, Keighren and others on print cultures and the production and reception of geography books (in their many formats and meanings) in Britain, Europe and North America. However, as scholars are quick to point out, there is a clear distinction between the subject *of* ‘geography’ in the eighteenth century and geographical knowledge “as a set of intellectual practices concerned with knowing the world”.⁸³ However, the ‘slipperiness’ of the term ‘geography’ creates openings for the study of the less formal sites where geography was being made and also the processes by which it was received and (re)transmitted.

A little touched area in the existing historiographies of the eighteenth century is Grub Street’s role in the creation and negotiation of geographies of the Great Southern Continent, as expressed both in their textual and map forms (including through ‘letters to the editor’) and in the public imagination. As demonstrated in the work that follows, the mid-eighteenth century press in Britain, through its articles, editorials, reviews, letters and advertisements, constituted a significant, dynamic and (re)active agent in the construction of eighteenth century ‘geography’ in its broadest sense, but also in particular the geography of the Great Southern Continent in all its shifting forms. By exploring this in relation to contemporary newspapers and magazine (both influential but less-studied sites of geographical knowledge production) a response can be offered to Withers and Livingstone’s *cri de coeur* to “take seriously the historical geographies of geography’s

⁸³ Withers & Mayhew, ‘Geography, space and intellectual history in the eighteenth century’, *Journal for Eighteenth Century Studies*, Vol. 34, No. 4, 2011: 446

undertakings and recognise differences in its institutional expressions”⁸⁴ To quote the words of Mayhew and Withers, interpreted in the context of the Continental theme below, “[m]uch still remains to be discovered about the *terra nondum cognita* that is eighteenth-century geography”⁸⁵. This research aims to address just such a gap.

Journeys within Map History

The use of maps as historical documents has come a long way since 1937 when the maritime historian J.A. Williamson wryly commented:

There are contemporary maps which might tell much if we could read their secrets. These maps are a dangerous type of evidence; too much study of them saps a man’s critical faculty.⁸⁶

In his seminal lecture of 1962 on how to read maps, RA Skelton defines the modern map as “a graphic document based on the process of measurement and computation” which has “*evolved* steadily” with “*advances* in geographical knowledge, in the techniques of geodesy and survey, and in the critical sense” [emphasis added].⁸⁷ However, this concept of a progressive and linear trajectory of development – particularly evident in studies of the history of exploration – sets up what most historians of cartography would argue is a narrow relationship between the map and its purpose, disregarding the social, cultural and political context of not only their construction but their agency and reception.

In his remarkable corpus of work, the historian of cartography, JB Harley, transformed the

⁸⁴ Withers, 2006: 719

⁸⁵ Withers & Mayhew, 2011: 446

⁸⁶ Williamson, J.A.: *The Voyages of John and Sebastian Cabot* (London, 1937): 7, quoted in Helen Wallis, ‘Java la Grande: The enigma of the Dieppe Maps’, Williams and Frost, *Terra Australis to Australia* (Melbourne; OUP), 1988: 39

⁸⁷ Skelton, RA: *Looking at an Early Map*, Annual Public Lecture at the University of Kansas, 1962 (Lawrence, Kansas; University of Kansas Libraries, 1965): 2

theoretical paradigms of how we look at maps. From his detailed empirical studies of Ordnance Survey maps in his early career, Harley took what Edney calls a “theoretical turn” around 1980 before reformulating his ideas based on Foucault and Derrida during his “post-structuralist turn” around 1982.⁸⁸ His aim was to challenge the existing positivist tradition in cartography that viewed maps as ahistoric, abstract and value-free; instead, Harley sought to show that the practices of cartography – and its products – are the result of their historical, social, political and cultural context. In his words, “Through both their content and their modes of representation, the making and using of maps has been pervaded by ideology”⁸⁹ or, in the words of Edney, “Harley characterised academic cartography and its scientific ethos as merely a self-delusory and self-serving rhetoric that masks the manner in which maps are really instruments of knowledge and power that constrain spatial awareness within a totalizing discourse that, in turn, perpetuates the ideologies of social elites”.⁹⁰

Harley’s involvement with Woodward before and during the History of Cartography project helped him adopt a “new and humanistic discipline of the history of cartography”⁹¹ for which he strove to provide a coherent intellectual structure. His initial forays (with Blakemore) into the methodologies of art history resulted in the formulation of maps as language. This approach used iconography (and especially the art history theories of Erwin Panofsky) to communicate how maps combine spatial facts with social and cultural meanings.

However, ultimately Harley’s post-structuralism focused on the political context of map use, the political meanings imbued in maps and the social effect of those meanings⁹², and he changed his ideas from maps as language to maps as text, that is, “socially constructed

⁸⁸ See Edney, Matthew H: ‘The Origins and Development of JB Harley’s Cartographic Theories’, *Cartographia*, Monograph 54, Vol. 40, issues 1-2, 2005: 1-143

⁸⁹ Harley, J.B.: *The New Nature of Maps: Essays in the History of Cartography* Laxton, Paul, ed. (Baltimore & London: The Johns Hopkins University Press) 2001: 79

⁹⁰ Edney, 2005: 3

⁹¹ Edney, 2005: 114

⁹² Edney, 2005: 114

representations” that “function within discourses” so that map history becomes the exploration of the “myriad interconnections with the rest of human activity”. In other words, it becomes a “*history of cartography*” (original emphasis).⁹³

This ‘theoretical turn’ in the treatment of maps has left a powerful legacy in modern academic study. From Monmonier’s influential 1991 *How to Lie with Maps*⁹⁴ to work by Edney, Withers, Jacob, Godlewska and Buisseret – and the ambitious, multi-volume *History of Cartography* project that has provided an intellectual framework for the discipline - a broader analysis of the sociocultural and political practices involved in mapping is now mainstream. Iconography, semiotics and deconstruction have highlighted maps’ dual nature as both a social product and a means of communication. Though tensions and differences in approach between scholars inevitably remain, a more mature, coherent field broadly supports Anderson’s assertion that “[t]hree universal lines of enquiry summarise the foci of modern studies: the role of the map within the social group that produced it; the ways in which the map reflects the specific historical period to which it belongs; and the policies or projects that may have been behind its creation”.⁹⁵ The only rider to this assertion is that maps also have *agency*, especially in terms of how they can shape, modify and transform not only geographical knowledge and thinking but also our sense of ourselves as individuals and societies. This is particularly visible in the inherent antipodal tension of Britain versus the Great Southern Continent - for example, in Hall’s 1605 *Mundus Alter et Idem* - and it will form a significant part of the methodological approach taken in the research that follows, shedding as much light on the British public in the mid to late eighteenth century as on the fantastic Continent itself.

If the History of Cartography is a small academic field, then the history of cartographic ideas about the Continent is its forgotten corner. In his brief but seminal paper of 1963, Tooley argues for historians of cartography to direct their attention towards the South Polar

⁹³ Edney, 2005: 114

⁹⁴ Monmonier, Mark: *How to Lie with Maps*, (Chicago, University of Chicago Press), 1991.

⁹⁵ Anderson, Carolyn J.: *Constructing the Military Landscape: The Board of Ordnance maps and plans of Scotland, 1689-1815*, PhD thesis (University of Edinburgh), 2010.

area, claiming that “curiously enough the history of the early mapping of the region has been almost totally neglected”.⁹⁶ In particular, Tooley focuses his concern on the lack of scholarship analysing how the region that is now ‘Antarctica’ has been represented over the centuries, citing how the “catalogues of the British Museum and the Royal Geographical Society under the heading of Antarctica list less than a dozen maps before 1840” while more recent cartobibliographies such as the supplement to the Library of Congress Geographical Atlases recorded just “18 printed maps”.⁹⁷

Tooley’s own short history aims to “shed a little more light” by laying out a range of early representations or descriptions of the Southern Polar region, starting with Pomponius Mela in the first century and ending with Durville, Wilkes and Ross in the mid nineteenth century. He concludes with a list of 107 maps and charts that he offers as “a slight foundation upon which it is hoped a more exhaustive bibliography can be founded”. However, while he throws down the gauntlet, he does not conduct any exhaustive analysis into the maps and charts he mentions, or offer any insight into *why* people continued to believe in the existence of a Continent for almost two thousand years. James Cook’s discovery that no Southern Continent existed is dealt with in one short paragraph that describes his “great achievement” as freeing the south seas from the “geographical fantasies of earlier cartographers” while claiming that - South Georgia and South Sandwich Islands aside - “[i]n a sense his results were negative for he actually encountered little land”.⁹⁸

It is worth pausing here to note the language Tooley uses in this statement: firstly, his sentiment highlights the land-based focus of his geographical imagination which eschews the sea almost entirely, reducing it to an absence of land rather than being of worth in its own right. This is something that will be addressed later in the chapter in the discussion over emerging scholarship on geographies of the sea. Secondly, Tooley points up his belief

⁹⁶ Tooley, 1963: 1-10

⁹⁷ Tooley, 1963: 1

⁹⁸ Tooley, 1963: 3

that a sequence of maps will show a *progression* towards greater accuracy from an era when cartographic culture was enmired in fantasy. While his views were typical of his time, as already discussed, carto-historians now consider maps as the social and cultural products of their time – and products that are not only born of thoughts, ideas and actions but which in turn give birth to new thoughts, idea and actions. Meanwhile, Tooley’s plea for a “more exhaustive study...to encourage an interest in one of the most challenging areas of modern times”⁹⁹ has yet to be answered by geographers and cartographers in any detailed form – an omission the current research aims to address, at least in part.

In terms of modern scholarship directed specifically towards the Southern Continent, Gilmartin was one of the first to combine new cartographic approaches with early modern representations of the polar regions.¹⁰⁰ Using Blakemore and Harley’s theories from 1980 on “the symbolic and metaphorical messages in maps”¹⁰¹, in association with Erwin Panofsky’s iconographical/iconological analysis from art history¹⁰², Gilmartin strives to “discover the underlying values, attitudes and principles which form the basis of [the] culture” of those producing the maps. She interrogates a range of early modern maps to foreground their “form and meaning in Renaissance culture”¹⁰³ but stops short of interrogating the austral Continent in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries.

Picking up the baton, Murray makes small but significant advances towards addressing the epistemological implications of mapping “this non-existent place”– a focus that he also suggests has received “little consideration”.¹⁰⁴ His own approach is to examine “the urge exhibited by many European map-makers to fill this blank space in their maps and what they filled it with”, arguing that “this both reflected a desire for the security of complete

⁹⁹ Tooley, 1963: 1

¹⁰⁰ Gilmartin, 1984: 38-52

¹⁰¹ Gilmartin 1984: 38

¹⁰² Gilmartin 1984: 39

¹⁰³ Gilmartin 1984: 38

¹⁰⁴ Murray, 2005: 103

knowledge” while also providing “an important space for non-geographical discourse in maps that is no longer available”.¹⁰⁵

Like Tooley, Murray goes back to early classical representations of the Continent.¹⁰⁶ However, unlike Tooley, Murray follows the cultural turn of Cosgrove, Harley and Woodward, setting his examples within the social, geopolitical and cultural context of the times. Murray explores a range of important influences such as the development of the printing press and the use of etched copper plates, and how these impacted on the way geographical knowledge was circulated and updated. He also raises the issue of a map’s authority and credibility, illustrating how early modern mapmakers enhanced their own prestige by following Ptolemy even after his geography was being contested by the voyages of discovery – and how British maps of the Falkland Islands still intrinsically link cartography and authority in the south polar regions to assert territorial land claims.¹⁰⁷ These ideas about authority, credibility and control are striped through the research that follows in the six cross-cutting themes underpinning the analyses in Chapters 5 and 6.

One of Murray’s key ideas picks up on Cosgrove’s observation that blank spaces on the map “generate and reflect aesthetic and epistemological anxiety”¹⁰⁸, while their in-filling offers a “sense of security, of knowing, not being lost, that is obvious in their everyday use”.¹⁰⁹ However, while this might be relevant for the mediaeval and Renaissance maps of the Continent which form the major focus of Murray’s work, it does not fully explain the representation (or not) of the Southern continent on Enlightenment maps which are increasingly devoid of decoration, cartouches and text boxes. Frustratingly, other than a few brief comments *en passant* on maps by Buache, Cook and Dalrymple, Murray almost entirely avoids discussion and analysis of the end-game of the Continent’s ‘existence’ in

¹⁰⁵ Murray, 2005: 103

¹⁰⁶ Murray, 2005: 103

¹⁰⁷ Murray, 2005: 106; see also Dodds, K: *Pink Ice: Britain and the South Atlantic Empire*, (London and New York; IB Taurus) 2002: 28

¹⁰⁸ Cosgrove, Denis (ed): *Mappings*, (London; Reaktion Books), 1999: 10, quoted in Murray, 2005: 110

¹⁰⁹ Murray, 2005: 110

the mid to late eighteenth century – the primary focus of this present research, and thus a deficit that will be squarely addressed.

Whilst essentially a reference book, Clancy’s work on *Terra Australis* is worthy of note as one of the few specific histories of the early mapping of the south polar regions. He gives a useful summary and overview of the most important printed and manuscript maps in the development of geographical knowledge about Australia and the Pacific, along with contextual information about the map-makers and innovations in mapping and printing techniques.¹¹⁰ However, the recently updated sequel focusing solely on the mapping of Antarctica¹¹¹ again takes the form of a reference book so fails to answer the questions that form the basis of this research.

One of the few commentators to address specifically the philosophical and geographical beliefs embedded in maps of the Southern Continent, Stallard’s corpus of work is small but significant and – along with Parker¹¹² - also forms some of the most recent literature in the field.¹¹³ Writing on imaginative geographies particularly in the context of the Great South Land and Australian Inland Sea, he suggests several reasons for the enduring and tenacious belief in the conjectured Continent over its history.¹¹⁴ He explains the sixteenth century portrayal of a vast Southern Continent by Lopo Homem (1519) as “an attempt to make sense of a disordered and rapidly expanding geographical world”¹¹⁵ amidst the enduring popularity of Ptolemaic cosmographies and “muddled” thinking about how to reconcile the newly discovered American continents with the old and theoretical continents. Stallard argues that Homem’s answer – a southern “mega-continent” – was “an efficient solution to

¹¹⁰ Clancy, Robert: *The Mapping of Terra Australis – a guide to early printed maps of Australia, Antarctica and the South Pole*, (Australia & Auckland; Universal Press Pty Ltd), 1995.

¹¹¹ Clancy, Robert, Manning, John & Brolsma, Hank: *Mapping Antarctica: a Five Hundred Year Record of Discovery*, (Dordrecht; Springer Praxis Books), 2013.

¹¹² Parker, Katherine: *Contentious Waters: the creation of Pacific Geographic Knowledge in Britain, 1669-1768*, PhD thesis, University of Pittsburgh, 2016.

¹¹³ Stallard, 2010; *The Miscraft of Mapmakers*, National Library of Australia News, August 2006: 3-7; *Antipodes: in search of the Southern Continent*, (Monash University Publishing), 2016.

¹¹⁴ Stallard, 2006: 3-7

¹¹⁵ Stallard 2006: 4

the geographical quandary of how to balance all these northern lands...and, in addition, of how to reconcile the Americas with the ancient knowledge in Ptolemy's map."¹¹⁶

To answer the human need for balance and deal with the *horror vacui* in geographical knowledge, Stallard contends that "[w]herever science has not been equal to the task of explanation, and sometimes even where it has been, human imagination has filled the void". Other motivations for filling up space on an otherwise empty map include "[a]esthetic considerations and the need to convey an illusion of knowledge".¹¹⁷

However, Stallard again focuses largely on the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, although he does touch upon the Philippe Buache's 1739 *Carte des Terres Australes* with its Continental theories that employ geographical 'facts' as "cornerstones". He argues that "Buache was not just creating his own reality through the map, he was also improving disordered geographies that, without the mapmaker's intervention, assaulted cartographic order and cosmographic harmony".¹¹⁸ While this on the surface appears to make perfect sense, the conclusion that follows is unsettling. Stallard contends that Buache was driven by "an inability to reconcile human knowledge with *the arrogance of man*" (emphasis added), and he repeats this explanation for belief in - and mapping of - the Continent, referring to "this arrogance, inconsistency, mischievous creativity and all that was created out of it". However, "arrogance" and "mischief" would seem to imply that the map-maker was acting largely as a sole self-determined agent, rather than being strongly influenced by the time and culture. Yet as we have seen, Stallard previously argues that that map makers' systems of beliefs and mode of operation were structured *by* their time and culture, setting the conditions for the Continent's cartographic representation.

¹¹⁶ Stallard 2006: 4

¹¹⁷ Stallard 2006: 5

¹¹⁸ Stallard 2006: 7

There is, therefore, a tension that is unresolved in Stallard's work – between culture and individual agency in past beliefs, and also between understanding past beliefs in the context of their time versus understanding past beliefs with the hindsight of twenty-first century vision. This theme is raised independently in Zuber's meticulously detailed analysis of Mercator's vast Southern Continent.¹¹⁹ In contrast with Stallard's "mischievous creativity" or Hiatt's space for "meta-cartographic excursions" in text¹²⁰, Zuber ascribes the desire of Mercator and his fellow cartographers to fill in the blank space of the southern hemisphere as a desire to order the earth in accordance with the divine ordering of the heavens, as laid down by the ruling cosmographic belief of the Renaissance¹²¹, along with a yearning and commercial need "to be more philosophical", that is, to raise the status of their work from mere craft to a superior intellectual pursuit for which they will be paid more. Zuber therefore urges historians of cartography to be less wholly seduced by Harley's cultural and political interpretations of maps and to look more closely at "the social context and interests of individual mapmakers".¹²²

This sentiment is certainly borne out by Van Duzer's detailed and rigorous study of toponymical evidence in the depiction of the Southern Continent on the Vatican's MS Urb. Lat. 274, folios 73v-74r (c.1530) – described by Van Duzer as "one of the most spectacular and extravagant examples of cartographic invention in the sixteenth century".¹²³ Yet even while discussing the wild fabrications of its creator, Van Duzer urges against dismissing the map's Southern Continent as total fantasy because "amid its abundant fanciful place-names, the continent contains part of a lost early map on which toponyms from Columbus's Fourth Voyage were located in Southern Asia."¹²⁴ Van Duzer thus provides a

¹¹⁹ Zuber, Mike A: 'The Armchair Discovery of the Unknown Southern Continent: Gerardus Mercator, Philosophical Pretensions and a Competitive Trade', *Early Science and Medicine*, 16 (2011): 505-541, esp 507

¹²⁰ Hiatt, 2008: 225-232

¹²¹ Zuber, 2011: 513

¹²² Zuber, 2011: 508

¹²³ Van Duzer, 2007: 193-222

¹²⁴ Van Duzer, 2007: 208

cautionary tale for historians of cartography to look beyond the seemingly simple interpretation.

Journeys into Print

Half a century on from Tooley's cry for more research into cartographic depictions of the South Polar regions, the baton has been picked up primarily by those working in literary theory, a small but significant body of whom are now critically engaging with the imaginative landscapes of what was then the putative antipodal space of *Terra Australis Incognita* and is now 'the Antarctic'.

Of undeniable influence in any study of literatures concerning other places and peoples is the work of Pratt and her 'monarch-of-all-I-survey' theory of the self-aggrandising inherent in much travel writing.¹²⁵ Together with Thompson¹²⁶, whose work on cultural capital and the knowledge systems and styles of Enlightenment and Romantic travel literatures has particular utility for the current study, and Carroll who focuses on so-called geo-imaginary spaces, or "atopias"¹²⁷, Pratt provides a theoretical framework for much of imperial discourse analysis conducted in Chapters 5 and 6, and the conclusions that follow. Lamb¹²⁸ similarly makes useful historical observations on the rise of the 'narrative voice' in eighteenth century voyage accounts to confer the added authority and immediacy of the

¹²⁵ Pratt, Mary Louise: *Imperial Eyes: Travel Writing and Transculturation*, (London, New York: Routledge), 2008:197-204.

¹²⁶ Thompson, Carl: *Travel Writing (the New Critical Idiom)*, (London, New York; Routledge), 2011.

¹²⁷ Carroll, Siobhan: *An Empire of Air and Water: uncolonizable space in the British Imagination, 1750-1850*, (Pennsylvania: University of Pennsylvania Press), 2015: 21-36.

¹²⁸ Lamb, Jonathan: *Preserving the Self in the South Seas 1680-1841* (Chicago 2001): 99-100. Cited in Ryan, Tom: 'Le President des Terres Australes': Charles de Brosses and the French Enlightenment beginnings of Oceanic Anthropology, *Journal of Pacific History*, Vol. 37, No 2 (Sept 2002), pp157-186.

empirical witness – a subject which conjoins well with Thompson’s structural ideas about literature’s ‘inward turn’ towards greater subjectivity and lived experience.¹²⁹

Looking more toward the press and newspaper coverage of geographical knowledge, Riffenburgh’s study of polar exploration, ‘celebrity’ and the press¹³⁰ offers a fascinating study of the enmeshed relationships between those ‘doing’ the exploring and those ‘reporting’ on their journeys. However, he starts his analysis a century after the current research so adds little of direct relevance to the emerging press culture of the Enlightenment. Similarly, although Keighren, Withers and Bell¹³¹ also focus on the publisher John Murray’s relationship with explorers - and with the struggle to establish a credible ‘truth’ - their emphasis is on books rather than rolling news, and again focuses more on the later eighteenth and nineteenth centuries.

In his literary work on mapping the Antipodes¹³², Hiatt identifies an important gap in our understanding of European intellectual history by exploring the “immense fertility of space” of the Antipodes and its conceptual reworking from classical antiquity to the end of the sixteenth century - by which time the Continent in the guise of *Terra Australis Incognita* had grown into a recognisable (if unvisited) landscape. Arguing that while it might have been unknown, it was not “unthought”, Hiatt considers the difficulties of reconceptualising unknown lands in a new epoch of burgeoning exploration and discovery where theory is for the first time challenged by experience.

However, for the purposes of this research, Hiatt’s work presents two major problems: firstly, its timeframe stops well before any discussion of the Enlightenment and Cook’s southern voyages – precisely the time when speculative geography is being challenged by

¹²⁹ Thompson, 2011:109

¹³⁰ Riffenburgh, Beau: *The Myth of the Explorer: the press, sensationalism, and geographical discovery*, (London: Belhaven Press), 1993, p35.

¹³¹ Keighren, Innes M., Withers, Charles W.J & Bell, Bill: *Travels into Print: exploration writing with John Murray, 1773-1859*, (Chicago: University of Chicago Press), 2015.

¹³² Hiatt, 2008: 267

a rising tide of empiricism; secondly, and quite understandably for a literary scholar, while he deals rigorously with textual material, maps are treated with lesser attention with relatively little substantive interrogation of their internal evidence. Moreover, there is a seeming pan-European homogeneity in his analysis and interpretation of results that would fail to satisfy the call of geographers such as David Livingstone who urge scholars to adopt a more nuanced and ‘situated’ approach to their research. In all, while Hiatt’s book is one of the pillars of analysis of early *Terra Australis*, for the purposes of this research it does not fully address the intellectual history of the Continent, particularly for evidence after 1600, and also for those more interested in the varied representational forms of geographical knowledge.

Hiatt’s *European Perceptions of Terra Australis* with Scott *et al* is another attempt to address what Scott calls the “relatively little sustained scholarly work done on the concept of *Terra Australis* itself, despite the fact that it was one of the most widespread concepts in European geography in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries.”¹³³ Scott argues that, “the intellectual background to European voyages of discovery and exploration also remains understudied”, presenting their work as an effort to deepen understanding of *Terra Australis* and the “intellectual and cultural forces that drove European expansion and colonization towards the formation of a global economic and political system.”¹³⁴ Frustratingly, however, there is little consideration of the end-game of the conjectured Continent in the eighteenth century: scholarship is mostly directed from classical antiquity to the seventeenth century, with Dampier providing one of the few Enlightenment subjects analysed (albeit fascinatingly). Moreover – and underlining with irony the subjectivity of “perception” itself - the *Terra Australis* examined in the eighteenth century pertains more to Australia than the region that is now the Antarctic.

¹³³ Scott, Anne M, Hiatt, Alfred, McIlroy Claire & Wortham, Christopher: *European Perceptions of Terra Australis*, (Farnham UK and Burlington VT; Ashgate), 2011: 2

¹³⁴ Scott *et al*, 2011: 7

Notwithstanding this, the work offers some useful insights into how perception and geographical imagination construct very real landscapes for individuals and cultures, both on site and ‘back home’. McCarthy compares the published and unpublished versions of Dampier’s journals, underlining how Dampier’s direct perceptions were deliberately edited to coalesce with the perceptions of his readers in Europe – in this case, turning a fair natural history observation into a far-reaching and judgemental condemnation of the “miserablest people in the world”.¹³⁵

Elsewhere, while Mackay’s assertion that the “pervasive effect of Cook’s voyages was such that they shaped perceptions of the Pacific and its peoples for almost a century”¹³⁶ arguably *underestimates* their influence, it does locate the writings of Cook and his contemporaries – in draft, plagiarised, reported and journalised, unofficial and official forms – centre stage in how the geography of the emerging South was constructed in the public imagination in the mid to late eighteenth century in the chapters that follow.

Meanwhile, Fox’s “transdisciplinary look at the evolution of our vision and at the entwined histories of exploration, art, cartography, and science as they coincide in the Antarctic” is an artful analysis of how the human mind transforms space into place and land into landscape.¹³⁷ Underlining how visualising and mapping a space turns it into a ‘place’ that can be known and owned, Fox lays out how terrain becomes territory – much as Cook saw, mapped and took (sometimes literal) possession of the territory that should have contained the Great Southern Continent. To follow Fox’s logic, although to Cook’s eyes it held little but ice and fog, by mapping it he asserted moral suzerainty to Britain. Fox argues that we have constructed the ‘place’ of the Antarctic not only through maps but also through the paintings and photographs that represent this specific locale, and that “landscape art is

¹³⁵ McCarthy, Michael: ‘Who Do You Trust? Discrepancies Between the ‘Official and Unofficial’ Recording Explorers’ Perceptions of Places and Their People’, Scott et al, (2011): 185-209; Dampier section 186-193, quote reproduced on 188-189.

¹³⁶ Mackay, David: “Exploring the Pacific, Exploring Cook”, Alan Frost & Jane Samson, *Pacific Empires – Essays in Honour of Glyndwr Williams*, (Melbourne University Press), 1999: 264

¹³⁷ Fox, William L: *Terra Antarctica - Looking into the Emptiest Continent*, (Shoemaker & Hoard), 2007: xiv

itself a mapping activity, a way of getting us from the familiar “here” to the unfamiliar “there””; what is more, this sets up an inherent dialectic where “the art and cartography of the continent aris[e] from, but also shap[e], the historical and political narratives we use to govern it”¹³⁸ – an idea echoed by Reitan’s study of the role of maps in *The Gentleman’s Magazine*.¹³⁹

The argument for widening the scope of research to embrace non-traditional media is also made by Marshall in his reflections on perceptions of Asia.¹⁴⁰ Marshall calls for source materials to include not only official documentation but also the full range of visual and literary sources, including fictional writings, journals, plays and poetry. His consideration of Inden’s *Imagining India* has strong parallels with the constructed imaginary of the emerging South, highlighting how colonial India came to be viewed “by its failure to match the west in scientific rationality. Western scholarship displayed India as emotional, irrational, mystical, politically incapable and ultimately, to many commentators, as feminine; the West by contrast was practical, progressive, politically mature and ultimately masculine”.¹⁴¹ However, Marshall warns against relying on “rigid oversimplifications” that overplay the power of the West to shape the ‘other’, urging scholars to interrogate differences, say, between English and Scottish colonial dynamics also to explore how eastern cultures - in turn – influenced narratives in and of the West.¹⁴²

The idea of a continuous re-working of the antipodal meme in the eighteenth century is picked up by Goldie in his study of the “People, Place and Voices” of the ‘other side of the

¹³⁸ Fox, 2007: 27

¹³⁹ Reitan, E.A: “Expanding Horizons: Maps in *The Gentleman’s Magazine, 1731-1754, Imago Mundi*, 37:1, 1985, pp54-62

¹⁴⁰ Marshall, PJ: The Great Map of Mankind – The British Encounter with India’, *Pacific Empires: Essays in Honour of Glyndwr Williams*, Alan Frost & Jane Samson (Eds.) (Melbourne University Press), 1999: 237-250

¹⁴¹ Inden, Ronald B: *Imagining India*, 1990 cited in PJ Marshall: ‘The Great Map of Mankind – The British Encounter with India’, *Pacific Empires: Essays in Honour of Glyndwr Williams*, Alan Frost & Jane Samson (Eds.) (Melbourne University Press), 1999: 242

¹⁴² Marshall, 1999: 244-5

earth'.¹⁴³ While his definition of the antipodes has a geographical and metaphorical reach into the tropics rather than relating *per se* to the antipodal space of what is now the Antarctic, he does alight very briefly on the more tightly configured definition the Great Southern Continent that formed the focus of Cook's explorations.¹⁴⁴ However, it is not Goldie's purpose to unpack and analyse the totemic meanings of a geographic region; instead, he plays with the meaning and significance of Perea (a Tahitian 'queen' encountered by Cook) and Mai, the young Polynesian taken back to Britain by Captain Furneaux and returned on Cook's final and fatal voyage into the Pacific in 1776-9. While Goldie's case studies are far removed from the focus of this research, they are useful in underlining the agency of the 'Other' in transforming Cook and his men by influencing their thoughts, beliefs, knowledge and practices: the men who sailed to the Continent were not the same as those who returned, even though they encountered an *absence* (that is, that the fantastic Continent did not exist). The idea of transformation is therefore key and forms one of the six cross-cutting themes used in the analysis that follows.

The impact of 'Antarctic' exploration on perception and understanding has perhaps its most detailed analysis in the ground breaking work by Simpson-Housley.¹⁴⁵ Once again, the historical focus is wide, ranging from Classical theories of *Terra Australis* to the expeditions of Ernest Shackleton and beyond. Whilst this limits the content that is directly relevant to the 1760-1777 timeframe and focus of the current research, Simpson-Housley establishes a valuable framework for encompassing a vast range of archive material, from eighteenth century records of how scientific technology was being used, to art, poetry, song as well as testimonies of human experience and desire. Like Goldie, he explores the impact of the imagination and experience on representations of the Continent (both fantastic and Antarctic), and the impact of the Continent upon those who observe,

¹⁴³ Goldie, Matthew Boyd: *The Idea of the antipodes: People, Place and Voices*, (Routledge, New York & Abingdon), 2010: 97-135

¹⁴⁴ Goldie, 2010: 99

¹⁴⁵ Simpson-Housley, 1992.

experience and imagine it, reminding us that even meanings and metaphors of places are mobile and malleable.

Journeys within the History and Philosophy of Maritime Science

The ‘cultural turn’ as pioneered by Harley, Woodward and others did not just influence the history of cartography. Developing themes raised by philosopher Bruno Latour¹⁴⁶, Sørensen re-conceptualises the very nature and practice of science, calling for a new historiography and a historical geography of science in his classic paper on the ship as a scientific instrument.¹⁴⁷ Arguing that histories of science had previously overlooked the importance of geography on how science is performed, Sørensen sets out his contention that geography (organised on this occasion into site/region/circulation) is and always has been fundamental to science, and played a significant part in the construction of the emerging scientific world. Of particular significance, he claims, were the French and especially British scientific voyages of discovery of the eighteenth century, pointing out the enormous investment governments made to send ships to distant oceans (for example, almost \$10 million in today’s money for the *Endeavour* voyage).

However, while the ships have traditionally been regarded as mere “vehicles or platforms for observers and instruments”, Sørensen lays out how in reality they “shaped the kinds of information observers collected” by facilitating running surveys and fieldwork, both at sea and in shore.¹⁴⁸ But even more than the strictly utilitarian purpose of ‘doing science’ at sea, he argues for a deeper understanding of how Cook’s voyages changed science back home, pointing up how the representations of reality conveyed on his maps brought those distant discoveries back to London in a meaningful form, “[t]hus Cook’s naval ships did far more than merely transport into the field and back to the metropolis the tools and observers

¹⁴⁶ Latour, Bruno: ‘The Force and Reason of Experiment’, *Experimental Enquiries*, ed Homer LeGrand (Dordrecht; Kluwer), 1990: 56-58, cited in Richard Sørensen, *The Ship as a Scientific Instrument*, in *OSIRIS*, 2nd Series, 11, 1996: 229

¹⁴⁷ Sørensen, Richard: ‘The Ship as a Scientific Instrument’, *OSIRIS*, 2nd Series, 11, 1996: 221-236

¹⁴⁸ Sørensen, 1996: 227

needed to gather and shape new geographical knowledge. As scientific instruments in their own right, they mediated the complex interplay between representation and reality that lies at the heart of eighteenth-century geography”.¹⁴⁹

However, while Sørensen’s paper lays out his general approach with a few brief examples, space does not allow for a detailed study of geographical/scientific knowledge production and representation on board the ships of Cook or any other eighteenth century navigator. Although beyond the scope of this research which is firmly located in Britain on the pages of the press, this area calls out for further investigation, particularly into the competing geographies of ship and shore.

David Livingstone’s 2003 *cri de coeur* for a deeper understanding of the geographies of science builds on writers like Sørensen to establish a useful conceptual model for a more nuanced consideration of the role of places and spaces in how science is carried out, processed and received.¹⁵⁰ By systematically dismantling the illusion that science is placeless and universal, Livingstone opens up fertile ground for exploring the actors and cultures involved in its production and reception at a variety of scales, from the local “site” to the region. He also examines the movements of science in terms of the geographies of “circulation” and the dispersal of knowledge, exposing how procedures, testimony, authority, meaning and interpretation of results vary across time and space, and can be affected by their own translocation from the “here” to “there”.

Livingstone’s work raises a number of interesting points in the context of research into the past representations, imaginings and productions of knowledge about the Great Southern Continent. The first of these is the concept of the ‘microgeographies’ or overlooked ‘sites’ of science, in particular, the locus of ship that constituted ‘a critical site in the generation

¹⁴⁹ Sørensen, 1996: 236

¹⁵⁰ Livingstone, David N: *Putting Science in its Place: Geographies of Scientific Knowledge*, (Chicago & London; University of Chicago Press), 2003.

of experimental knowledge'¹⁵¹ and one of the most important places where cartographic science was performed during Cook's voyages. Livingstone argues for a reappraisal of these microgeographies in terms of "Who manages this space? What are its boundaries? Who is allowed access? How do the findings of the...specialist space find their way out into the public arena?"¹⁵²

This focus on the places and spaces of knowledge production has direct relevance for studying the role of the press in (re)producing knowledge about the putative South. In the analysis that follows, detailed investigation will be made of the many levels of situatedness of the eighteenth-century press, from the location of the periodical's publishing house, its neighbours, journalistic and distribution networks, even the microgeographies of the item on the page, all have significance in studying how the knowledge about the emerging South was variously imagined, understood – and controlled - in eighteenth century Britain.

Using Livingstone's conception of a geography of science, the practices of science are not only important to record and make sense of raw data; they are also essential as "strategies to stabilize knowing-at-a-distance" to "obliterate the cognitive distance between 'here' and 'there'". As it will be demonstrated, these strategies were crucial to the successful circulation of scientific knowledge from the field (in this case, the Pacific and South Atlantic) back to the official repository of knowledge (the Admiralty and Royal Society) in Britain.¹⁵³ In a world where elevated social standing brought with it the assumption of greater trustworthiness, the elite status of those producing the knowledge (in this case, Officers and Gentlemen) transferred itself to the credibility of the results, masking some of the problems of questionable authority that the science might otherwise endure when carried out far away from home.¹⁵⁴ The credibility of such knowledge – and the control of

¹⁵¹ Livingstone, 2003: 12

¹⁵² Livingstone, 2003: 12

¹⁵³ Livingstone, 2003: 16; 135-186

¹⁵⁴ Livingstone, 2003: 104

knowledge – are two of the six cross-cutting themes running through the analysis that follows.

A third area of potential utility from Livingstone’s work is his analysis of the impact of religion on regional forms of scientific endeavour, in terms of both practice and principle. While Livingstone particularly explores the role of Protestantism on emerging science in different parts of the UK, it also raises interesting and as yet unanswered questions about the role of Cook’s upbringing in the Quaker tradition and how this culture of non-conformism might have affected his view - and performance of - science. Certainly, religious debates were central to the reception of Cook’s first voyage account, officially written by Hawkesworth and published in 1773. The backlash over Hawkesworth’s apparent rejection of Providence in the introduction was vitriolic and absolute, with many contemporaries suggesting that the furore contributed to his sudden death.

However, Livingstone’s ideas have perhaps their greatest pertinence in exploring the production of knowledge about the conjectured Continent through maps and charts. Just as maps have agency in shaping regional and national identities, they also possess the ability to translate and carry knowledge from here to there, obviating the need to be accompanied by their human creators as long as the recipient can understand its codes; in other words, rightly or wrongly, they act as trusted material repositories of scientific knowledge.¹⁵⁵

Livingstone’s assertion would appear to be borne out in the case of Cook’s outburst during his third voyage in search of the other great geographical conundrum of the period: the Northwest Passage. The source of his ire was the self-styled “very accurate little map” of Arctic waters drawn by Jakob von Stählin (see Figure 12), the eighteenth-century secretary of the Russian Academy of Sciences¹⁵⁶:

¹⁵⁵ Livingstone, 2003: 153-163

¹⁵⁶ Stählin, Jakob von: map *in* *Account of the New Northern Archipelago, lately discovered by the Russians in the Seas of Kamtschatka and Anadir*, 1774.

If Mr Stæhlin was not greatly imposed upon what could induce him to publish so erroneous a Map? In which many of these islands are jumbled in in [sic] regular confusion, without the least regard to truth and yet he is pleased to call it a very accurate little Map? A map that the most illiterate of his illiterate Sea-faring men would have been ashamed to put his name to.¹⁵⁷

Here, Cook's use of the concepts of "shame", duplicity and personal accountability clearly demonstrate a strong moral overtone to his own supposedly 'scientific' and thus value-free quest for exactitude. In the same way, the 'scientific' plain-ness and clearly-defined rigour of his 1777 *Chart of the Southern Hemisphere*, can be seen as asserting his moral superiority not only over the southern hemisphere but also over those who lie with maps or hold on to unscientific ways.

¹⁵⁷ Cook, James: *The Journals of Captain James Cook*, Ed J.C. Beaglehole, Hakluyt Society, London, 1967, reprinted by the Boydell Press, Suffolk and Hordern House, Sydney, 1999. Journal entry from Friday 16th October, 1778, p456



Figure 12. Jakob von Stählin's map in 'Account of the New Northern Archipelago, lately discovered by the Russians in the Seas of Kamtschatka and Anadir' (1774).

This was the source of Cook's ire for its dangerously misleading information and underscores the way maps were increasingly viewed in the eighteenth century in terms of their accuracy and core ability to be 'trusted' and used in scientific navigation.

Millar also engages with issues of trust and science in her analysis of the almost symbiotic relationship between emerging science and the State in British Polar expedition narratives.¹⁵⁸ She explores how the act of taking depth soundings – and recording the data in journals, logs and charts - conferred enhanced credibility on the sailor-scientists, even when the results themselves were of variable quality. This was especially evident if the scientist was well-connected within the scientific establishment. However, recording the “act”/performance had significance in itself: the more data that was recorded – and the greater the hardship endured while achieving it - the greater the epistemic credibility of the document and practitioner.¹⁵⁹

While Millar’s work focuses on depth soundings in the nineteenth century, it raises the potential for interesting correlates with establishing scientific credibility on ships in the eighteenth century, particularly for lower class practitioners such as Cook. Certainly, the idea of ‘hardship’ is key to how the eighteenth century press perceived information coming from dangerous, far-away places such as the South Seas. This concept of hardship – regarded by Riffenburgh as an essentially British trope¹⁶⁰ - is woven through Cook’s journals and those of the officers, gentlemen and crew, adding to their perceived value to editors and readers alike.

The nuances of ship-board science are developed in a different direction by Rice who explores the ‘success’ of science at sea in relation to the functional – or dysfunctional - relationships on board. Touching specifically (if briefly) on Cook’s first and second voyages, Rice explores how the dynamics of space and relationships effects the success of venture, initially with Joseph Banks – the aristocratic natural historian - and latterly with the German naturalist, Johann Reinhold Forster and his son, George.¹⁶¹ Rice speculates

¹⁵⁸ Millar, Sarah Louise: ‘Science at sea: soundings and instrumental knowledge in British Polar expedition narratives, c.1818-1848’, *Journal of Historical Geography*, 42 (2013) 77-87

¹⁵⁹ Millar, 2013: 80; 87

¹⁶⁰ Riffenburgh, 1993: 35.

¹⁶¹ Rice, AL: ‘Discovery at sea; a heady mix of scientists, ships and sailors’, *Archives of Natural History*, (2005) Vol 32 (2): 177-191

that the tension with Forster during and after the *Resolution* voyage might have influenced Cook to have had just two civilian scientists on his third and fatal voyage – a pattern that he argues became “more or less standard” for subsequent Royal Navy exploring expeditions. While it was actually the Admiralty, not Cook, who vetoed having troublesome gentleman philosophers on long voyages after the debacle with the Forsters – due more to concerns over who controls knowledge from the voyage reports of on-board battles that spilled on-shore also helped to generate column inches in the press, triggering publicity and sales for the periodicals and journals; ship-based conflict can therefore perversely *aid* knowledge (re)production.

Back on land and in an earlier timeframe, Shapin provides many useful insights by exploring the social and spatial dynamics of science - particularly the credibility and authority of scientific results.¹⁶² His study of Hooke, Boyle and the emergent Royal Society interrogates the “network of connections between the physical and social setting of inquiry and the position of its products on the map of knowledge”, arguing that the act of ‘witnessing’ experimentation was integral to the development of the culture and authority of Enlightenment science - but that the social practice of science relied on ‘credible’ testimony from observers whose elevated status conferred them added authority. Shapin’s ideas on authority, testimony and the social/spatial organisation of science fit neatly with the masterful works of John Gascoigne on the relationship between science, Empire and Enlightenment.¹⁶³ Gascoigne unravels the enmeshed networks driving and reinforcing culture, politics and science in the late seventeenth and eighteenth centuries through to the early years of the nineteenth century - arguably with ripples to the modern day. In terms of understanding why people believed in a Great Southern Continent, and why Cook was able to demolish two thousand years of speculation and belief, Gascoigne’s work has much to offer - not least in his assertion that the mentality of “the Enlightenment, with its conviction that human reason could unravel the problems of society and politics as it had

¹⁶² Shapin, Stephen: ‘The House of Experiment in Seventeenth-Century England’, *ISIS*, Vol. 79 (1988): 373-404

¹⁶³ See especially Gascoigne, John: *The Enlightenment and the Origins of European Australia*, (Cambridge, Melbourne, Cambridge University Press, 2002): 1-13; 85-95; Gascoigne, 1994; Gascoigne, 1998.

the workings of the natural world...brought with it a willingness to question tradition and a belief in the possibilities of progress".¹⁶⁴

Like Shapin and Livingstone, Gascoigne points up the importance of 'place' in the formulation and reinforcement of Enlightenment ideas – the coffee house, the salon and also the scientific institutions – all places where *philosophes* and gentlemen could gather and discuss science, progress and social improvement.¹⁶⁵ To this list can certainly be added 'the ship', 'the shore' and 'the page', where the Pacific world was constructed by and for Europeans. Gascoigne's insights into the workings of the institutions that supported and reinforced Enlightenment thinking provide a useful template for this research, particularly in light of the role played by the Royal Society the Admiralty - and the press - in shaping Cook's two searches for the Continent.

Journeys within the Monstrous Realms of Myth and Magic

In considering the contemporary and often competing epistemologies at play in the eighteenth century – particularly in the Continental context - many useful insights can be gleaned from scholarship in the history of ideas. Flint's brilliant study on monsters and the antipodes in the early middle ages and Enlightenment reminds scholars of the need to inhabit the minds and contexts of contemporary theorists rather than judging them with the hindsight of our own time.¹⁶⁶ Going back to classical and early Christian works, Flint traces the evolution of (acceptable and heretical) thinking about the nature and habitability of Antipodes. She looks in detail at the changes in thinking over time from its dismissal as mere "affectations of poetic reasoning" (Isidore) or just plain "silly" (Lactantius) through to Augustine's definitive ruling of an inhabited Antipodes as being "too absurd to mention" and against the historicity of the scripture which decreed that all men were

¹⁶⁴ Gascoigne, 2002: xi

¹⁶⁵ Gascoigne 2002: 3

¹⁶⁶ Flint, Valerie I J: Monsters and the Antipodes in the Early Middle Ages and Enlightenment, *Viator*, 15 (1984) 65-80

descended from Adam - via the three sons of Noah - to occupy the known part of the world, with the unknown *inaccessible* part therefore uninhabited by humans.¹⁶⁷

Flint charts how, notwithstanding their heretical nature, antipodeans were still the subject of speculation by Christian theorists, for example Isidore's antipodeans in Libya are transformed into "a kind of monster, with feet turned backwards and an excessive number of toes"¹⁶⁸, continuing a monstrous tradition that seems to begin with Herodotus and then "ran riot" in the bestiaries and debates of the Middle Ages. Importantly, she asserts this tradition owed its popularity in culture and especially contemporary writings "partly to mythical projection, partly to observation, partly to the attractions they had for artists, always to the appeal they made to the human imagination." Flint goes on to discuss the conflicted and paradoxical nature of the medieval and early modern relationship with monsters – a relationship that fully accepted their existence in the known world while at the same time emotionally distancing them from the more 'human' sphere. This fact underlines why, on maps and in the cosmographies of the period, monstrous beings were pushed out from the sites of human habitation to the "outermost fringes of the world" yet at the same time were held by Augustine as purposeful works of God to be treated humanely, rather than as "bad workmanship" by God that was beneath humanity.¹⁶⁹ Thus, Augustine's firm notion of a single descent from Adam assures equal treatment of monstrous races or the monstrously deformed as part of God's will; it also thoroughly proscribes as untenable any idea of an inhabited Antipodes - not just as (according to the Bible) Adam's three sons dispersed among the *known*, not *unknown*, world, but that any perversion of this natural religious order – with its an "ambitious moral end" - would undermine a central plank of Augustinian teaching.¹⁷⁰

¹⁶⁷ Isidore's *Etymologies* 9.2.13-14.5.17; Lactantius *Divinae Institutiones* 3.24; also Augustine's *De civitate Dei* 16.9, all quoted in Flint, 1984: 68-69

¹⁶⁸ Flint, 1984: 70

¹⁶⁹ Flint, 1984: 71-72

¹⁷⁰ Flint, 1984: 74

While all this might seem esoteric and of interest only to medievalists, Flint's more nuanced argument is that the ramifications of these teachings of common descent and toleration of difference collided with the reality of "Otherness" in the early Enlightenment as those seeking to colonise new lands needed to *de*-humanise their inhabitants in order to shore up their own moral right to claim ownership. In this cosmographical epistemology, arising from discoveries of new peoples in the New World, new races had to be regarded as 'monstrous' and sub-human: in fact, this allowed for the re-conception and re-peopling of the antipodes in early modern England and the Enlightenment. Indeed, as Flint asserts, as the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries progressed, any thought "that strange peoples and births could be meant to gladden the heart of man and that he should be encouraged to welcome these creatures into common humanity began to seem ridiculous" and there was growing support for the ideas that that monstrous forms should be rightfully subjugated to even put to death as "contrary to the laws of nature".¹⁷¹

Flint's analysis therefore has a profound impact upon our understanding of Enlightenment thinking about the Antipodes and their inhabitants: she concludes that "the reduction of the savage to a level on the scale of being lower than that of man does indeed seem to have accompanied the discovery of lands previously thought to be inaccessible", and that if western culture had adhered to Augustinian beliefs then the "atrocities" that inevitably followed this shift in morality could not have happened. Importantly, therefore, she argues that belief in an (inhabited) Antipodes was far from being based in superstition but instead was "a test in the attitude of man to man" – one that justifies a re-evaluation of the morality of "scientific" thinking and of Enlightenment as moral progress.¹⁷²

A change in thinking is echoed by Benedict and Swann in their books on the role and importance of curiosity in Early Modern England.¹⁷³ Naylor notes how both authors agree

¹⁷¹ Flint, 1984: 78-79

¹⁷² Flint, 1984: 79

¹⁷³ Benedict, Barbara M: *Curiosity: a cultural history of Early Modern Enquiry* (Chicago: Chicago University Press), 2001; Swann, Marjorie: *Curiosities and Texts: the culture of collecting in Early Modern England* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press), 2001

that there was a "shift, somewhere in the seventeenth century, where curiosity went from being an intellectual vice to intellectual virtue."¹⁷⁴ Benedict's thesis - that the "early modern period was a witness to a rise in the practice of curiosity as well as a shift in its valuation" argues that the 1660s to the 1820s was a time of breaking former barriers between acceptable and "forbidden knowledge" but that this, in itself, was a necessary shift to facilitate the new mode of thinking that was scientific empiricism.¹⁷⁵ Benedict draws a distinction between early modern attitudes to pious 'wonder' versus what was regarded as unseemly 'curiosity' based on ambition, greed and individualism - the very characteristics that had led to Eve's expulsion from Eden. She argues that the tension between these two attitudes was a hallmark of early modern England and lasted until the end of the nineteenth century. Swan adds another layer of understanding to Benedict's thesis, asserting that the collecting passions of the early modern period were used to negotiate new social identities "rooted in the textualization, ownership, and display of a collection of physical objects"¹⁷⁶ – an argument that certainly has pertinence in the light of the collecting passions of those on *Endeavour*, *Resolution* and *Adventure* that included books, natural history specimens, artefacts and even human beings.

Many of Benedict and Swann's themes are echoed by Peters in his paper on curiosity and the desire to know the secrets of the world.¹⁷⁷ Examining the writings of Columbus, Cortés and fellow explorers, Peters reveals the commonality of their driving ambition to discover what lies beyond. Charting how curiosity functioned within the Christian cosmology both in terms of pilgrimage and secular travel, he explores how this geographically-inclined curiosity evolves from being unseemly - or even dangerous and heretical - to 'god-given', and how this rationale thereby justifies early modern assimilation of the New World into existing Old World power structures. However, as he demonstrates, this philosophical trajectory was far from smooth and, even with a growing cultural acceptance of travel and

¹⁷⁴ Naylor, Simon: Curiosity and Curiosities in early modern England, *Journal of Historical Geography*, 28, 4 (2002): 609

¹⁷⁵ Harrison, Peter: 'Curiosity, Forbidden knowledge, and the Reformation of Natural Philosophy in Early Modern England', *ISIS* 92, 2001: 265-290, quoted in Naylor, 2002: 610

¹⁷⁶ Swann, 2001: 54

¹⁷⁷ Peters, Edward: 'The Desire to Know the Secrets of the World', *Journal of the History of Ideas*, 62, 4, 2001: 593-610

discovery of the world's secrets, there were still sharp reminders *a la Augustine* of the human folly of sailing off to distant lands when one doesn't even know one's own self. This idea sees expression in Peter's mention (although not by name) of the 'Foolscap Map' of c1590 which portrays Ortelius's map of the world shrouded by a jester's cap, and urges its audience *Nosce te ipsum* – that is, know yourself rather than seeking outside for truth and other information, which is the work of fools.¹⁷⁸

Peters concurs with Flint, Benedict and Swan that by the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, travel could not be dismissed as running away from oneself, or as narcissistic folly (or worse): at stake were the riches of the New World that would enhance not only the status of the discoverer but also the wealth of the nation. Against this economic and moral crusade, the old prejudices began to be eroded until “[e]ven the strictest moralists has now to allow for at least the moral neutrality and informational value of travel”¹⁷⁹ In fact, as Justin Stagl argues, by the 1570s there was even a new *ars apodemica* furthering the “art of travel” among humanists of Germany and the Low Countries that spread throughout Europe during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries.¹⁸⁰

In the context of research into the production of knowledge about the Great Southern Continent, Peters, Flint *et al* together construct an argument for a more nuanced examination of the epistemologies and implications of *active* curiosity for those involved in thinking about or searching for the conjectured land, and how this shaped their perceived (and received) authority and credibility, particularly in regard to asserting claims over newly discovered territories, along with any resources and peoples found there. In this regard, it is also therefore worth remembering the collecting passions of Cook, Banks, Furneaux and their fellow men on board the first two expeditions – not only of indigenous ‘things’ but also of (their own and others’) knowledge, ideas, writings, mappings, marks

¹⁷⁸ Peters, 2001: 608

¹⁷⁹ Peters, 2001: 609

¹⁸⁰ Stagl, Justin: ‘Die Apodemik oder ‘Reisekunst’ als Methodik de Sozialforschung von Humanismus bis zur Aufklärung’, Raasem and Stagl (eds) *Statistik und Staatbeschreibung in der Neuzeit vornellhmlich im 16-18 Jahrhundert* (Munich, 1980): 131-202 quoted in Peters, 2001: 609

and drawings - and how these amassed artefacts and archives helped shape the perception of antipodal lands, constructing new geographies and ways of seeing, knowing and doing.

Another aspect of the monstrous realm in the eighteenth century is the role of nature, particularly the sea and ice, in discussions of the sublime. Most famously explored by the politician and philosopher Edmund Burke in his 1757 *Philosophical Enquiry into Our Ideas of the Sublime and Beautiful*, he highlights the connections between terror and (in particular) the vastness of the sea.¹⁸¹ Fear, he argues, is “an apprehension of pain and death” (momentarily at least) overwhelming the senses and reason, resembling “actual pain”. This terror is the ruling principle of the sublime and can be most easily expressed by imagining the troubled waters of a stormy ocean – a natural earth force surpassed only by the ‘unmodified power of God’.¹⁸² However, in the Burkean, masculine conception of the sublime, the awareness of the potential annihilation of the self is simultaneously accompanied by the realisation that one’s life is not genuinely threatened: for an instant, the subject gives up the sense of certainty and safety for the thrill of danger, turning what Burke describes as a “simply terrible” experience into something “delightful”. Hence, despite briefly destabilising the subject’s sense of an independent self, this process of confronting the sublime (for example, in oceans, thunder, storms, ice or mountains) results in the subject ultimately (re)exerting self-control and maintaining subjecthood.

The idea of a power struggle between the opposing forces of nature and ‘man’ (sic) are developed by Kant’s 1790 *Critique of Judgement*. Kant moves the project of the sublime on from an empirical study of the physiological effects of objects on individuals into the sphere of epistemology. Arguing that true sublimity is in the mind of the subject, and not in the object of nature that triggers the reaction, he defines the sublime experience as one where reason detaches itself from participating in the phenomenological world, achieving

¹⁸¹ Christine Riding, ‘Shipwreck, Self-preservation and the Sublime’, Nigel Llewellyn and Christine Riding (eds.), *The Art of the Sublime*, Tate Research Publication, January 2013, <https://www.tate.org.uk/art/research-publications/the-sublime/christine-riding-shipwreck-self-preservation-and-the-sublime-r1133015>, accessed 26 September 2017.

¹⁸² Riding, *ibid.*

intellectual mastery of the power of nature. Again, the encountering the sublime is thus a (masculine) process whereby ‘man’ measures himself against the sublime threat but ultimately manages to transcend his human reaction and triumph over nature, resulting in an enhanced sense of self.

Notions of the sublime, while not a central focus of the work that follows, are deeply embedded into the textual and graphic resources of the analysis to follow, particularly in the reconceptualisation of the South as a terrifying, transformative space of ice that results from Cook’s second voyage.

Locating Ourselves in Time and Space

The world has been ‘known’ and interpreted in manifold ways over human history. As Barber asserts, maps “play around with reality”¹⁸³, giving us new ways to imagine what Hiatt calls the “immense fertility of space founded on the irony of vision beyond the visible”.¹⁸⁴ However, mapping is as much a psychological as a graphic process. In his work on ice and the imagination, Bracket explores the “imaginative remaking of...landscapes”,¹⁸⁵ but if we accept his idea that the known is reworked by the “dynamic tension between empiricism and imagination”, it raises the question of how we configure - and give meaning to - what lies beyond the known or the bounds of our experience: the *terrae incognitae* of our physical and metaphysical worlds.

In their work on the liminality between the known/unknown and earthly/otherworldly, Fumiko and Williams offer a contemporary perspective on the metaphysical dimension within the geographic imagination. Their research in the mountainous Japanese area of Osorezan demonstrates how perceptions of a boundary-cum-gateway between these two worlds still remain a powerful feature of the local environment, with many of the

¹⁸³ Barber, Peter: Lecture: *Mapping our World: Terra Incognita to Australia* 4/11/1013
[feed://www.nla.gov.au/podcasts/feeds/talks.xml](http://www.nla.gov.au/podcasts/feeds/talks.xml)

¹⁸⁴ Hiatt, 2008: 267.

¹⁸⁵ Bracket, G.L.: ‘At the End of the Earth: How Polar Ice and the Imagination Shape the World’, *Terrae Incognitae*, Vol. 42, 2010, pp19-20.

“traditions” about the nature of the boundary between the *terra cognita* and *terra incognita* of Osorezan only arising in the last one hundred years.¹⁸⁶ Here, the mediators between the worldly and otherworldly in this (vertical) liminal zone are the revered *itako* – blind female mediums – an interesting parallel, perhaps, to the mediatory role played by cartographers, geographers and so called ‘gentlemen philosophers’ in the debate about the existence, nature and form of the putative South. In both cases, the negotiators between the known and unknown are given an authority and elevated role in society as geographical and cosmological “seers”.

The work of Fumiko and Williams is of particular influence in the research that follows, providing a valuable epistemological framework for how other cultures in time and space have ‘mapped’ their worlds, and how those cosmologies are still being negotiated, interpreted and mapped today.

Conclusion

From the many disparate literatures above, it is clear that there are key absences in an explanation and analysis of how the public variously imagined a Great Southern Continent in the mid to late eighteenth century. Moreover, approaches and underlying ideologies are often contradictory, adding a further realm of complexity onto an already challenging area of enquiry. This thesis aims to address the gap in analysis and understanding by focusing on how the public – via the analogue of the press - variously represented and imagined what lay to the far South, and why the Continental meme was so enduring in the face of mounting evidence for its non-existence in reality. To achieve these ends, this research will utilise a range of materials and disciplinary approaches that are *necessarily* diverse and

¹⁸⁶ Fumiko, Miyazaki and Williams, Duncan: ‘The Intersection of the Local and Translocal at a Sacred Site: The Case of Osorezan in Tokugawa Japan’, *Japanese Journal of Religious Studies*, Fall 2001, 3-4. pp399–440.

varied. The multidisciplinary context – and methodological approach – will be laid out in the Chapter that follows.

Chapter 3. Context and Methodology

Chapter Structure

Before any methodology can be outlined for addressing the research aims and objectives, it is useful to outline the **historical and intellectual context** of this interrogation of antipodal ‘knowledge’ and ideas in the mid to late eighteenth century. This chapter will therefore proceed in two distinct parts: firstly, the key areas that provide a framework for the analysis that follows in Chapters 4 and 5 will be examined. The second part of the chapter focuses on the **specific methodologies** employed to pursue the aims and objectives in the analyses of Chapters 4 and 5.

Contextual Background: Defining ‘the public’

Prior to any assessment of eighteenth century public’s perception of the fabled Continent can take place, it is useful to unpack what is meant here by the word ‘public’ which, as Melton recounts, has a long and nuanced history, shifting over time between its political, state and personal meanings.¹⁸⁷ Of most direct relevance to the working definition used in this chapter is the word’s Ancient Roman adjectival form (*publicus*) that refers to a body of citizens or subjects - or even the geographical sphere of the street, the square or the theatre - rather than the noun form, *publicum*, with its associations with the property, area or income of the state (as in ‘public prosecution’).

In terms of critical social theory, Habermas’s concept of the ‘public sphere’¹⁸⁸ has interesting implications for the study of the dynamic relationship between the press and public knowledge in the eighteenth century. Its interdisciplinary foundation – drawing on

¹⁸⁷ Melton, James Van Horn: *The Rise of the Public in Enlightenment Europe*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press), 2001, p1.

¹⁸⁸ Habermas, Jürgen [1962 trans 1989]: *The Structural transformation of the Public Sphere: An Inquiry into a category of Bourgeois Society*, (Cambridge: Polity), 1989.

insights from history, philosophy, sociology and literature – sits well with the interdisciplinary nature of this current study, while its focus on the discursive physical spaces of the eighteenth century – including coffee houses, salons and literary journals – locates his ideas on ‘public space’ in similar physical and intellectual areas to the focus of this research, that is, taking that ‘public space’ to include the printed page.

Habermas asserts the development of the eighteenth-century print culture is fundamental to the development of a public sphere. His belief that - as the public’s authority and influence spread - public opinion “began to function as a check on the legitimacy of the powers of unrepresentative and closed government”¹⁸⁹ has a strong correlation in the public debates on the letters pages of the eighteenth century press about the nature and utility of the putative Continent and the rationale for public funding of voyages in search of its discovery. This is demonstrated throughout the following analysis of *The Gentleman’s Magazine* but it has particular resonance in the heated, often vitriolic abuse hurled at Lord Sandwich, Hawkesworth and their peers in the letters pages analysed in Chapter 5.

However, Habermas ultimately argues that the concept of a public sphere – while laudable as an aim - was never fully realized as “the participation...that existed in the coffee houses, salons and the literary journals of 18th-century Europe was always restricted to a small group of educated men of means” and that, in reality, “the majority of poor and uneducated people, and almost all women, were excluded”¹⁹⁰ (Figure 14). These ideas will be tested in the analysis that follows.

There are, however, several points worth noting: firstly, what constitutes ‘the public’ in eighteenth century Britain does not necessarily correlate with the public in other European countries, let alone further afield. Indeed, the broad body of work on the differences between Enlightened thinking in Scotland and England, not to mention France, suggests

¹⁸⁹ Finlayson, James Gordon: *Habermas: A Very Short Introduction*, Oxford: OUP, 2005, p10-11.

¹⁹⁰ Finlayson, 2005, p12-13.

the likelihood of very different public spheres between and even within these national parameters.¹⁹¹ Secondly, eighteenth century conceptions of what constitutes the public sphere vary not only within their own time and space but they also frequently conflict with modern definitions. The term itself is thus highly fluid in nature and scope: Barker neatly underlines this point in her analysis of late eighteenth century newspapers, politics and public opinion, showing how contemporary definitions of ‘the public’ ranged from everyone “whose constitutional standing, education or wealth gave them a legitimate say in the nation’s affairs” to simply meaning “the mob”. In 1790, for example, Edmund Burke argued that the “British Publick” numbered 400,000, while the radical politician John Jebb excluded women entirely from his conception of the public, but included all adult males.¹⁹² Finally, although it is widely accepted that the power of the ‘public’ increased markedly in Britain throughout the eighteenth century, similarly the power of the British state to involve itself in the public sphere increased over the same period, for example, as it intervened in areas of life previously controlled by the Church, such as schooling and universities.¹⁹³ The complex interplay between ‘state’ and ‘public’ – while beyond the bounds of this current research - is a fascinating and fruitful area for deeper study.

For the purposes of this research, however, the definition of ‘the public’ can be taken broadly to include both women and men, regardless of their constitutional standing, wealth or education, while the ‘public sphere’ refers to the conceptual and situated space in which they are, more or less, free to engage.

¹⁹¹ Ogborne, Miles & Withers, Charles W.J.: *Georgian Geographies: essays on space, place and landscape in the eighteenth century*, (Manchester; Manchester University Press) 2004; Botein, Stephen, Censer, Jack R., & Ritvo, Harriet: ‘The Periodical Press in Eighteenth-Century English and French Society: A Cross-Cultural Approach’, *Comparative Studies of Society and History*, Vol. 23, No. 3, (Jul., 1981) p464-490

¹⁹² Barker, Hannah: *Newspapers, Politics, and Public Opinion in Late Eighteenth-Century England*, Oxford Scholarship Online: October 2011 (Print version, 1998), Introduction, accessed 19/04/2016.

¹⁹³ A good summary of the role of religion and the British state in the Enlightenment is given by Gascoigne, 2002.

The Eighteenth-Century Press

The contemporary press in the period under investigation offers a particularly rich and valuable resource for investigating mid-eighteenth century popular culture and thought¹⁹⁴ yet it is an area that has been neglected both in its day and by modern scholarship that has tended to focus on more ‘literary’ genres and modes of reading practice, such as the novel and poetry.¹⁹⁵ However, if one takes the spirit of Gascoigne’s contention that the Enlightenment “was a gregarious movement which needed to encourage the like-minded to gather together in institutions which both affirmed and promoted their way of thinking”¹⁹⁶, the press arguably formed one of the dominant institutions of the period, providing both information, culture and space for public debate which grew in self-confidence in the second half of the eighteenth century.¹⁹⁷

The social nature of the eighteenth-century press – and the informal sites of its consumption – are affirmed in Collins’s analysis of the reading public and, in particular, his study of the daily *Spectator* publication which ran from 1711 to 1712. In devising its unashamedly intelligent but populist format, *Spectator*’s co-founder Joseph Addison wrote that he was keen to be regarded as bringing “philosophy out of the closets, schools and colleges, to dwell in clubs and assemblies, at tea-tables, and in coffee-houses.”¹⁹⁸

Along with this deliberate attempt to relocate (and even subvert) the physical spaces where press publications were being consumed - and not forgetting other informal sites of consumption such as the street and the home - newspapers and magazines provided fluid, conceptual spaces where news was consumed, shared and debated. Certainly, Addison’s

¹⁹⁴ For a summary of the significance of the power of the 18th century press, see especially the introduction to Barker, 2011.

¹⁹⁵ Jackson, Ian, “Approaches to the History of Readers and Reading in Eighteenth-Century Britain”, *The Historical Journal*, Vol. 47, No 4 (Dec, 2004) pp.1041-1054, see in particular p.1051.

¹⁹⁶ Gascoigne, 2002: 3.

¹⁹⁷ Gascoigne, 2002: 4; Barker, 2011: Introduction; Collins, A.S. ‘The Growth of the Reading Public during the eighteenth century’, *The Review of English Studies*, Vol. 2, No 7 (Oct 1926), pp284-294, and continued in No 8, pp428-438.

¹⁹⁸ *Spectator*, No 10, cited in Collins, 1926: 285.

strategy appears to have worked: Collins records how by the time the *Spectator* had reached its tenth edition, Addison was writing, “My publisher tells me, that there are already three thousand of them distributed every day; so that if I allow twenty readers to every paper which I look upon as a modest computation, I may reckon about three-score thousand disciples in London and Westminster”. This claim is repeated in a 1729 legal case between newspaper proprietors and the owner of coffee-houses who claimed that one issue of a newspaper went through “no less than 20,000 hands in a day”.¹⁹⁹

In an era where social status was key to one’s sense of identity and ‘value’, readership of – and informed comment upon – particular publications (where favoured or disliked) also generated a feeling of membership within an engaged and powerful community.²⁰⁰ Furthermore, the information contained in newspapers and magazines gave their readers the materials and authority to take part in informed debate – a growing bedrock of eighteenth century polite society. True to Joseph Addison’s aim, for the middling sorts in particular, this opened up increasingly valuable spaces of inclusion, connectivity and influence for those less able to access the formal and elitist institutions such as universities or scientific societies that acted for their members as a “badge of social position”.²⁰¹

¹⁹⁹ Collins, 1926: 285-286

²⁰⁰ Barker, 2011: Introduction; for some interesting insights into ‘print communities’ and their cross-border connections, see also Jackson, 2004: 1053.

²⁰¹ Gascoigne, 2002: 9.

Through the popular press, therefore, the ideas influencing what Gascoigne calls the “thin elite” of British eighteenth century oligarchs could be shared, interrogated, contested, inculcated, re-formed and re-transmitted by the men and women of letters producing the periodicals, and their readers who had the potential to gain greater social status and influence, particularly if they could contribute their own ideas or first-hand experience and observations to the debates of the day. As Jackson so clearly demonstrates, “If we are to understand why many in the eighteenth century took the activity of reading so seriously, we must understand the power of the text in a social and cultural context.”²⁰²

England spawned its first newsbooks in the 1620s but strict censorship meant that there was a *de facto* Government monopoly on the news and the reporting of parliamentary affairs.²⁰³ The ultimate lapsing of the Licensing Act in 1695 ushered in a new era of press freedom without the need for pre-publication censorship.²⁰⁴ With this freedom to publish, Britain saw a rapid increase in the numbers of press titles available to the reading public, and in newspaper readership itself.²⁰⁵ Meanwhile, improvements in the postal and transport systems (for example, an increase in the number of turnpikes in the 1750s and 1770s) made it possible for those living in provincial towns and cities to consume London titles (along with local ones) on a regular and speedy basis, helping to create a widespread newspaper-reading public with a thirst for politics, science and the arts.²⁰⁶

Heyd’s fascinating work on what he calls the “News craze” of the eighteenth century underscores the close connection between newspapers and contemporary culture – at least for the ‘middling sorts’. His study of the theatrical portrayal of “*Quidnuncs*” - men and women obsessed with the (reported) news to the detriment of their (real) lives, families and

²⁰² Jackson, 2004: 1054.

²⁰³ For a full history, see Black, Jeremy: *The English Press, 1621-1861*, (Stroud, Glos; Sutton) 2001.

²⁰⁴ Heyd, 2015: 59-84

²⁰⁵ Barker, 2011: introduction; Collins, 1926: 287.

²⁰⁶ Suarez, Michael: *Singular Multiples: Comprehending the General Evening Post (1754-1786)*, 2015 Lyell Lectures 18/2015, University of Oxford BODcast, <https://podcasts.ox.ac.uk/singular-multiples-comprehending-general-evening-post-1754-86> downloaded 9/12/2016.

businesses - illuminates a culture within which newspapers were impacting in new and dramatic ways. According to Heyd's analysis, the mid eighteenth century was "a time of significant shifts in the interplay between news, politics, and the public...a period of pronounced anxiety over a war fought on a global scale with far-reaching consequences for empire and identity, a time when the meaning and significance of news was thrown into sharp relief...[It] also came upon the cusp of wide-ranging cultural changes, with new entertainment, pastimes, and formats (and content) of newspapers playing centre stage"²⁰⁷ over the next two decades.

Heyd uses the depiction of a *Quidnunc* culture as a test case for a Habermasian conception of a public sphere. He examines how historians have used the autoethnographical media of theatre and the press, framing them as crucial components *per se* in the creation of a public sphere. However, despite the use of newspapers and magazines in the coffee shop and street - sites included in Habermas's public sphere - he ultimately finds Habermas's conception to be of limited use as newspapers were also frequently consumed in private, domestic settings – sites excluded from Habermas's model yet where the newspaper formed the basis of conversation between family members, friends and acquaintances. Similarly, Barker's analysis of newspapers, politics and public opinion in late eighteenth century England militates against a wholesale adoption of Habermas's theories on the basis that the British experience does not reflect or represent a generalised European experience. Merely by contrasting the very different experiences of the eighteenth century press in Britain and France, she argues, puts the whole concept of a single, pan-European model of a public sphere on shaky ground.²⁰⁸

While the primary focus of the data and analysis that follows is to explore the production of geographical knowledge about the Continent, and not to perform a detailed interrogation

²⁰⁷ Heyd, 2015: 59.

²⁰⁸ Barker, 2011: introduction.

of Habermasian theory, the nature and function of the eighteenth century public sphere will inform an inherent part of the discussion and conclusions that follow.

Literacy

Any discussion of periodicals and publications requires a fundamental understanding of literacy and, more importantly, *who* it was who was doing the reading. Gross literacy rates among the eighteenth-century poor were typically calculated by examining evidence in parish registers, assessing whether names were marked with a signature or a cross. This showed average eighteenth century male literacy at around 50-60%²⁰⁹ with a marked increase during the Enlightenment, a conclusion borne out by recent detailed work on literacy, school and informal modes of education in the public sphere.²¹⁰

However, in his examination of literacy in the eighteenth century, Neuburg contends that, even in terms of these gross figures, the use of parish registers to determine literacy rates among the poor leads us “seriously astray”.²¹¹ He argues instead for a re-examination of the very concept of literacy in the light of his researches into the way boys and girls were taught in the eighteenth-century education. Underscoring the important historical distinction between “reading” and “writing”, Neuburg asserts that “an examination of the writings of those who contributed to the theory of eighteenth century popular education leaves one in no doubt at all that the teaching of reading was regarded as very much more important than that of writing, and that some skill in the former was very much more widely mastered.”²¹²

²⁰⁹ Botein *et al*, 1981: 475.

²¹⁰ Melton, 2001:1-16; 81-85; 92-103.

²¹¹ Neuburg, Victor E. “Literacy in Eighteenth Century England: a caveat” in *Local Population Studies Magazine & Newsletter*, No 2, Spring, 1969, pp 44-46; see also Victor E. Neuburg: *Popular education in eighteenth century England* (London; Woburn Press), 1971.

²¹² Neuburg, 1969:44

Certainly, the majority of work on reading practices strongly suggests that literacy was “exploding” along with demand for books and periodicals in the mid eighteenth century – something Suarez also links to the increasing urbanisation of the period, for example, the number of newspapers sent through the post rose from one million in the early 1760s to two and a half million a decade later.²¹³ However, more interesting, perhaps, than crude numbers are the more nuanced ways in which this increasingly literate public was ‘doing’ its reading. From the traditional bookshop to the contested conversations of the coffee house, to the newly established lending libraries and formal and informal book clubs and reading circles – not to mention the growing array of reading materials from the novel to the specialist magazine - the public was finding innovative ways to engage in reading the burgeoning quantity of material available.²¹⁴

Along with the rise in visual and cartographic literacy throughout the eighteenth century, documented by Pedley²¹⁵, a little explored but, in this context, particularly interesting area for research is the oral culture associated with the press. Increased availability of periodicals combined with a growing culture of discussion and debate support the generally held view that the eighteenth century was marked by increasing penetration of the press into everyday life across social groups. This has fascinating implications for the circulation of knowledge into and among groups not traditionally included in the so-called literate population with the effect that – while they might not be confident or competent readers *per se* – many would have been *intellectually* literate, having both the knowledge and interest to discuss and debate the news stories and ideas of the day, often having the newspapers read to them directly, or reported upon by others in their social circle. Although the practicalities of conducting research into oral cultures are a challenge beyond this present research, it is important to be mindful of the transmission and reproduction of themes and ideas off the page and out of the more rarified atmosphere of the coffee houses and into the streets, pubs, churches and gathering places that made up the day to day

²¹³ Suarez, 2015 (BODcast)

²¹⁴ See, for example, Collins’s fascinating account of the rise of the lending library in Collins, 1926:292-293

²¹⁵ Pedley, Mary: *Mapping in the European Enlightenment*, keynote lecture, TOSCA ‘Enlightening Maps’ Conference, Oxford, 22/9/2017

experiences of ordinary folk for whom a formal or traditional education was impossible. Under these circumstances, although unexplored in any extant research, ideas and discussion about the Great Southern Continent and what lay to the south are most likely to have extended far beyond what is traditionally regarded as the ‘literate’ public.

British Periodicals under consideration

Modern scholarship acknowledges the rapid rise in publishing of all sorts in the eighteenth century in general, and the latter half in particular. In his assessment of the “enormous increase in the volume of printed matter during the second half of the eighteenth century”, Donoghue cites data on the rise in printing presses in London – from 65 in 1668 to 625 in 1818; likewise, he explores existing research pointing to a rise of 114% in the number of books printed in London, up from 7,605 in the period 1741-1750 to 16,243 printed in the final decade 1791-1800.²¹⁶ This phenomenal *and sustained* increase in the supply side of print economics could not happen in isolation: it would necessarily have been matched by a commensurate increase in demand, adding weight to the contention that reading in general was on the increase in the seventeen year period under current analysis.

By the mid eighteenth century, periodicals had become a significant, growing, and arguably a dominant sector of the literary world²¹⁷. Leaving magazines to one side, in 1745 there were over 30 different periodicals published in London. Within ten years, that number had passed 50, and by 1765 had exceeded 75, making periodicals “a central

²¹⁶ Donoghue, Frank: *The Fame Machine: Book Reviewing and Eighteenth-century Literary Careers*, (Stanford; Stanford University Press), 1996, p22

²¹⁷ For example, see Reitan’s comment referring specifically to *The Gentleman’s Magazine*: “With its extensive circulation, the magazine exercised an enormous influence on the gentleman and ladies of Georgian England, and it both led and responded to the expanding horizons of a nation facing its imperial destiny”. Reitan, 1985:59

cultural presence”²¹⁸ and therefore of keen interest to modern scholarship exploring the culture, ideas and knowledge in public sphere in the late eighteenth century.

The popularity and contemporary significance of periodicals was in part down to their physical structure and organisation: at their broadest extent, they could combine local, national and international news and events (including births/death/marriages/notices), along with matters of natural philosophy and science, not to mention the feuilleton of reviews, poetry and fiction. Individual issues, published on a periodic, often monthly, basis made the material more affordable to access and easier to share than other print forms such as books - and they therefore reached a broader and more varied audience; they could also leave behind their ephemeral form and be bound together after a period of time (often a year) creating a “new” literary form as a compendium of information, worthy of a place in any respectable lady or gentleman’s library. Periodicals could, therefore, have longer and more varied lives than many other textual forms available to those curious about the world, and thus had the opportunity to engage with large numbers and types of readers in each of their different formats, and in many varied sites ranging from the public sphere’s coffee house, salon and street to the relative ‘privacy’ of the home (Figure 15).

The research that follows focuses on such literary forms – in this case, *The Gentleman’s Magazine* (Chapter 4) and a broad range of contemporary daily, tri-weekly and weekly newspapers (Chapter 5) that will be contextualized in turn below.

²¹⁸ Donoghue, 1996:2.



Figure 14. 'Coffeehouse Politicians': Depiction of the 'News Craze' in a London Coffee House (1772).

The unprecedented rise of newspapers in society was a major factor shaping the nature of the eighteenth century. Both read privately and aloud to others in coffee houses, salons, streets and homes, newspapers formed an increasingly influential component of eighteenth century life, politics and knowledge about the world.

***The Gentleman's Magazine* in the Eighteenth Century**

The popularity of *The Gentleman's Magazine and Historical Chronicle* is underlined by its sales figures: just a decade after its launch in 1731, it was issuing 3,500 copies each month, in contrast with yearly sales of 6,500 for Henry Fielding's 1742 *Joseph Andrews*, one of the most successful novels of the day.²¹⁹ Specific domestic or global crises could send demand even higher: for example, the Jacobite Uprising of 1745 triggered a sharp increase in sales, with the editor alleging in 1746 that he was having to print an extra 3,000 copies per month to cope with demand.²²⁰

The analysis in Chapter 4 focuses on *The Gentleman's Magazine* as the leading English magazine in the period under study (1760-1777) in terms of its circulation and geographical reach. As such, it is the periodical best placed to reflect the interests and concerns of its readers and British contemporary society at large²²¹ being described as "unique among eighteenth century periodicals"²²² and as being "without question the most distinguished and influential periodical publication in English in the Eighteenth Century".²²³

The Gentleman's Magazine is also interesting as an experimental literary form in its own right, providing valuable insight into the culture and ideas circulating in Britain and especially London during that period.²²⁴ It was the first general interest magazine in the modern sense of the word, and its creator Edward Cave (1691-1754) - a journeyman

²¹⁹ Donoghue, 1996:2-3.

²²⁰ *The Gentleman's Magazine*, 16, (Preface), 1746 cited in Reitan, 1985:56.

²²¹ Donoghue, 1996:21.

²²² Reitan, 1985:54.

²²³ Greene, Donald: 'Samuel Johnson, Journalist', *Newsletters to Newspapers: Eighteenth-Century Journalism*, ed. Donovan H Bond and W Reynolds McLeod (1977) p.89, cited in Reitan, E.A., 1985:54

²²⁴ See Bond, Donald's review of Carlson, C. Lennit's *The First Magazine. A history of The Gentleman's Magazine...* published as 'Review: *The Gentleman's Magazine*', *Modern Philology*, vol. 38, No. 1 (Aug., 1940), pp85-100, esp. p88.

printer, editor and publisher and the son of a Rugby cobbler - was the first to coin the term ‘magazine’ which hitherto had generally referred in English to a physical storehouse but was used in this instance to denote a broad collection of textual and illustrative materials. It is pertinent that Cave failed in his attempt to find backers within the print industry who shared his radical and innovative vision so had to resort to publishing it himself: his aim, to create “an encyclopedia of current affairs and contemporary opinion” to be sold unbound for subsequent compilation and binding into an annual reference work.²²⁵ His model was to produce a manageable, monthly digest of news and wide-ranging commentary on everything from events in parliament, the law courts, shipping and trade to the society, science, books and the arts – one that could be bound into an annual compilation, as discussed above (see Figure 15). This mode of publishing enabled readers of the magazine to sample articles from the full range of current periodicals (around 200 in the case of *The Gentleman’s Magazine*) in one modestly priced (around sixpence), monthly periodical.²²⁶ The digest-format was a particularly valuable offering in an era of an almost overwhelming influx of new information about an expanding world, an ever-expanding array of titles, burgeoning press influence, and rapidly evolving geopolitics and domestic culture.

Heyd links the rise in readership of newspapers to the rise in curiosity about the world – a theme developed in Chapter 2 and by Reitan’s careful study of maps in *The Gentleman’s Magazine* to 1754. Reitan situates the periodical in a time of cultural and epistemological flux where “the horizons of Englishmen were also being widened by philosophic and scientific influences...The discovery of new lands and peoples encouraged new ways of thinking about human and social problems...[while] [g]rowing interest in the outside world stimulated mapmaking, as printers, engravers, and booksellers sought to meet the demand of an expanding reading public for geographical information”.²²⁷

²²⁵ Butler, Marilyn: ‘Culture’s medium: the role of the review’, *The Cambridge Companion to British Romanticism*, Stuart Curran (Ed), Cambridge University Press, 2010. Accessed online, 20/04/16; Collins, 1926:288.

²²⁶ Reitan, 1985:54; Collins, 1926:289.

²²⁷ Reitan, 1985:54.

Although Cave wrote much of the content himself, he grew to rely upon a small stable of writers producing original content as well as reported news from other publications, along with letters, poems and articles from members of the public. The economies of scale guaranteed by the large monthly print run also enabled Cave to include significant numbers of high-quality (and some lower quality but timely and elucidating) engraved maps and illustrations which further added to the magazine's public appeal and were a source of pride trumpeted within the magazine itself. While *The Gentleman's Magazine* was not the only periodical to include high quality, engraved maps within its pages, it had the advantages of being widely available and it could be bought at a cost which Reitan argues almost any literate person could afford.²²⁸

Cave developed a broad-ranging distribution system for his magazine but his entrepreneurialism was demonstrated in more than his logistical and business acumen; as well as using other leading writers of the day, he also recognised the talents of a young Samuel Johnson and gave him his first regular employment as a writer. As its reputation grew, Cave's experiment in publishing made him extremely wealthy yet, despite this, he remained actively involved in all areas of the magazine for the rest of his life, often contributing directly to it under his pseudonym, Sylvanus Urban (a name deliberately corrupted from the Latin to appeal to both town and country readers, and one used long after his death by subsequent editors).

His magazine demonstrates a strong sense of place and identity with its iconic front page traditionally illustrated with an engraving of his home-cum-office at St John's Gate, Clerkenwell (see Figure 16) - a location conveniently situated amidst printers, engravers and a range of skilled craftspeople. As Reitan demonstrates, its location was critical with Cave using the artisans around him on the magazine, growing local talent such as the

²²⁸ Reitan, 1985:54.

renowned engraver Thomas Jefferys of nearby Red Lyon Street, whose reputation and career as a cartographer Cave helped to establish.



Figure 15. *The Gentleman's Magazine*, individual editions to be bound into an annual compilation (1757).

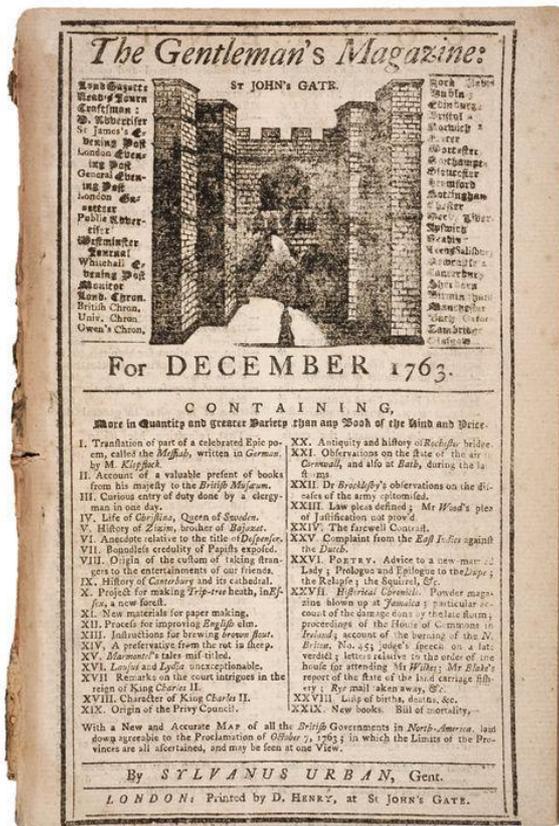


Figure 16. *The Gentleman's Magazine* (December 1763) front cover detail featuring the iconic view of “St John’s Gate” where Cave located his office and home.

Cave was already proficient in map publishing before he started the magazine and he included his first woodcut map in 1739, ambitiously following it that same year with a fold-out engraving that became a frequent feature of the magazine. He appears to have soon established a pattern of using woodcuts to accompany fast-moving news, supplemented by the more elegant, time-consuming and expensive engraved maps and illustrations as more formal show-pieces. Reitan attributes the expansion in Cave's use of maps to a key moment in the magazine's coverage of the War of Jenkins' Ear (1739-48) – the war against Spain in the Caribbean - after which “the regular use of maps became an important feature” of the magazine, one that – along with the relevant articles – consciously helped to educate the reading public to be more aware of the geography of the world until, by 1740 and coverage of the War of Austrian Succession, maps had become an essential and integral part of the audience's expectations and requirements for reading and understanding.²²⁹ Although not highlighted in his study, Reitan's analysis also suggests a concomitant increase in visual and cartographic literacy over this period – sustained and supported by the increasing penetration and use of maps in the public sphere. His description of the “considerable dismay in Britain and America” over the handing back of the French fort at Louisbourg, Nova Scotia, raises the question of how far publication of maps of distant lands in organs such as *The Gentleman's Magazine* made these previously surreal places more concrete (and perhaps desirable) in the public's geographical imagination, contributing to a heightened claim to territoriality along with a sense of place and possession. This has, by extension, interesting implications for any consideration of textual and cartographic coverage of the Great Southern Continent, by mere dint of the fact that it was a topic considered by the editors to be of interest to the public and therefore regularly included in the magazine's content in the form of letters, articles, engravings and maps. It could certainly be argued that by locating the arguments surrounding its existence centre stage, the magazine helped to support and sustain public interest and curiosity into what was ‘down there’ in the far south.

²²⁹ Reitan, 1985:55.

As well as his innovation in providing a broad-based digest of content and an embedded use of maps, Cave demonstrated his professional and intellectual entrepreneurialism in other ways. He consciously developed and pursued a strong sense of community among his audience (in both Britain and Europe and latterly also in America) by matching their desire for a broad and fluid range of reporting with a blurring of the traditional boundaries between author, reviewer and the reader that was quite uncharacteristic of many of the magazine's rivals.²³⁰ Readers were encouraged to stop being passive recipients of the magazine's 'knowledge' and enter directly into the journalistic world, becoming active contributors by writing poems, features and letters - addressed to "Mr Urban" - which were frequently located in print on the page. Cave also engaged and maintained his audience by running themes of specific interest over successive months and also through "contests", for example in poetry.²³¹ As well as being a smart business move - encouraging customers to invest themselves in his publication - this blurring of boundaries between teacher and student, producer and consumer, raises fascinating questions about the production and reproduction of knowledge *per se* and geographical knowledge of the far south in particular - questions that will be explored in the analysis that follows.

When Cave died in 1754, his son Richard Cave took over, assisted by David Henry (1709-1792) who by the 1760s became the sole publisher/editor of the magazine. Henry - a friend of Benjamin Franklin with a keen interest in geography, science, exploration and the politics of the New World - continued to grow the magazine in both scope, length and readership, pursuing the tradition of using a stable of highly-regarded contemporary writers including James Boswell who wrote for the magazine in the 1760s and 1770s, John Hawkesworth - chief literary critic until his death in 1773, and his successor The Rev. John Duncombe.²³² However, under Henry's leadership (and that of his successor, John Nichols), the magazine became "overwhelmingly devoted to original submissions from a growing readership, submissions that flowed in by the thousands from chiefly anonymous

²³⁰ Donoghue, 1996:39-40.

²³¹ Bond, 1940:89.

²³² For an in-depth study on *The Gentleman's Magazine* and its writers, see de Montluzin, Emily Lorraine: *Attributions of Authorship in the Gentleman's Magazine 1731-1868: An Electronic Union List*, accessed online via <http://bsuva.org/bsuva/gm2/GMintro.html>

or pseudonymous contributors, avid to see their offerings in print” including offerings by women readers.²³³

With the printed page operating as a new and growing public space, new social and professional practices had to be worked out that were acceptable to polite society. Grub Street’s unseemly reputation for hackery and inaccuracy meant that the fashionable culture of anonymity among writers – something de Montluzin describes as “literary camouflage” - appealed both to employees and reader-contributors, alike. For many of the magazine’s more erudite reader-contributors, choosing a pseudonym became almost a game in itself, and an opportunity to display their command of Latin and the classics with anagrams, corruptions and puns. Even the regular, paid journalists would play along (for example, in a November 1764 letter he sent to the editor, John Hawkesworth styles himself “J.H.”, while the reviewer John Duncombe who worked on the magazine for twenty years until his death in 1786 would sign himself “CRITO”) sometimes using a range of different pseudonyms allowing them the sport of corresponding with themselves in print.²³⁴

Although entertaining for the authors and their readers, who could indulge in guessing games, for modern researchers this has the unfortunate effect of adding unwelcome opacity to the journalism, with concomitant issues about hiding an author’s motive and agenda. In terms of the analysis in Chapters 4 and 5, anonymity of authorship is a strong assertion of the control of knowledge – one of the key themes of the research that follows, allowing intellectual freedom in an era of considerable social strictures. Sterling efforts by scholars such as de Montluzin and others to identify the true authors have had a moderate degree of success but many articles and letters have yet to be attributed, and without records being kept by the editor, in most cases this is unlikely ever to be resolved.

Notwithstanding the mysteries over who penned some of its journalism, *The Gentleman’s Magazine* continued to dominate the journalistic scene long after Cave’s death in 1754, and Henry’s death in 1792, remaining in print until 1922. When it finally

²³³ de Montluzin, *ibid.* <http://bsuva.org/bsuva/gm2/GMintro.html>

²³⁴ de Montluzin, *ibid.* <http://bsuva.org/bsuva/gm2/GMintro.html>

ceased production, it left behind an archive of almost boundless interest as an invaluable (and occasionally enigmatic) historical and cultural resource - one that had helped to transform the knowledge and understanding of the men and women of Georgian England and beyond.

Newspapers in the Eighteenth Century

The research that follows in Chapter 5 samples the full range of newspapers in the Burney Collection with twenty-four titles in active use in the archive; of these, five stand out for providing the majority of materials used in the analysis: *London Evening Post*, *Public Advertiser*, *General Evening Post*, *London Chronicle*, and *Morning Chronicle*.

The *London Evening Post* (1727-1806) was a pro-Tory²³⁵, tri-weekly London-based - but nationally distributed - newspaper and one of the most successful periodicals of the eighteenth century.²³⁶ Its probable founder/editor and printer was Richard Nutt, whose parents had both been in the printing and publishing trade and bequeathed him stakes in several publishing ventures.²³⁷ The “extravagantly Tory” Nutt and his newspapers took an oppositional stance to the government:²³⁸ the *London Evening Post* became famous for its violent attacks to the point that its distributor, the Post Office, periodically banned it while the Walpole administration launched actions against it for seditious libel; Nutt himself was found guilty, fined and given a two-year prison sentence.

²³⁵ Suarez, Michael F, Woudhuysen SJ & HR, (eds): *Oxford Companion to the Book*, (Oxford: Oxford University Press) 2010.

²³⁶ Harris, Michael: ‘Nutt, Richard (1693/4?–1780)’, *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press, 2004; online edn, Jan 2008 [<http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/73737>, accessed 10 Dec 2016]

²³⁷ Harris, 2008.

²³⁸ Black, Jeremy: *The English Press in the Eighteenth Century*, (London, New York; Routledge Revivals), 2010, p212

After Nutt's retirement, the newspaper continued to dominate the British periodical landscape, deliberately keeping its price lower than its rivals' two pence ha'penny. It took against the war in America, with articles by the political writer and agitator John Almon "gleefully expos[ing] the chicanery and misinformation of government writers".²³⁹ By the early 1780s, however, the *Post* would be one of around five newspapers paid £100 by the (new Tory) Government's Secret Service²⁴⁰, underlining its perception of the press's power and influence in the public sphere.

Of all the periodicals represented in the archive, the *Public Advertiser* (1752-1794) dominates coverage of the putative and emerging South. Originally called the *London Daily Post and General Advertiser*, it changed both its name and sole focus on advertisements under control of the printer, Henry Woodfall, increasing its content to cover more news and, later, politics. One of the more successful papers of the eighteenth century, it was passed in 1758 to his son, Henry Samson Woodfall, who owned, edited and printed until 1793, two years before its demise. On 19th March, 1763, the paper argued that - beyond a "bare Recital of Facts"- a newspaper should "include every Thing which may engage the Attention of the Reader". The strategy worked: by the 1760s, it was exceeding 3,000 copies per issue, close to market leaders like the *Gazeteer* with its circulation of over 5,000 copies.²⁴¹ Circulation figures grew further when the *Public Advertiser* started carrying the letters of the infamous anonymous polemicist, *Junius* (1769-1772) – letters that brought Woodfall and five others charges of seditious libel, along with increased sales.

While never politically 'neutral', H.S. Samson's method for 'impartiality' was to publish highly partisan articles on both sides of the political debate – perhaps to save alienating whichever administration was in power given that the Woodfall family were all financially dependent on their professional income.²⁴² However, the paper was increasingly seen as

²³⁹ Wilson, Kathleen: 'Almon, John', *Encyclopedia of the Enlightenment*, Kors, Alan Charles (ed), (Oxford: Oxford University Press), 2005. Accessed online 10/12/2016

²⁴⁰ Barker, 1998:57

²⁴¹ Botein *et al*, 1981: 471

²⁴² Barker, 1998:65

lacking independence – although Barker²⁴³ cautions that the accusations of political bribery were frequently as much to do with rivals deliberately attempting to impugn a competitor's credibility than any reality of corruption.

The *General Evening Post* (1735-1822)²⁴⁴ was another successful tri-weekly metropolitan paper of the eighteenth century before its absorption by the newer, anti-ministerial James's Chronicle (1761-1866) in 1822. Typical of the close dynastic ties between publishing families and newspapers of the eighteenth century, it was printed/published by Edward Say (d.1769) then his son, Charles - of the eponymous *The Craftsman or Say's Weekly Journal* and the *Gazette* – though the relationship between Charles and the paper's partners was fraught with tension, not least when it was discovered in 1777 that Say was printing his own pirate version of the *General Evening Post*. Run by a group of partners, the official paper appears to have been under the editorial control of Edward Bentley - of the acclaimed Bentley family of printer/publishers of Paternoster Row - along with his brother in law John Nichols who also published *The Gentleman's Magazine*. As an evening paper, it was rushed into print with the very latest news in the late afternoon for the London market, before its rapid evening and overnight distribution by the Post Office to the provinces where it would be an active competitor to local provincial titles. Its own competitors in metropolitan evening journalism included *The Whitehall Evening Post*, *The London Evening Post*, *The London Chronicle* and *Lloyds Evening Post* – although they tended to appear on different days of the week to lessen the competition for readers.²⁴⁵

Printed three times a week on a Tuesday, Thursday and Saturday²⁴⁶, its focus was on news, letters and short essays rather than advertisements; it also included contributions from the dissenting theologian Samuel Badcock, closely allied to the Wesley family of non-

²⁴³ Barker, 1998:46-47

²⁴⁴ Information from Jarndyce Antiquarian Booksellers' listing of newspaper
http://www.jarndyce.co.uk/stock_detail.php?stockid=46279

²⁴⁵ Morrison, Stanley: *The English Newspaper 1622-1932*, (Cambridge, Cambridge University Press), p137.

²⁴⁶ Suarez, 2015: BODcast

conformists²⁴⁷ and, despite frequent attempts by politicians to ‘buy’ influence on the page, the minute books of *General Evening Post* show the Board at least officially tried to keep its independence.²⁴⁸

In terms of its readers, its print run of 5,000 in no way reflects its true audience: Suarez asserts it would have been read – often aloud – to up to twenty people per single copy, acting as a “conduit to the world of print culture” for the literate *and* non-literate as they attended to the day’s news, not just in London but as far afield as Scotland via the growing network of turnpike roads and postal deliveries.²⁴⁹

In competition was another tri-weekly ‘family’ newspaper, the *London Chronicle: or, Universal Evening Post*, the favourite periodical of Samuel Johnson. Launched in 1757, this covered literary, artistic and theatrical news, reviews and letters along with national and international news: on 15-17 August 1776, it became the first newspaper in Europe to publish the United States Declaration of Independence, although it did so without comment.²⁵⁰

A leading periodical of the day, it was founded by provincial newspaper proprietor and publisher, Benjamin Collins, (1715-1785). Collins learned his trade under his publisher brother William at the *Salisbury Journal*, building up a substantial business empire from humble origins, printing numerous books and owning a twelfth share of *The Gentleman’s Magazine*.²⁵¹ His social trajectory was typical amongst British newspaper publishers and

²⁴⁷ Courtney, William Prideaux: ‘Badcock, Samuel’, *Dictionary of National Biography*, (London; Smith, Elder & Co), 1885-1900. Accessed online [https://en.wikisource.org/wiki/Badcock,_Samuel_\(DNB00\)](https://en.wikisource.org/wiki/Badcock,_Samuel_(DNB00))

²⁴⁸ Suarez, 2015: BODcast

²⁴⁹ Suarez, 2015: BODcast

²⁵⁰ Armitage, David: *The Declaration of Independence: A global history*, (Boston; Harvard University Press) 2007, p70.

²⁵¹ Ferdinand, C.Y. ‘Collins, Benjamin (1715-1785)’, *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press, 2004, online edn, Oct 2009 [<http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/59343> accessed 9/12/2016].

one that seems to have altered the development of the English periodical style towards a more socially diverse and representative customer base.²⁵² Also typical, it appears, was his involvement in another pirated periodical – this time, a Scottish-printed copy of *The Spectator* - for which he ended up in court. On his death, he reportedly left a substantial fortune of £100,000 and “a number of enemies”.²⁵³

The Morning Chronicle was founded around 1770 and from 1774 was edited by William Woodfall (1745-1803), the parliamentary reporter, occasional actor and dramatic critic - and younger brother of Henry Samson Woodfall of *Public Advertiser* fame. The paper – based on the style of *The St James's Chronicle*²⁵⁴ - was first published under the name *The Morning Chronicle, and London Advertiser* though this was shortened in 1789 when Woodfall stood down.

After a stint editing *The London Packet* from 1772-1774, Woodfall worked as publisher, editor and reporter for the *Morning Chronicle*, earning a reputation for his phenomenal memory and detailed political reporting that helped to generate public interest in the field.²⁵⁵ His efforts ensured that the paper became “London’s leading political journal”²⁵⁶ yet despite efforts to stay politically neutral, Woodfall was several times sued for libel and even received a 12-month prison sentence.

Much of the politics in newspapers like the *Morning Chronicle* came in the form of letters from readers, a feature which came to characterise the paper. While more partisan newspaper editors would tend to publish letters supporting their own political agenda, the *Chronicle* under Woodfall self-consciously tried to reflect both sides of the political divide,

²⁵² Botein *et al*, 1981:474-475.

²⁵³ Ferdinand, 2009.

²⁵⁴ Morrison, 2009:150.

²⁵⁵ Barker, Hannah: ‘Woodfall, William (*bap.* 1745, *d.* 1803)’, *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press, 2004; online edn, Jan 2008
[<http://www.oxforddnb.com.ezproxy.lib.gla.ac.uk/view/article/29914>, accessed 11 Dec 2016]

²⁵⁶ Morrison, 2009:167

successfully appearing politically balanced or – as Barker asserts – less unbalanced than many of its rivals.²⁵⁷

This integration of both the wider public and politics in newspapers like the *Morning Chronicle* helped to establish a broader interest in parliamentary affairs, along with their intersection with national and international current affairs in general. As Botein, Censer and Ritvo reflect, unlike their French equivalents, this enabled British newspapers to function “as an agent of cultural transformation” - particularly among the entrepreneurial, commercial-minded middling sorts who increasingly bought and read periodicals in the eighteenth century.²⁵⁸ This trend would become visible in newspaper coverage of the Great Southern Continent in the archive now under review.

Review of Research Aims

Before detailing the research methodologies used to analyse the data in Chapters 4 and 5, it is worth pausing to review the research aims and objectives that structure the work that follows. Chapters 1 and 2 have laid out the landscape of current research into the Great Southern Continent and identified the gaps in scholarship – gaps this current work aims to address. The first part of this chapter has also laid out the conceptual framework that has shaped the direction, nature and methods of the work that follows in order to deal with the requirements of working in a multidisciplinary field. Together, these have led to the aims of the current research: firstly, to examine critically the ways in which the fantastic landscape of the Great Southern Continent was variously imagined, represented and understood in the popular press in Britain from 1760-1777; secondly, to analyse the role of the British press in the (re)production of knowledge about the putative Continent, and in the construction of a popular geographical imaginary for the far South; and, thirdly, to

²⁵⁷ Barker, 1998:44.

²⁵⁸ Botein *et al*, 1981:464-490.

assess why the Continental myth was so enduringly powerful – up to the point of its demolition - and the wider reasons for its ultimate demise following Cook's non-discovery.

To achieve these aims, the research has been designed and carried out with the following objectives: firstly, to construct and interrogate an archive of popular newspapers, magazines other periodicals (along with their map and graphic correlates) from 1760-1777 to track how the Great Southern Continent was variously represented and understood by differing parties within the public sphere; secondly, to conduct a detailed investigation of the mechanisms of knowledge (re)production about the putative nature of the South by - and within - the press. This will be achieved through statistical, literary and cartographic analysis of the archive, using six cross-cutting themes to track the changing nature and power of knowledge about the Continent over the timeframe; and, thirdly, to identify, map and analyse the complex and dynamic relationship between the Continent and wider society through the prism of the eighteenth century press over the final seventeen years of the Continent's 'life', 'death' and 're-birth' as the Antarctic in the popular imagination.

These aims and objectives have been tested against the contextual and conceptual backgrounds explored above, and provide the backbone for the methodology that follows.

Research Methodology: The Burney Collection

The primary material for the following analysis is taken from the so-called 'Burney Collection' of seventeenth and eighteenth century newspapers and news pamphlets, held by the British Library. The Collection comprises 1271 titles gathered by the Rev. Charles Burney (1757-1817) from 1781 when he started collecting papers from a coffee house, Greigg's, managed by his aunts.²⁵⁹ The newspapers were largely published in London but

²⁵⁹ Troide, Lars: 'Burney, Charles (1757–1817)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press, 2004; online edn, Jan 2008
[<http://www.oxforddnb.com.ezproxy.lib.gla.ac.uk/view/article/4079>, accessed 31 May 2016]

with some English provincial, Scottish and Irish papers, along with some limited examples from the American colonies.²⁶⁰

The Burney archive was selected for its almost unparalleled breadth and depth comprising close to a million pages, and for its focus on the eighteenth century; it is also selected due to the interests and personal connections of Burney who followed in his father's footsteps to be elected a Fellow of the Royal Society (from 1802) under its President Sir Joseph Banks. Charles senior (1726-1814) was a close friend of many leading figures of the day, including Edmund Burke (1729-1797), David Garrick (1717-1779), James Boswell (1740-1795) and Samuel Johnson (1709-1784), while Charles junior's brother James Burney (1750-1821) was intimately involved with the search for the Continent having sailed with Cook on his second and third voyages (Charles senior having made the introduction). It is also noteworthy that Charles Burney's sister was the famous novelist, diarist and social commentator Fanny Burney (1752-1840), while his half-sister was the novelist Sarah Burney (1772-1844), locating the Burney family firmly within contemporary eighteenth century literati and cognoscenti – and at the heart of intellectual debate and practical experience regarding the developing geography of the world.

Logistically, the archive was also selected for its dual platform, being both a physical archive (with some volumes on the open shelves), and also available in microfilm and digital formats. This enabled research both on-site and online using the key-word searches that became a critical part of the methodology and analysis.

For the purposes of Chapter 4, specific attention was focused on the Burney Collection's archive of *The Gentleman's Magazine* as the most read contemporary periodical of its kind in Britain. By taking one periodical over almost two decades (from 1st January, 1760 – 31st December, 1777), changes in textual tone, style and coverage could be monitored

²⁶⁰ See British Library information sheet 'Help for Researchers' on the Burney Collection, available from the Library or online at <http://www.bl.uk/reshelp/findhelprestype/news/newspdigproj/burney/>

longitudinally as an analogue for changes in the mood and themes of contemporary culture. This strategy contrasts with the broader range of daily, weekly and tri-weekly periodicals from the Burney Collection analysed in Chapter 5, the purpose of which was to record and analyse the diversity of voice and public opinion evident at any one moment in time. By combining the two data sets, the aim is to gain a detailed understanding of how contemporary culture changes (or not) in its knowledge and attitudes towards the existence and meaning of the Great Southern Continent, while also monitoring its relevance in eighteenth century society.

Relevant information on mid-eighteenth century literacy and reading cultures - and in particular, the rise of the London, provincial and British press has been laid out in the contextual background above. While it is beyond the scope of this present enquiry to explore in detail the particular characteristics of readers/consumers of contemporary periodicals, the existing published and peer-reviewed literature detailed above has been interrogated for contextual data on the nature and extent of the popular press, literacy and reading habits of consumers of newspapers and magazines in the eighteenth century to gain an understanding of who was reading what, how, and where the frequently dynamic acts of reading and discussion were taking place.

Research Methodology: Chapter 4.

To answer the aims and objectives laid out in Chapter 1 and above, and in conjunction with the Conceptual and Contextual Backgrounds explored earlier, four types of primary analysis were undertaken with a view to interrogating contemporary public knowledge of, and ideas about, the Southern Continent in the period 1760-1777:

Firstly, a general purview was made of the physical archive of the collected volumes of *The Gentleman's Magazine* to gain an understanding of the content, format, range of materials and page layout, illustrations and physical and metaphorical weight and “feel” of the individual periodical and also the bound volume for the intended reader.

Secondly, and this time using the digital archive, a more focused and specific key word/phrase search was made for items within the date range featuring one or more of the key words and phrases in use during the period in that relate to the Great Southern Continent and ideas about the nature of the far south²⁶¹. These were collated in date order to form a south-specific archive that formed the basis for the detailed seventeen-year longitudinal analysis.

Thirdly, a close reading/analysis using the six themes outlined below was conducted for all the resulting textual items (articles, listings, reviews and letters) to identify not only factual and assumed geographical knowledge about the fabled Continent but how that knowledge was - and continued to be - constructed. Other cultural messages and meanings embedded in the discussion of its existence were explored, and record made of other pertinent features, for example an item's relevance, size and context on the page and its position/prominence in the magazine. Where required (for example, where the article

²⁶¹ These key words related to the wider subject of the Great Southern Continent, along with the people and place names involved in the debate over its existence: Southern Continent, Captain Cook, Terra Australis, Magellanic, Southern Hemisphere, Terra Incognita, Dalrymple, Capt. Cook, Antarctic, Great South Land, Terra Australis Incognita and South Pole.

contained a map, chart or illustration that was not embedded or proximate), this close reading/analysis was made in both digital and hard formats of the archive in order to fully assess issues implicated in the layout.

Finally, detailed interrogation was made of any accompanying maps, charts and illustrations in terms of their context and position within the article, and also into their content. As well as examining geographical data itself, particular attention was given to the motives of the mapmaker and publisher and how this was expressed in map form, along with embedded cultural values and ideas. This process involved rigorous and active engagement with the graphic (and internal textual) resources. Consideration of one illustrative example, and its treatment, should prove instructive of the more general approach adopted, and is exhibited more fully in Chapter 4.

Buache's 1763 'Chart of the Antarctic Circle' (figure 21), published to accompany his treatise in *The Gentleman's Magazine*²⁶², was examined in terms of both its physical format in order to establish its 'look', 'feel', positioning and context as a fold-out plate within the original publication, and in its digital form for a close-reading of its geographical detail and cultural significance and meaning.

The process of deconstructing the chart itself began with an overall purview of its general layout and presentation: the 8 x 9 inch black and white chart was folded into the magazine, requiring a deliberate and significant act by the reader to open it out for viewing, adding to a sense of drama and revelation. This perception of the chart as 'added value' for the reader reflects the very real investment in its production (and in Buache's article) by editor David Henry. This investment is further reinforced by the words "*Gent. Magazine*" above the top right hand corner of the chart, similar to how the engraver would often be referenced. In this case, however, the production of the chart is credited to the publication, rather than any individual.

²⁶² Buache, 'Geographical and Physical Observations, including a Theory of the Antarctic Regions, and the Frozen Sea which they are supposed to contain, according to the Hypothesis of the celebrated M. Buache (See Vol. xxvii, p.109)', *the Gentleman's Magazine: and historical chronicle*, 33, Jan 1763, p32-36.

The next analytical stage was to assess the chart's first impression as a graphic device by exploring its main elements. These elements comprise a simple rectangular frame containing a (largely) circular map but offset to the right to make space in the bottom left hand corner for a plain, framed title. Attention was paid to the method of map projection employed, in this case a polar stereographic projection that projects a sphere onto a plane. This gives a novel, privileged, 'bottom-up' view of the world, focussing attention quite literally on the "Antarctic Pole" and drawing the reader into the elite realm of the 'expert' geographer.

Attention was paid to the chart's plain title frame, lack of ornamentation and use of 'scientific' language [such as "*According to the New Hypothesis*" and "*From the Memoirs of the Royal Academy at PARIS*"]. Such features are regarded by Pedley as defining characteristics of 'enlightened' cartography²⁶³ typical in French maps of the period and, in this instance, they clearly demonstrate the intention of the publisher and mapmaker to boost the chart's authority by connecting with an identifiable, 'scientific' style. Along with the prime meridian connecting the map with France, the title's reference to "PARIS" and "M. Buache" (instead of the more normal 'Mr. Buache'), also underpins the map's 'Frenchness'. This connects it emotionally and intellectually with the pre-eminent centre of cartography in eighteenth century Europe and a style of mapping that championed scientific measurement, reliability and 'accuracy'.

Anomalies in the map's graphic presentation were then addressed, in this case the somewhat unconventional over-spilling of the Moluccas/New Holland/ "SOUTHERN CONTINENT" from the circular frame of the Tropic of Capricorn that bounds the other mapped lands and features. Such an unusual deviation from standard practice appears to suggest Buache's intention to show his audience part of the world that was not well-known at the time. The fact that he contextualises New Holland as adjoining the Spice Islands helps to connect the geographical imaginary of these rich islands with the lesser known

²⁶³ Pedley (lecture), 2017.

and as-yet undiscovered lands depicted on his chart, making the latter more desirable and ‘real’.

Once the key features of layout and projection had been interrogated, attention was then turned towards internal features, such as the use of toponyms, labelling, supporting ‘evidence’ from other cartographers and explorers, and the choices made in terms of representation and design. This more detailed and forensic analysis was carried out in the context of what is, and what is not, shown on the map, both of which are pertinent in terms of its geographical information and cultural meaning. As previously discussed, Buache’s portrayal of his “Antarctic Pole” as a central void - left blank other than the simple lettering of the place name - provides a powerful focal point for viewing the map. As well as underscoring the unusual, ‘bottom up’ view of the south, this has the effect of heightening the contrast with the ‘busy-ness’ of surrounding lands. This device unsettles the onlooker’s sense of orientation, a process exacerbated by the unbalancing effect of much of Australasia spilling out of the map’s frame.

In terms of more detailed analysis, close attention was paid to Buache’s use of darkly and thickly delineated coastlines for his theorised land (a convention normally denoting cartographic certainty) and his referencing of empirical, first hand observations such as “Ice seen by Dr. Halley”, noting the use of Halley’s title to add credence to his evidence. Added to this, Buache’s ‘layering’ of information as a visual referencing system was also explored. An example of this is the overlay of his depiction of New Zealand with a scale representation of the “Great RESERVOIR from the FROZEN NORTHERN SEA or SIBERIA”, thus highlighting the relative size of the southern lands that dwarf their northern counterpart. He also annotates his chart with outlines of Continents proposed by other highly-regarded cartographers such as Ortelius and “Kaerius”, the Dutch globe-maker Pieter van den Keere, (1571-c.1646). In this way, not only is Buache alerting the reader to his own, newly-hypothesised geography of the Antarctic regions, he is also connecting his ideas intellectually with the leading French cartographic tradition of the day *and* with the pre-eminent Dutch ‘school’ of cartographers in the seventeenth century. He thereby subtly, but firmly, reasserts his own authority as a theoretical geographer, reminding his audience of the scale of his own ‘multi-layered’ knowledge and providing

what can be portrayed as the latest contribution in a centuries-old tradition of great thinking about the nature of the world. For the contemporary reader, the combination of these cartographic strategies serves to build confidence in his work (discussed in more detail in Chapter 4) and would have been both impressive and persuasive. It further serves to set Buache's map apart from the more pragmatic and functional charts and sketches being produced by the Admiralty, military and commercial mapmakers in Britain at the time. Since these charts were also reproduced in contemporary issues of *The Gentleman's Magazine*, the informed readership would be aware of their different contexts. Examples of these charts are explored in more detail in Chapter 4.

Detailed work on the readership of the magazine is outwith the scope of this enquiry although it would form a fruitful direction for future study. For present purposes, therefore, the analysis in Chapter 4 is based on the general understanding of press and reading cultures summarised in the contextual section in conjunction with methodology laid out above - and the six cross-cutting themes which run through the analyses in both Chapters 4 and 5. To review, these are laid out below:

1. **The Control of Knowledge:** who controls the production and re-production of knowledge and how they attempt (or not) to maintain that control on its journey from its first source to the public sphere. This theme is particularly apposite given the tensions between speculative theorists and the new breed of empiricists, and not least the increasingly challenged assumption that the Establishment has the right to control the collection and flow of knowledge to the masses.
2. **The Credibility of Knowledge:** how trust and credibility intersect with knowledge, particularly knowledge 'created' at a distance and conveyed across time and space, and from one group to another. Again, this theme is of heightened relevance given the fiercely contested ideas of the period about how best to produce reliable knowledge.
3. **Knowledge *per se*:** the specific nature, form and content of the new or re-presented information. This theme is of particular relevance given the upsurge

in ‘new’ ideas and information about the South circulating in Britain, especially in a culture where ‘knowledge’ was an essential requirement for anyone wishing to engage in polite society.²⁶⁴

4. **The Utility of Knowledge:** the purpose, value and use of new knowledge, particularly that derived from the voyages of discovery. The notion of ‘utility’ had a deep and profound currency in contemporary culture that made it fundamental to much social, economic, political and scientific decision-making in the eighteenth century.²⁶⁵
5. **(Re-)Making sense of the ‘New’ World:** how ‘new’ knowledge, ideas and opinions actively (re)shape the public geographical imagination(s). Again, this theme is of central relevance in the mid to late eighteenth century, reflecting the epistemological agility – or intransigence - expressed in popular culture in the face of a rapidly expanding and diverse world.
6. **The Transformative Power of the South:** how new knowledge and experience of the South (gained both directly and indirectly) fundamentally affects those involved. This theme signifies not only the growing gulf between those who have experienced the new knowledge, and those who have not - but also the transformation affecting the land- and seascapes in the popular imagination and also that effected *by* the austral lands and seas in the popular imagination.

The results of this analysis are discussed in a summative section at the end of Chapter 4.

²⁶⁴ See, for example, Heyd’s excellent work on the rise of the news-obsessed *Quidnunc* in the eighteenth century.

²⁶⁵ Lynn, 2006, writes that: “In general, both philosophes and the public in the eighteenth century considered only useful knowledge worthwhile. Diderot noted, albeit with some disdain, that the common people [*le vulgaire*] always asked to what use philosophy could be put”. Lynn, 2006: 32

Research Methodology: Chapter 5.

The analysis in Chapter 5 focuses on the Burney Collection's archive of eighteenth century newspapers. As previously discussed, the Burney Collection is one of the most significant historical press archives, covering almost a million pages across 1271 periodical titles from the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries accessible in both digital and microfiche forms. However, whereas Chapter 4 focuses on an in-depth longitudinal analysis of single periodical [*The Gentleman's Magazine*] over the research time frame of 1760-1777, the analysis here interrogates the full range of newspapers in the Collection for the same period, through the lens of the six themes discussed above. The broader purview of this approach enables the sampling of a wider demographic - geographically, socioeconomically and in terms of gender - than that offered by *The Gentleman's Magazine*, which it is hoped will broaden the insights into the dynamics and cultures of geographical knowledge in mid to late eighteenth century Britain. In particular, this approach sheds light on the social relevance of the putative Continent (in all its many imaginings) as a topic of conversation in the public sphere; it also helps to illuminate the diversity of voice and public opinion operating within the public sphere of contemporary culture at any one time during the seventeen-year time frame.

Although still predominantly metropolitan in tone, the selected archive used here comprises a total of 24 titles, including newspapers from Ireland (Dublin), Northern England (Chester) and Central England (Hereford), along with the strong and persistent voice of Scotsman Alexander Dalrymple - all of which goes at least some way to help counter the otherwise London-centric focus of the research. Similarly, while *The Gentleman's Magazine* played to an educated, wealthy audience, the socioeconomic base of newspaper 'readership' (some of whom would have had the contents recounted verbally) is closer to reflecting the views of the 'ordinary man or woman in the street' in Georgian Britain.

The results of this analysis will be explored and discussed in a summative section at the end of Chapter 5. Together with Chapter 4, the two analyses will assess how widespread and also how embedded in society the themes and ideas were about the fantastic geography of the putative continent, and the reaction to its ultimate non-discovery.

For the purposes of Chapter 5, however, the research methodology comprised four main stages: firstly, using the digital archives, a familiarisation exercise was conducted with the daily and weekly periodicals, along with any *ad hoc* and occasional publications in the Collection, to assess the content and range of materials, the format and page layout (including use of maps and other graphic illustrations) and to gauge the “feel” of the papers for the individual reader.

Secondly, a more focused search was made for any content (textual and/or graphic) in the digital archive relating to the nature and discovery of the putative Continent/far south. This was conducted using a series of key words listed below.²⁶⁶ This highlighted 636 results across 24 periodicals over the seventeen-year date range, with around five hundred of these being relevant for research purposes. These items were collated in a new ‘south specific’ archive, firstly in a single text document and then transferred into an Excel spreadsheet to allow for easier manipulation of the data. The spreadsheet was organised according to the key word and search result reference, periodical title, place of publication, date of publication (including date range where appropriate), original issue number, physical/contextual location within the newspaper (for example, ‘news’ or ‘classified advertisements’), and the verbatim content itself. Finally, a personal comment or shorthand reference was added on any memorable or noteworthy points arising. Significantly, no graphic materials were uncovered during any of the key word searches. While this is interesting, it is not surprising for rapidly produced and disposable

²⁶⁶ These key words related to the wider subject of the Great Southern Continent and the nature and geography of the high southern latitudes: Southern Continent, Lieut. Cook, Captain Cook, Endeavour & ship, Terra Australis, Resolution & Adventure, James Cook, Cook & Resolution, Southern Hemisphere, Great South Sea, Terra Incognita, Alexander Dalrymple, and South Pole.

newspapers of the day, given the prohibitive cost and time required to produce woodcuts or engravings.

Thirdly, a close reading and analysis was conducted for all the resulting textual items (articles, listings, advertisements and letters) according to six research themes relating to knowledge about the far South. These have been described at length in the methodology for Chapter 4. The content of each newspaper item was ranked in terms of its relevance to each of the six themes (from 0 for no relevance to 3 for high relevance). These results were added into the keyword search spreadsheet to allow for the manipulation of data by any of the aforementioned criteria (Figure 17). This provided both the opportunity and method to assess of the development and progression of the 6 themes over the seventeen-year time-frame, for example by periodical title (Figure 20), by geographical location or by date.

Finally, using the spreadsheet data, detailed interrogation was made of any emerging patterns and themes in the context of contemporary ideas, information and debate about what lay to the far south. Ultimately, a purely chronological approach tracking all six themes in parallel was found to be the most elucidating (Figure 18). Particular notice was taken of the authorship of the items, where recorded, and their editorial, commercial and personal motives – and the microgeographies of the page, along with the macrogeographies of contemporary geopolitics and culture in the mid to late eighteenth century. The results of that analysis are outlined in the work that follows, with the discussion of results concluding Chapter 6.

Key Word Search	Title	City	Date	Date 2	*Issue Num	Section	Content	Who Contrb	Credibility of Knowledg	New Knowledg Per Se	Utility	Making Sense of New World Order	Transformat	Comment	
South Pole 1	Whitehall Evening Post or London Intelligencer	London	15/4/1760	17/4/1760	2197	Classified Ads	This Day was published: Price 6s. bound, in TWO NEAT POCKET VOLUMES: NP THE LIFE and ADVENTURES of PETER WILKINS, a Cornish Man, relating particularly his Shipwreck near the South Pole; his wonderful Passage through a subterraneous Cavern into a kind of New World; his extraordinary Conveyance to the country of Glumсанд Gawayne, or Men and Women that fly, Likewise a Description of this strange Country, with the Laws, Customs, and Manners of its Inhabitants. Taken from his own Mouth, in his Passage to England, from off Cape Horn in America, in the Ship Hector. Illustrated with CUTS, clearly and distinctly representing the Structure and Mechanism of the Wings of the Gums and Gawayne, and the Manner in which they use them either to swim of fly. By R.S. a Passenger in the Hector. Printed for G. Kearsy, at the Golden Ion in Ludgate-Street.		1		1	1			Fantasy Adventure Sci Fi Novel about South Pole
South Pole 2	Whitehall Evening Post or London Intelligencer	London	22/4/1760	24/4/1760	2203	Classified Ads	This Day was published: Price 6s. bound, in TWO NEAT POCKET VOLUMES: NP THE LIFE and ADVENTURES of PETER WILKINS, a Cornish Man, relating particularly his Shipwreck near the South Pole; his wonderful Passage through a subterraneous Cavern into a kind of New World; his extraordinary Conveyance to the country of Glumсанд Gawayne, or Men and Women that fly, Likewise a Description of this strange Country, with the Laws, Customs, and Manners of its Inhabitants. Taken from his own Mouth, in his Passage to England, from off Cape Horn in America, in the Ship Hector. Illustrated with CUTS, clearly and distinctly representing the Structure and Mechanism of the Wings of the Gums and Gawayne, and the Manner in which they use them either to swim of fly. By R.S. a Passenger in the Hector. Printed for G. Kearsy, at the Golden Ion in Ludgate-Street.		1		1	1			Fantasy Adventure Sci Fi Novel about South Pole
South Pole 3	Whitehall Evening Post or London Intelligencer	London	29/4/1760	1/5/1760	2203*	Classified Ads	This Day was published: Price 6s. bound, in TWO NEAT POCKET VOLUMES: NP THE LIFE and ADVENTURES of PETER WILKINS, a Cornish Man, relating particularly his Shipwreck near the South Pole; his wonderful Passage through a subterraneous Cavern into a kind of New World; his extraordinary Conveyance to the country of Glumсанд Gawayne, or Men and Women that fly, Likewise a Description of this strange Country, with the Laws, Customs, and Manners of its Inhabitants. Taken from his own Mouth, in his Passage to England, from off Cape Horn in America, in the Ship Hector. Illustrated with CUTS, clearly and distinctly representing the Structure and Mechanism of the Wings of the Gums and Gawayne, and the Manner in which they use them either to swim of fly. By R.S. a Passenger in the Hector. Printed for G. Kearsy, at the Golden Ion in Ludgate-Street.		1		1	1			Fantasy Adventure Sci Fi Novel about South Pole
Great South Sea 1	General Evening Post	London	9/1/1762	12/1/1762	4407	Classified Ads	This Day was published (Price 6s. bound) A VOYAGE Round the WORLD, by the Way of the Great SOUTH-SEA; performed in a private Expedition, during the War which broke out with SPAIN, in the Year 1718. By Captain GEORGE SHELVOCKE. The 2d Edit. revised and re-published by Geo. Shelvoocke, Esq Printed for J. Richardson, and T. Longman, in Paternoster Row.		1	1					Advert - Shelvoocke Voyage round World
Great South Sea 2	General Evening Post	London	12/1/1762	14/1/1762	4408	Classified Ads	This Day was published (Price 6s. bound) A VOYAGE Round the WORLD, by the Way of the Great SOUTH-SEA; performed in a private Expedition, during the War which broke out with SPAIN, in the Year 1718. By Captain GEORGE SHELVOCKE. The 2d Edit. revised and re-published by Geo. Shelvoocke, Esq Printed for J. Richardson, and T. Longman, in Paternoster Row.		1	1					Advert - Shelvoocke Voyage round World
Great South Sea 3	Public Advertiser	London	12/1/1762		8484	Classified Ads	This Day was published (Price 6s. bound) A VOYAGE Round the WORLD, by the Way of the Great SOUTH-SEA; performed in a private Expedition, during the War which broke out with SPAIN, in the Year 1718. By Captain GEORGE SHELVOCKE. The 2d Edit. revised and re-published by Geo. Shelvoocke, Esq Printed for J. Richardson, and T. Longman, in Paternoster Row.		1	1					Advert - Shelvoocke Voyage round World
1 Southern Continent	Lloyd's Evening Post	London	4/1/1765	6/1/1765	1182	News	Postscript "Letter from Brest Import, that an order has been received, to get ready the small squadron, appointed to sail with stores and settlers for their new discovered island near the Straits of Magellan, by the Southern continent of America; and where several people had been left on shore last years, on a promise of being plentifully supplied with all sorts of European necessaries by the next ships."					1	1		
2 Southern Continent	Public Advertiser	London	7/1/1765		9444	News	Postscript "Letter from Brest Import, that an order has been received, to get ready the small squadron, appointed to sail with stores and settlers for their new discovered island near the Straits of Magellan, by the Southern continent of America; and where several people had been left on shore last years, on a promise of being plentifully supplied with all sorts of European necessaries by the next ships."					1	1		
4 Southern Continent	Public Advertiser	London	7/5/1765		9518	News	"They write from "oulon, that the Faniasque, and two large Ships en flute, are soon to sail on a private Expedition to the Southern Continent of America, but the exact Place of the Destination was not known; tho' the new discovered Island near the Straights of Magellan, was supposed to be their intended Port."					1	1		
3 Southern Continent	Westminster Journal and London Political	London	11/5/1765		1065	News	Postscript "Letter from Brest Import, that an order has been received, to get ready the small squadron, appointed to sail with stores and settlers for their new discovered island near the Straits of Magellan, by the Southern continent of America; and where several people had been left on shore last years, on a promise of being plentifully supplied with all sorts of European necessaries by the next ships."					1	1		
5 Southern Continent	Public Ledger	London	24/10/1765		1811	News	"Letter from "NATIONALS" to the Printer of the Public Ledger about the policies of governance of South America ("The Southern Continent") by Spain, Portugal, the Jesuits and Great Britain.						1		

Figure 17. Extract of research spreadsheet

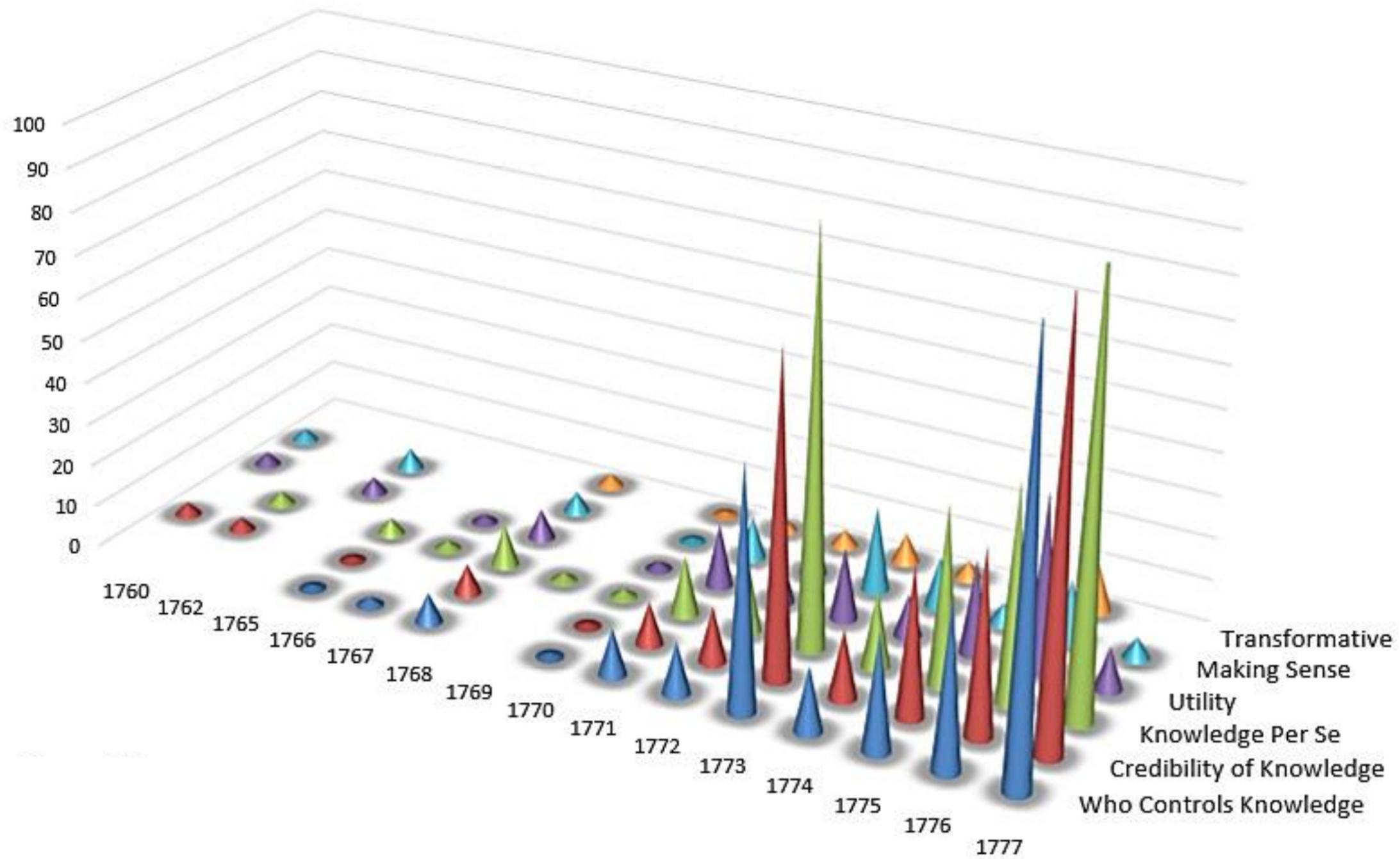


Figure 18. Number of articles by year and research theme

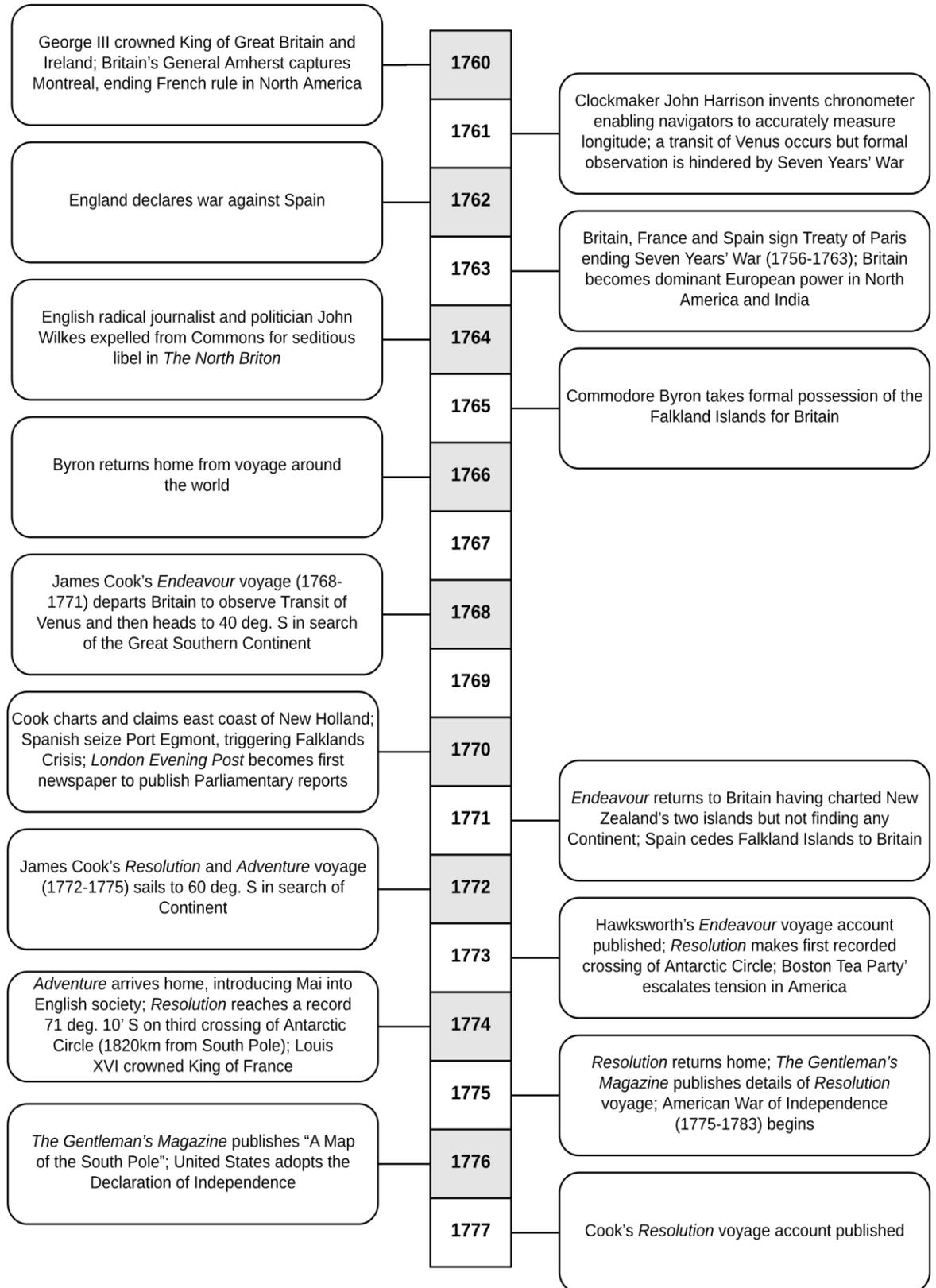


Figure 19. Contextual timeline for research period, 1760-1777

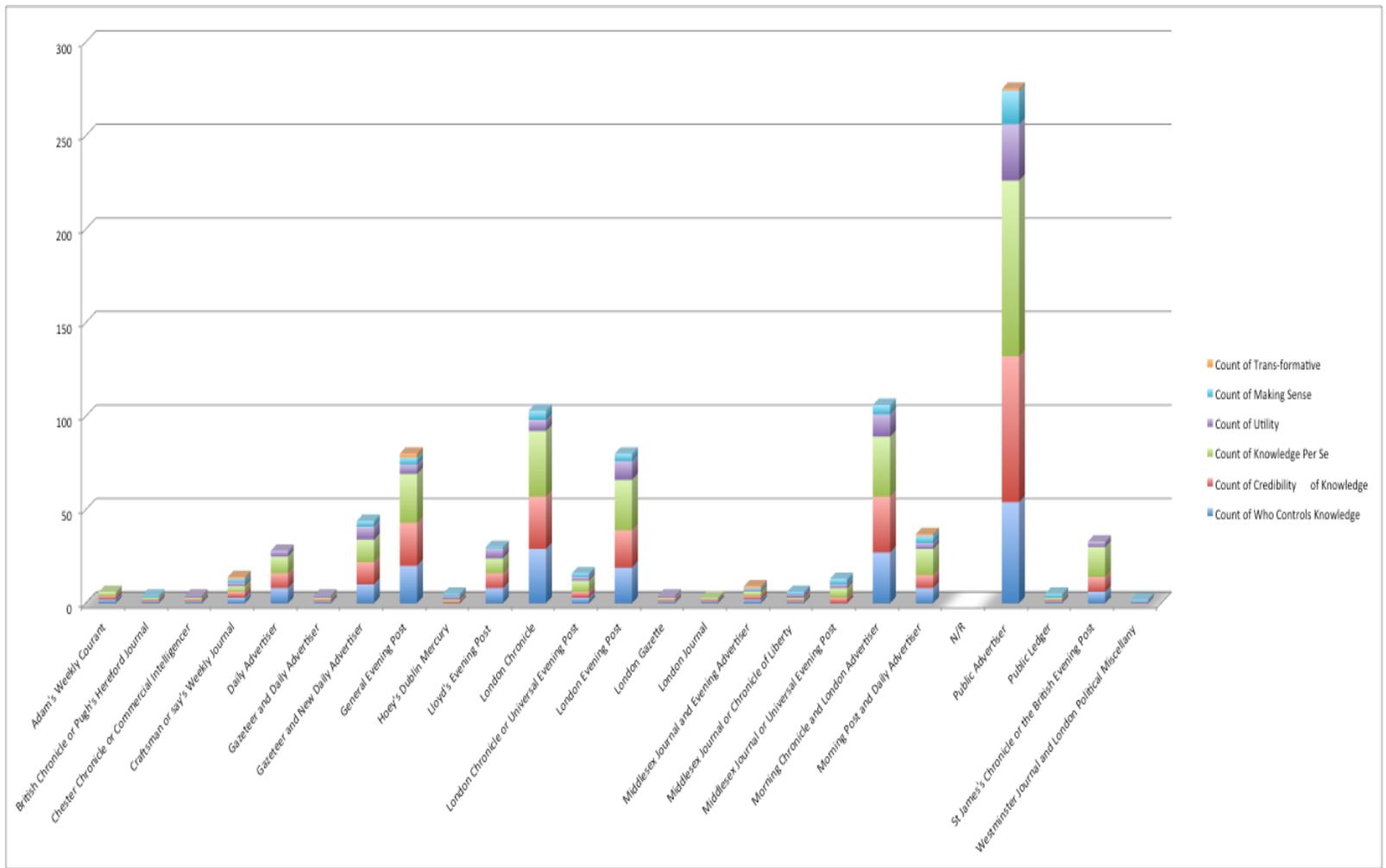


Figure 20. Number of articles by periodical and research themes

Chapter 4. Public Perception of the Great Southern Continent through *The Gentleman's Magazine*, 1760- 1777

THE GAMESTERS: A COMEDY, 1758.

Alter'd from SHIRLEY²⁶⁷

Act III (ii)

[Wilder]

[Takes a news-paper out of his pocket]

Enter Nephew and Dwindle.

Neph. If you have any news, sir, pray impart – I have a great appetite for news – vouchsafe me a slice.

Wild. A meal if you please – there be no more gentlemen to hear? 'tis extraordinary fine news, in black and white, from *terra incognita*.

Neph. *Terra incognita!* What has it no name?

Wild. If it has, it is asham'd of it.

Neph. But what are they doing there?

Wild. Nothing at all – 'tis inhabited by a nation without heads.

Neph. Without heads! where are their eyes then?

Wild. They lost them first, sir, then their heads; and they say the distemper, if not stopt, will spread over the rest of their body.

Neph. O wonderful! a gentleman would not chuse to travel there – Harkee, Dwindle, this is very curious.

Dwin. Too curious to be true.

²⁶⁷ Garrick, Mr: *The Gamesters: a comedy*, Alter'd from Shirley. As it is Performed by His Majesty's Servants, at the Theatre-Royal in Drury-Lane. London: Printed for J and R Jonson, in the Strand, 1758.

Neph. He's upon his fun, *Dwindle*; I'll humour him – But pray, sir, how can they know one another without their heads?

Wild. They don't; they are so chang'd, sir, they are neither known by themselves or other people; having no heads, sir, they are continually playing at *Blindman's Buff*, for the diversion of their neighbours.

*Neph. Monstrum! horrendum! informe! ingens! Cui lumen ademptum – ha!
ha! ha!*²⁶⁸

Introduction

This chapter explores the production and reproduction of geographical knowledge in the mid to late eighteenth century and, in particular, knowledge about the Great Southern Continent that was believed by many to lie in the largely unexplored high southern latitudes. It will examine in detail the British public's awareness, understanding and perception of the Continent in the run up to the first two voyages of Captain James Cook (1768-1771 and 1772-1775). It also examines the public reaction to the discoveries made (and *not* made) on his return. Evidence for this public awareness, understanding and perception – along with concomitant changes and differences within them - is based on an analysis of the popular periodical *The Gentleman's Magazine* in the period 1760-1777. As well as being an era of intense maritime activity in general, specifically this period covers the planning and preparation for the *Endeavour* voyage, its execution and aftermath. It also encompasses the preparation for - and execution of - Cook's second voyage in HMS *Resolution & Adventure* which went beyond orders to journey to 60°S in search of the Continent, exploring instead down to latitude 70°10S. This act of supererogation proved beyond doubt that the Continent as imagined for centuries, if not millennia, did not exist in reality. Instead, the *Resolution* voyage revealed a markedly different land- and seascape of barren rock, snow and ice. Contemporary reaction to this 'non-discovery' is explored and interrogated in the magazine's reviews, articles and letters to establish the degree to which

²⁶⁸ The Latin here translates as “The monster! Horrible! Formless! Great! And eyeless – ha! ha! ha!”

this represents (or not) a radical shift in western geographical thinking about the nature of the antipodal south in particular, and the wider world in general.

Structure of Chapter 4

The analysis in this chapter has been laid down broadly in chronological order. However, for ease of navigation, it has been structured under the following headings which summarise some of the themes arising within the loose chronology:

1. Continental Conjectures and Credibility
2. Cultures of Curiosity, Credibility and the Fashion for Discovery
3. Battles for Control over Knowledge and Space
4. Making Sense of the ‘Other’: The Transformation of Mai
5. The Thirst for New Geographical Knowledge about the South
6. The Construction of a New Southern Imaginary: Ice and Transformation
7. Mapping the ‘New’ South: The Triumph of Science
8. Making Sense of the New World: Curiosity, Utility and Re-conceptualisation
9. The (Re) Construction of Geographical Knowledge: validation & resolution
10. The Final Word: Cook’s *Resolution* Journal

The chapter concludes with a summary of the themes that have been identified, reconciling the results of the analysis with the research objectives laid out in Chapter 1.

The production of popular knowledge about the Great Southern Continent: an analysis of *The Gentleman's Magazine*, 1760-1777.

1. Continental Conjectures and Credibility

One of the most pertinent examples of how the Continent was being constructed in the eighteenth century popular imagination is French theoretical geographer Buache's article in *The Gentleman's Magazine* of January 1763 – published just a month before Britain, France and Spain signed the Treaty of Paris that officially ended hostilities in the Seven Years' War. The article, grandly entitled "*Geographical and Physical Observations, including a Theory of the Antarctic Regions, and the frozen Sea which they are supposed to contain*" develops Buache's earlier ideas on the geography of the earth – in this case, with particular respect to the nature and form of a Southern Continent.²⁶⁹ Interestingly, in the article description, he is given the epithet "the celebrated M. Buache", suggesting to readers that - among the educated, at least – he is (or should be) well known and highly regarded, regardless of any sensitivities relating to his nationality. Of course, having such a renowned correspondent boosts both the authority of the magazine and Buache, as well as flattering the reader that they are about to join the ranks of an assumed and supranational intellectual elite. To the burgeoning readership of the eighteenth-century print media, erudite knowledge had a fashionable new cachet, particularly among the aspirational 'middling sorts', with press puffery acknowledged as part of a growing culture of celebrity in both politics and entertainment.²⁷⁰ However, at a time when global horizons were expanding, new geographical knowledge also came with concomitant epistemological anxiety over how far to trust – and how best to confirm – such 'knowledge at a distance'. In this light, the magazine's puffing of Buache as a 'celebrated' contributor with great

²⁶⁹ 'Geographical and Physical Observations, including a Theory of the Antarctic Regions, and the frozen Sea which they are supposed to contain, according to the Hypothesis of the celebrated M Buache (See Vol. xxvii, p.109)', *The Gentleman's Magazine: and historical chronicle*, 33, Jan 1763, p32.

²⁷⁰ Heyd, 2015:71.

authority would help to quell these fears, and go some way to replace anxiety with confidence.

As well as the article's wording, its physical situation within the publication is also both intriguing and worthy of note: it is sandwiched between a long account of "a late Disturbance at the Play Houses" involving Mr Garrick, and is followed by a "Remarkable Account of an Old Man, who formerly lived in Wales" who begat forty-three children by three wives and two concubines by the time he was 105 years old. This position amidst general news is significant, intellectually and physically locating the debate over the Continent's existence, shape and form firmly in the public mainstream; far from it being relegated to a special interest science or review section, speculation about the putative Continent is considered by the editor, Henry – someone utterly in tune with his audience – part of the general diet of information and knowledge to be offered to the growing number of readers in the public sphere.

While neither of the adjacent stories matches Buache's scientific intellectualism, this very eclectic mix is a reflection of a 'levelling effect' of newspapers and print culture in the mid eighteenth century, where a smorgasbord of information was offered up to the literate public in periodicals, often with unashamed detail. The article is in no respect tucked away apologetically – it spans five pages of dense text, illustrating Buache's hypothesis with a large, fold-out plate depicting an engraved "Chart of the Antarctic Polar Circle" (Figure 21). Both the chart and the number of pages represent a significant financial investment by the editor and, as mentioned, this combination overtly and covertly puffs the author with a celebrity billing.

The article's positioning is entirely consistent with contemporary practice. It was, as Heyd concludes, "a time when politics and gossip, the arts, and current affairs were regularly juxtaposed in a new fashion on the pages of the daily London press" without state control from pre-publication censorship – a challenging situation for those who were attempting to keep control in the hands of a small established elite and prevent any troublesome

democratisation of knowledge.²⁷¹ As for the article itself, it is said by the author to “compleat” his earlier and grandly entitled “theory of the earth” published in 1752 that lacked “Knowledge of the extent and figure of the Antarctic regions, with the chains of mountains and the rivers they contain”. Buache’s basic idea is that the global distribution of mountain chains etches out the rough form of what he calls “Terra Antarctica”, comprising an extension of the backbones of the Americas, Africa and the tantalising glimpse thus seen of New Zealand. These three ‘spines’ reach down to the as yet undiscovered continent; between them, are the three basins of the South Sea, Indian Ocean and Atlantic Ocean.

These continental orographies are key to Buache’s Antarctic theory. A ruling tenet of the period was that seawater could not freeze²⁷², therefore the existence of ice must indicate freshwater rivers and thus land sloping down towards the sea. Based on this logic, reports of ice bergs in the seas and oceans of the high latitudes by navigators including Bouvet (1738-1739) and Halley (1699-1700), and also Davis (1687-1688) and Sharp (1679-1682), were taken *ipso facto* as conclusive evidence for the idea that there was as yet undiscovered land to the south – and, given the size of the reported ice bergs, this must be a land of great extent, with voluminous rivers and towering mountains.²⁷³ With an interesting choice of words, Buache posits that there is “good reason to imagine, that the *Terra Antarctica*, contains some tracts of good country”²⁷⁴ - making it not only reasonable and imaginable but desirable to a discovering nation. Drawing on the ‘evidence’ of “the *Portuguese*” and Gonneville who claimed to have had contact with the fabled land(s), Buache contends that there are at least parts of the Continent which are “fertile and populous” with “a great abundance of birds”, where the inhabitants were “affable” and socially ordered under a “revered” king, where the land was cultivated and roots harvested which made “fine colours for dying”, all of which bathed in a “temperate” “gentleness of

²⁷¹ See Heyd, 2015:64; 74-78

²⁷² Theories by Joseph Moxon (1674) and Samuel Engel (1765). See Luedtke, Brandon: “An ice-free Arctic Ocean: history, science, and scepticism”, *The Polar Record*, Vol. 51, Issue 257, 2015: pp131; Stallard, 2010: 260-270

²⁷³ Buache, 1763:34

²⁷⁴ Buache, 1763:34.

the climate, even in the decline of the year”.²⁷⁵ These glowing assertions are given added legitimacy by being positioned alongside Tasman’s first-hand observations of New Zealand, which recount a coast “lofty and covered with mountains”, where “the soil is fruitful and well-cultivated” and where “the inhabitants are fleshy, large made, and hardy, of a colour between brown and yellow, and having their hair tied in a lock on the top of their heads like the *Japanese*”.²⁷⁶ Interestingly, this detailed connection between New Zealand and Japan is repeated later in the article, this time with China included, linking New Zealand not only with confirmed geographical knowledge of the east, but with its exoticism and its imaginative and commercial potential.

As well as building up a detailed mental map of the landscape he calls *Terra Antarctica*, Buache’s hypothesis goes even further, postulating a vast inland frozen sea, encircled by not one but two continents. These landmasses are separated by two channels – one connecting the inland sea with the Indian Ocean, the other with the Pacific - through which the giant icebergs can be disgorged. Here, he is careful to note that there must be fewer islands and headlands than in the Arctic as these would otherwise impede the floating ice on its journey through the channels, again blending known fact with logic and supposition.

Buache draws the evidence for his imagined continent from a combination of what he calls the “representations made by the first modern geographers, of the extent and figure of the Antarctic regions” and his own hypothesis which he derives from contemporary scientific and geographical knowledge and belief.²⁷⁷ The vast supercontinent of Ortelius and his followers is edited according to the testimonies and charts of explorer-navigators including Magellan, Le Maire and Tasman – with first-hand experience trumping traditionally-held ideas. This is evident in Buache’s use of the word “corrected” in relation to Kaerius’s

²⁷⁵ Buache, 1763:35.

²⁷⁶ Buache, 1763:35.

²⁷⁷ Buache, 1763:33.

version of Ortelius's chart²⁷⁸; however, Buache is conflicted when it comes to some of the new austral geographies:

It seems, however, that it would have been better to have preserved the traces of the land which was seen by the *Portuguese* over against *Madagascar*; and the coast of *America*, discovered by *Vespucius* and *Drake*, which, with *New Zealand*, make a kind of out-line of the antarctic countries.²⁷⁹

The rationale for his reluctance might be evident in his subsequent paragraph:

The extent which the first geographers gave to the *Terra Antarctica*, agrees very well with my conjectures.²⁸⁰

While this might be genuine coincidence, and his “conjectures” derived independently rather than being spawned by existing theories or retro-fitted to suit them, it can also be argued that this ‘agreement’ is extremely convenient in terms of adding weight to Buache’s hypothesis. How far his ideas were influenced by traditional lore is beyond the scope of this current research but it seems that such is the memetic power of the imagined continent, even a renowned Enlightenment Academician like Buache might have found difficulties in giving up its long-held geography.

The accompanying fold-out plate features Buache’s Chart of the Antarctic Polar Circle, with the Countries adjoining, according to the New Hypothesis of M. Buache and is given further authority with the credit, “From the Memoirs of the Royal Academy at Paris” (Figure 21).²⁸¹ Measuring 8 x 9 inches, it represents a significant financial and intellectual

²⁷⁸ “The voyage of *le Maire* to the South of *Terra del Fuego* in 1616, closed the antarctic regions on that side, as may be seen by the plan corrected by Kaerius;”, Buache, 1763:33

²⁷⁹ Buache, 1763:33.

²⁸⁰ Buache, 1763:33.

²⁸¹ Buache, ‘Chart of the Antarctic Polar Circle, with the Countries adjoining, According to the New Hypothesis of M. Buache’, *The Gentleman’s Magazine*, 33, Jan 1763. [Unnumbered insert.]

investment in Buache's treatise. It also highlights an assumed and significant cartographic literacy among readers of *The Gentleman's Magazine* to the degree that an accompanying chart is deemed essential to the reader's full appreciation of the treatise, as well as conferring added authenticity to the Continent's putative existence, and is therefore worthy of the added investment both in terms of money and space.

The chart itself - based on his earlier map of 1739 (Figure 8) and subsequent versions - is complex in its presentation and follows the French tradition of 'scientific' mapping that had developed from the seventeenth century and had been championed by his father-in-law, fellow *Académie* member and Buache's predecessor as *Geographer Royal*, Guillaume Delisle (1675-1726). It employs a polar stereographic projection rendered from the South Pole – an unusual and challenging view of the world for Buache's essentially northern hemisphere audience. This projection gives a privileged view – the explorer-scientist's view – of the world, drawing the audience into the appearance of an elite and rarefied intellectual grouping along with Buache, Louis XV and his French Academicians. Unlike the 1739 and 1754 versions where the prime meridian bisects the pole and the other meridians cross well into the polar area, the design here is modified so that the meridians do not intersect at the pole but terminate at the 75th parallel, circumscribed by the words, "Frozen Sea as Supposed" (referring to his theory of freshwater glaciers disgorging from the land) with the polar circle left empty other than the words "Antarctic Pole". The effect of this is to emphasise the austral pole even more starkly to the onlooker as if it were a void through the centre of the earth, possibly even giving succour to the raft of hollow earth theorists who were active at the time.²⁸²

The chart itself comprises two frames: the rectangular border of the plate and "Tropick of Capricorn" which bounds most of the depicted parts of the globe off-set slightly to the right of the sheet. This layout allows for the simple cartouche containing the title and origin of the chart in the lower left hand corner. Given Buache's national allegiance and paymaster, it is no surprise that the First Meridian bisecting the Atlantic Ocean is taken from France, not Greenwich, but this is presented in a matter of fact, almost incidental, manner using one of the smaller font sizes in use on the chart. Given the political

²⁸² See Letter by "J.N.", *The Gentlemen's Magazine: and historical chronicle*, 43, May 1773, p211.

sensitivities of the time and the formal end to hostilities between France and Britain, this would have been a judicious move.

Along with its unusual and counter-intuitive projection, the other aspect of cartographic complexity in the chart are the several overlaid competing representations of the presumed continent's coastline, including the "Coast according to Ortelius & others about the End of the 16th Century", the "Coast accord. to Kaerius" along with Buache's own "Coast according to the New Plan". Also, overlain on this Continental *mêlée* is a darkly hachured scale representation of "The Great Reservoir from the Frozen Northern Sea or Siberia" superimposed over the land to the south of New Zealand. This imbues a sense of context, scale and wonder into the Continent that can apparently 'swallow' the "great" and vast lands of the Arctic with ease, while also embedding the putative lands in the realm of the 'known'.

The coastlines of known lands and mountains are delineated by a series of closely spaced thin lines, the darkness of the overall effect adding to the impression of certainty; postulated or "supposed" lands have their coastlines and mountains delineated with a series of dots, spaced more widely to lighten the overall effect and indicate uncertainty. The alleged coastlines are, however, curiously indented with details of bays and headlands – features other cartographers have chosen to leave smooth, blank or etched in the most vague or general manner to underline the hypothetical nature of their trending. And while Ortelius and Kaerius's outlines are pale, Buache is so confident in his theory that he makes his coastline almost as dark as those of Africa and America.

Interestingly, the only major outliers beyond the bounds of the Southern Tropic are the "Southern Continent" (with the names "New Holland", Carpentaria and Holy Ghost Land in smaller font as regional descriptors), the adjoining New Guinea, and the Moluccas to Borneo and Sumatra. At the time Buache was proposing his theory, most of the southern coastline of what is now Australia was unknown to the West; the only land here of any

certainty was the south-western corner and the stretch of coast labelled “Diemens Land”, recorded by Abel Tasman in 1642 and presumed to adjoin the mainland.

In all, Buache’s chart is deeply provocative, challenging the eighteenth century reader’s system of beliefs as much of their sense of geography for this is a graphic depiction of contemporary theorising challenging long-accepted dogma and ancient wisdoms, portrayed in the guise of empirical science.

2. Cultures of Curiosity, Credibility and the Fashion for Discovery

Evidence that the concept of unknown land to the south pervaded the public sphere in the mid eighteenth century is not confined to professional or academic treatises. A letter to the editor from a correspondent calling himself ‘Terra Incognita’ appears in *The Gentleman’s Magazine* in March 1764, arguing for “a new system of geography, upon the divisions of the terraqueous globe called *zones*”. While there is no direct mention here of the Southern Continent, the author’s choice of pseudonym is fascinating: not only does it reveal that the concept of lands waiting to be discovered has significant meaning and resonance in the public consciousness, he clearly considers the concept sufficiently well known to adopt it as his pseudonym and even his public identity, conveying a shared sense of both mystery and knowledge that lies out there on the very edge of society’s grasp as one of the ‘known unknowns’.

The rise in curiosity about the world in the eighteenth century attested by scholars including Heyd, Naylor, Benedict and Swan in Chapter 2 is supported by the range of articles in the magazine archive pertaining to the unknown lands – and peoples - to the south. For example, a feature on the supposed giants of Patagonia and other austral regions²⁸³ extends to four full pages of compared and contrasted accounts by explorers

²⁸³ ‘An Epitome of all the Accounts that have hitherto been published concerning a Race of People of a

such as Magellan, Drake, Noort and others. Interestingly, the author makes repeated and pointed comment about the inhuman treatment meted out to the giant ‘savages’ in the name of God and country, underscoring (at least in theory) a strong, almost Augustinian sense of equality and respect for the ‘other’, regardless of the difference in situation.²⁸⁴ There is also a plea for greater accuracy in reporting and more rational consideration of the alleged facts about giants in the newly discovered parts of the world.

Assertions of a culture of curiosity are also given credence by the regular press coverage of voyages of exploration. As one magazine article suggests, this is “a Time when Discoveries are again the Fashion”.²⁸⁵ Among the frequent reviews of expedition journals is one for John Hawkesworth’s *Account of Voyages...for making Discoveries in the Southern Hemisphere* that confirms the search for new lands was state-sanctioned with royal patronage. It reports that “His Majesty, soon after his accession to the Crown...formed a design of sending out vessels for making discoveries of lands and islands hitherto unvisited by any European power”.²⁸⁶

As with Buache’s article, the preferred source of data for reporting such “discoveries” is direct testimony by ‘experts’ with personal experience: Hawkesworth’s book’s long and detailed title (“*An Account of the Voyages undertaken by the order of his Present Majesty for Making Discoveries in the Southern Hemisphere, and successively performed by Commodore Byron, Captain Wallis, Captain Carteret, and Captain Cook, in the Dolphin, the Swallow and the Endeavour...*”) makes great play of the fact that its contents are “...Drawn up from the Journals which were kept by the several Commanders” of the expeditions featured, with extra material “*from the papers of Joseph Banks, Esq.*”. The inclusion of Banks is interesting: the son of a wealthy Lincolnshire gentleman, he inherited

gigantic Stature, on and about the Eastern Coast of South America...’, *The Gentleman’s Magazine*, 37, May, 1767, p195.

²⁸⁴ Flint, 1984:65-80

²⁸⁵ “At a Time when new Discoveries are again the Fashion...’, *The Gentleman’s Magazine*, 39, May 1769, p220.

²⁸⁶ Review: ‘Hawkesworth’s Account of Voyages...’, *The Gentleman’s Magazine: and historical chronicle*, 43, June 1773, p286.

his father's fortune in 1761 and had paid some ten thousand pounds for the opportunity to join the *Endeavour* voyage. Banks was a close friend of Lord Sandwich, one of the first Lords of the Admiralty but he had no naval command experience. However, it seems that in terms of credibility, aristocratic connections could compensate for lack of naval kudos and experience.

It is worthy of note that the *Account's* author, John Hawkesworth, was also a master of the social network having risen from relatively lowly origins to become a Director of the East India Company, a friend and colleague of Samuel Johnson and well-known member of the eighteenth century intellectual elite.²⁸⁷ Although he was largely self-educated, he was highly regarded for his broad knowledge; indeed, one biographer describes his literary contributions as having “helped formulate the intellectual atmosphere of his time”²⁸⁸ though it appears from contemporary comment that his lack of classical education (along with a tendency for self-aggrandisement) left him vulnerable to patronising attack.²⁸⁹ Importantly in the context of his book review in *The Gentleman's Magazine*, he was also himself a ‘leading force’ of the publication, being a long-time contributor, reviewer and sometime editor for that publication from 1740 to his death in 1773, even appearing on the frontispiece in 1747 with Fame and the Muses – all facts which would almost inevitably have had a bearing on how his book was received and judged by his peers.

The review itself concentrates less on the voyages *per se* and more on another discussion of the austral ‘giants’ of the Magellan Straits that spans three full pages. The following extract about Byron's voyage to the South gives an indication of why the reviewer focuses on this topic:

²⁸⁷ Williamson, Karina: ‘Hawkesworth, John (bap. 1720, d. 1773)’, *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press, 2004; online edn, May 2006. Available at <http://www.oxforddnb.com.ezproxy.lib.gla.ac.uk/view/article/12658>, [Accessed 7/9/2016]

²⁸⁸ Abbott, John L.: ‘John Hawkesworth: Friend of Samuel Johnson and Editor of Captain Cook's Voyages and of *The Gentleman's Magazine*’, *Eighteenth Century Studies*, Vol. 3, No. 3, Spring 1970: 339-350.

²⁸⁹ This is indicated from the vitriol and snobbery heaped upon him after *Voyages* was published, and his ODNB entry (above), where Sir John Hawkins is quoted as calling him “a man of fine parts but no learning”.

The description which the seamen gave of that gigantic race on their return home, excited the public curiosity to a very high degree, and the more so as the officers were enjoined to secrecy; and nothing but vague accounts from common sailors, who differed so much in their relations, that no credit could be given to any of their reports. In truth, the real stature of these men is to this day left in doubt.²⁹⁰

Before an attempt is made to lay bare the construction of public geographical knowledge from travellers' accounts, it is worth pausing to analyse the language being used to describe the giants in this book review as it also helps to illustrate the way that the Continent – believed to lie just to the south of Patagonia – was being imaginatively constructed and peopled in mid eighteenth century Britain. As discussed in Chapter 2 in the writings of Flint, it is a well-worn and ancient trope that monstrous races occupied the lands at the edge of humanity, and their depiction has a long and well-documented history.²⁹¹ And it seems that for both author and reader, classical ideas were hard to shake: Commodore Byron's report describes one Patagonian chief as a "*frightful Colossus*":

He was of a gigantic stature, and seemed to realize the tales of monsters in human shape: he had the skin of some wild beast thrown over his shoulders, and was painted so as to make the most hideous appearance ever beheld.... I did not measure him...but I if I may judge his height by my own it could be not less than *seven feet*.²⁹²

The Patagonians' fantastical appearance – in the context of the strange and ethereal New World geography – confers upon them a status of being beyond (or, in the stadial view of progress so influential in the Enlightenment²⁹³, proto-) human; indeed, in their animal

²⁹⁰ Review: 'Hawkesworth's Account of Voyages...', *The Gentleman's Magazine*, 43, June 1773, p286

²⁹¹ Hiatt, 2008:55-58; 81-82; 85; 203.

²⁹² Review, *The Gentleman's Magazine*, 43, 1773, p287

²⁹³ For a useful summary of ideas of Race and 'Improvement' in the eighteenth century, see Gascoigne,

skins they're portrayed as almost magical beasts. This idea is continued in the re-telling of Byron's narrative (via the filters of Hawkesworth and *The Gentleman's Magazine*) that describes the inhabitants as "*enormous goblins*" who "*gallop*" around. It seems, therefore, that the mythical has come to life in an apparent hybrid between Swiftian satire and curious 'reality'. And, rather than this being a lone, maverick report, the fact that it was printed in this form without comment by the editor suggests that the trope was familiar or, at least, not alien to his audience.

Ironically, this blurring of the line between myth and reality bears strong parallels with the way the Romans discussed the island of Britannia and its curious inhabitants in the years surrounding Caesar's conquest, a land that also lay at the outer limits of the known world:

not a man returned from the distance without his tale of wonders – violent whirlwinds, mysterious birds, enigmatic shapes half man and half beast: things seen or things believed in a moment of terror.²⁹⁴

It seems, therefore, that a land's 'edginess' or peripherality operates on both a geographical and a cultural plane. Being far removed from ordinary experience is instrumental in allowing 'normality' to be suspended and for fantasy to gain a foothold in the construction of imaginative geographies; however, this is also troubling: to gain true credibility these landscapes require not only to be linked with the 'core' society through reports and stories but anchored with weighty first-person testimonies. And herein the author hits a problem: "To whose authority...must we refer?". As already cited, officers' accounts were "enjoined to secrecy", leaving in the meantime testimonies from "common sailors". Yet these are dismissed here as "vague accounts" – too flimsy to have authority. Not only were

John: *The Enlightenment and the Origins of European Australia* (Cambridge, Melbourne; Cambridge University Press), 2002. Ch 8; 148-151.

²⁹⁴ Tacitus, *Annals*, 11.24, quoted in Collingridge, Vanessa: *Boudica: the true history of Britain's Warrior Queen*, (London; Ebury Press), 2005, p81.

they (or their bearers) too insubstantial, they “differed so much in their relations, that no credit could be given to any of their reports”.

Here, then, is the nub: conflicting reports by commoners are not considered authoritative enough by the author to carry credible weight. As previously noted, that weight tends to come from professional expertise (i.e., the officers and navigators on board) or personal authority (one’s place in society, viz., Joseph Banks or even the “celebrated Mr. Buache”). Moreover, mere verbal accounts are not sufficient: they have to have been printed and published (a process to which few common sailors would have had access) as voyage journals and accounts - or as articles by weighty learned societies such as Charles Clarke’s account of the giants of Patagonia in the Royal Society’s *Philosophical Transactions*²⁹⁵, cited in the review. However, as the Reviewer of Hawkesworth’s *Voyages* cogitates²⁹⁶, what happens when even the ‘credible’ accounts are at odds with one another?

In this particular debate, about how austral lands might be peopled - and by whom, the process and results of working through the conflict in accounts are illuminating: unable or unwilling to dismiss any of the navigators’ accounts as fallible because they were all given by men of strong professional standing, the author decides to reconcile the discrepancy by concocting a scenario whereby different ‘expert witnesses’ saw different groups of giants. It was therefore easier for him to lay the ‘blame’ for the difference in reported height on the *situation* (that is, the alleged giants themselves) rather than cast doubt on fellow high-status Europeans’ descriptions of reality. This act of ‘mental gymnastics’ is revealing for what it says about the power of deep-seated traditional beliefs and authority: as with Buache’s Antarctic theory, new and competing ‘facts’ must be made to fit within the presiding imaginative geography of the austral lands; western society is not yet ready for the shift that would shortly arrive with the return of Cook’s second voyage.

²⁹⁵ Clarke, Charles: ‘An account of the very tall men, seen near the *Streights of Magellan*, in the year 1764. . . ,’ Royal Soc. of London, *Philosophical Trans.*, LVII (1768), pt.1, 75–79.

²⁹⁶ Review: ‘Hawkesworth’s Account of Voyages...’, *The Gentleman’s Magazine*, 43, June 1773, p288.

There is, however, one indication that the old epistemologies were being stretched to the limit. The reviewer pointedly ends his review with yet more contradictory reports, this time regarding the alleged paradisiacal lands encountered in the Pacific. Admiral Anson's glowingly "luxuriant" account of the island of Tinian (Northern Marianas) is so far removed from that of Commodore Byron's brutal experience that the reviewer confesses he is "at a loss in whose to confide" – though, typically, he does make one feeble attempt to reconcile the vastly differing accounts:

It is not impossible but that the brambles and bushes, here complained of, may have sprung up between the time of Admiral Anson's leaving this island, and the time when Com Byron visited it.²⁹⁷

However, his epistemological unease is all too apparent as he wrangles the problem of constructing new imaginative geographies without direct access to those lands himself. He continues:

...but it is not so easy to account for other contradictions often to be met with in the perusal of these voyages; some of which we shall occasionally point out, not with any design to call in question the authenticity of the reporters, but with a view to clear up the truth.

Caught between denouncing Anson or Byron – both Admiralty heroes - or Hawkesworth, the esteemed author of the *Voyages* who is also a colleague from the magazine, all the reviewer can do is pointedly lay bare the inconsistencies and let the reader decide.

Driving home his apparent distress, he closes his review by citing another inconsistency in the accounts, this time between Samuel Wallis and James Cook's description of "King

²⁹⁷ Review, *The Gentleman's Magazine*, 43, June 1773, p289

George the III's Island" (Tahiti) contained in the Hawkesworth's *Voyages*. In Wallis's version, the island is a tropical paradise, "one of the most healthy as well as delightful spots in the world"²⁹⁸ whereas Cook scathingly makes the "remarkable declaration" about being "*incessantly tormented*" by flies and "*other mischiefs*" which made any meaningful work in Tahiti only barely "tolerable".

Again, the reviewer lays bare his anguish in his concluding statement:

Nothing can be more opposite to each other than these two accounts, and yet they are reported by gentlemen whose veracity cannot be called in question, and their report communicated to the public by a Writer scrupulously attached to truth, -- Quere, how to be reconciled?²⁹⁹

In the case of *Voyages*, at least, it seems that reconciliation did not take place and the author took the flak: the opprobrium from his peers is widely credited with hastening Hawkesworth's death just five months after this review was published³⁰⁰, the deadlier aspect of life in the eighteenth century's so-called 'polite culture'.

3. Battles for Control over Knowledge and Space

Notwithstanding the debates over establishing the credibility of knowledge at a distance, voyage journals and reports were a significant feature of the mid eighteenth century press. Newspapers and periodicals devoted generous column inches to their coverage, even long after the actual voyage had returned home. *The Gentleman's Magazine* of July 1773, for example, carries "*An Epitome of the Dolphin and Tamar's Voyage round the World*" that

²⁹⁸ Review, *The Gentleman's Magazine*, 43, June 1773, p290

²⁹⁹ Review, *The Gentleman's Magazine*, 43, June 1773, p290

³⁰⁰ Williamson, Karina: 'John Hawkesworth', Oxford Dictionary of National Biography, accessed online 7/12/2015

goes on for almost five full pages (including notes from the editor), despite the fact that Byron had completed his circumnavigation between 1764 and 1766.³⁰¹ These “Epitomes” were regular and often long features, frequently drawn from collections such as Hawkesworth’s *Voyages* with the timing of their entrance into the public sphere more to do with publication dates than voyage dates; however, their presence in the mid eighteenth century press serves as a reminder of both the seemingly insatiable contemporary curiosity for *terrae incognitae* and their inhabitants in the context of Britain’s expanding imperial reach, along with a thirst for news *per se* that marked the era, of which the rise of the *Quidnunc* trope in popular culture bears witness.³⁰²

While there is little mention in Byron’s account of any Continent or even lands in the high latitudes of the Southern Ocean, what emerges in the descriptions of the Strait of Magellan and surrounding lands is a picture of nature at its most primeval and savage extreme – from the storms and raging surf to twenty-foot long man-eating sharks and ferocious, unknown beasts.³⁰³ However, while the reality might be monstrous and brutal, the lure of bountiful discoveries are ever-present further to the north, with frequent references to rumoured sightings of new lands off the west coast of South America and also to Alexander Dalrymple’s account of previous Spanish and Dutch voyages and the discoveries they made in this region of the Pacific Ocean.³⁰⁴

Again, the context of these references is fascinating: Dalrymple – bluntly referred to by his last name as if it was assumed that the reading public is more than familiar with both his name and works - is used as a contrasting authority to Byron’s *Epitome* several times in the account, and always with the reverential tone reserved for eminent experts. Unlike the normal primacy given to first-hand experience by the magazine, Dalrymple’s speculative

³⁰¹ ‘An Epitome of the Dolphin and Tamar’s Voyage round the World...’, *The Gentleman’s Magazine*, No 43, July, 1773, pp320-324, cont. No 43, Aug 1773, pp374-380

³⁰² Heyd, 2015

³⁰³ ‘Epitome of Commodore Epitome of Commodore Byron’s Voyage round the World’, *The Gentleman’s Magazine*, 43, July & August 1773, p320-324, and p374

³⁰⁴ For example, *ibid*, p376 for an interesting footnote contrasting the published *Epitome* with Dalrymple’s “account of the Spanish and Dutch voyages in the Pacific Ocean”.

or ‘armchair geography’ is here given the greater weight, or at least used as an effective counterbalance in the case of conflict or disagreement.³⁰⁵

In a following footnote to Byron’s northern Pacific exploration, Wallis, Cook and Bougainville are castigated for not having done more to explore the islands within striking distance of Tahiti:

...one would have thought that, when they were within two degrees, or about forty leagues of them, at Otahitee, that *curiosity* would have led Mr. Banks and Dr. Solander to have made a more general enquiry concerning the remains of the Dutch boat, and the fate of those who had navigated her.³⁰⁶ [emphasis added]

In contrast to the criticism of “Mr. Banks and Dr. Solander” for their *lack* of curiosity, in the succeeding footnote immediately underneath and in general in the article, ‘Dalrymple’ (note the lack of any title) is referenced yet again. He thus comes across as the authoritative scholar: knowledgeable, curious, well-read in history and meticulous in his research. It is worth pausing to note the politics behind this aspect of Enlightenment geography: the general inference here is that Dalrymple would not have let the matter of neighbouring lands or unresolved relic ship mysteries go uninvestigated. What is more, Dalrymple’s major complaint against Cook upon *Endeavour*’s return is that the reason he failed to find the Continent was that he just did not look hard enough – in other words, he was not curious enough.³⁰⁷ However, any needling must be taken in light of the fact that Dalrymple wanted to lead the expedition himself (and had the support of the Royal

³⁰⁵ *Ibid* p377.

³⁰⁶ *Ibid*, fn, p377. The “Dutch boat” appears to refer to a rudder and assorted equipment – claimed here and by Dalrymple to be one of Roggewein’s ships, the Dutch ship *African Galley* – see p376 including fn.

³⁰⁷ This allegation is made publicly by Henry, editor, in the book review to Cook’s second voyage. See ‘List of Books, - with Remarks’, *The Gentleman’s Magazine*, 45, Dec 1775, p587.

Society) but was flatly rejected by the Admiralty in favour of Cook who had both proven naval and surveying skills.³⁰⁸

However, returning to the Great Southern Continent, it is not just the amount and form of words that supports the contention that the concept of *Terra Australis* had currency for the eighteenth century reading public in the making of geographical knowledge. It is also interesting to note that included in the Epitome of Cook's *Endeavour* voyage in *The Gentleman's Magazine* of December 1773³⁰⁹ is a fold-out plate carrying a chart detailing the tracks of not only Cook's *Endeavour* but also the tracks of the *Dolphin*, *Tamar* and *Swallow* "through the SOUTH SEAS" – and also those of Louis Antoine de Bougainville "round the WORLD" (Figure 22). There are several important considerations here: firstly, although this example appears to have been somewhat rushed in its execution (presumably in the race to get the much-anticipated voyage report into print³¹⁰) such plates - especially fold-out ones - were expensive and cumbersome to produce and use, so their inclusion was not made lightly, and it was heavily trumpeted in advertising both for and within the magazines. The inclusion of map plates therefore suggests a growing confidence with the offer and reception of visual and 'interactive' media in the public sphere in the eighteenth century. Moreover, it specifically suggests a growing cartographic and geographic literacy for the editor and the audience who are using such maps as a way of 'knowing the world' and putting countries (and their people) in their place, with all the implications and relationships this has for - and with - growing an empire.

A second point of interest here is the map itself: measuring some 10 x 24" and based on a meridian of Paris, it is a highly annotated regional map of the South Seas, engraved using a standard cylindrical projection by Thomas Bowen who hailed from one of the foremost mapmaking families of the day who went on to train Thomas Jefferys, Geographer to King

³⁰⁸ *Ibid*, p587.

³⁰⁹ 'An Epitome of the VOYAGE round the WORLD, by Lieutenant Cook,' in *The Gentleman's Magazine*, 43, December 1773, p589-596.

³¹⁰ For more on this race, see Beaglehole, 1974:289-291. See also Cook (Beaglehole, ed.), 1968:CCLVI-CCLIX.

George III. Published as one sheet accompanying the first section of the *Epitome* of Cook's first voyage in *The Gentleman's Magazine*, it was intended as the first of a three-sheet map of the world with the remaining parts published in subsequent months for the reader-cum-collector to assemble. These later sections comprise Europe, Asia and Africa (with the Atlantic Ocean also named) to begin the triptych, with North and South America (again showing Britain, France, Spain, the extremity of West Africa and the words "Atlantic Ocean" for context) making up the final sheet in the collection.

This publishing concept – both in its single and triptych format - presumes from its mid-eighteenth century readers a high degree of geographical interest and awareness in terms of the location of the Indian and Pacific Oceans on the globe, and the lands surrounding - and within - the southern waters. The reader is given scant information to be able to place the geographical data mentally in its global context: for readers, unfamiliar with the shape of lands in Asia-Pacific, the only strikingly labelled country marked on the map for orientation is China in the chart's northwest corner, while the chart is divided horizontally by the Tropics of Cancer and Capricorn, and the Equator, all labelled to the east.

The Moluccas and the rest of mainland Asia are laid out in graphic form but with relatively few toponyms to assist the reader. Interestingly, "CHINA" is the only northern hemisphere country denoted in capitals – possibly as it is the best known and/or largest in extent. Japan, "Cochin China" (modern day Indo-China), the "Philipine Is", along with Borneo are also clearly marked, along with the "B. of Siam" and the "Straits of Sonda" but most other place names are so small and indistinct as to be hard to read.

In the southern hemisphere, the further to the south and east one looks, the more recent – and less known - the discoveries by European navigators become for the reader. "New Holland" is the dominant feature on the chart, located slightly southwest of the central focal point and writ large in emboldened capitals; the size of the name is only surpassed by the italicised capital letters of "Pacific Ocean" in the bottom right hand corner of the chart.

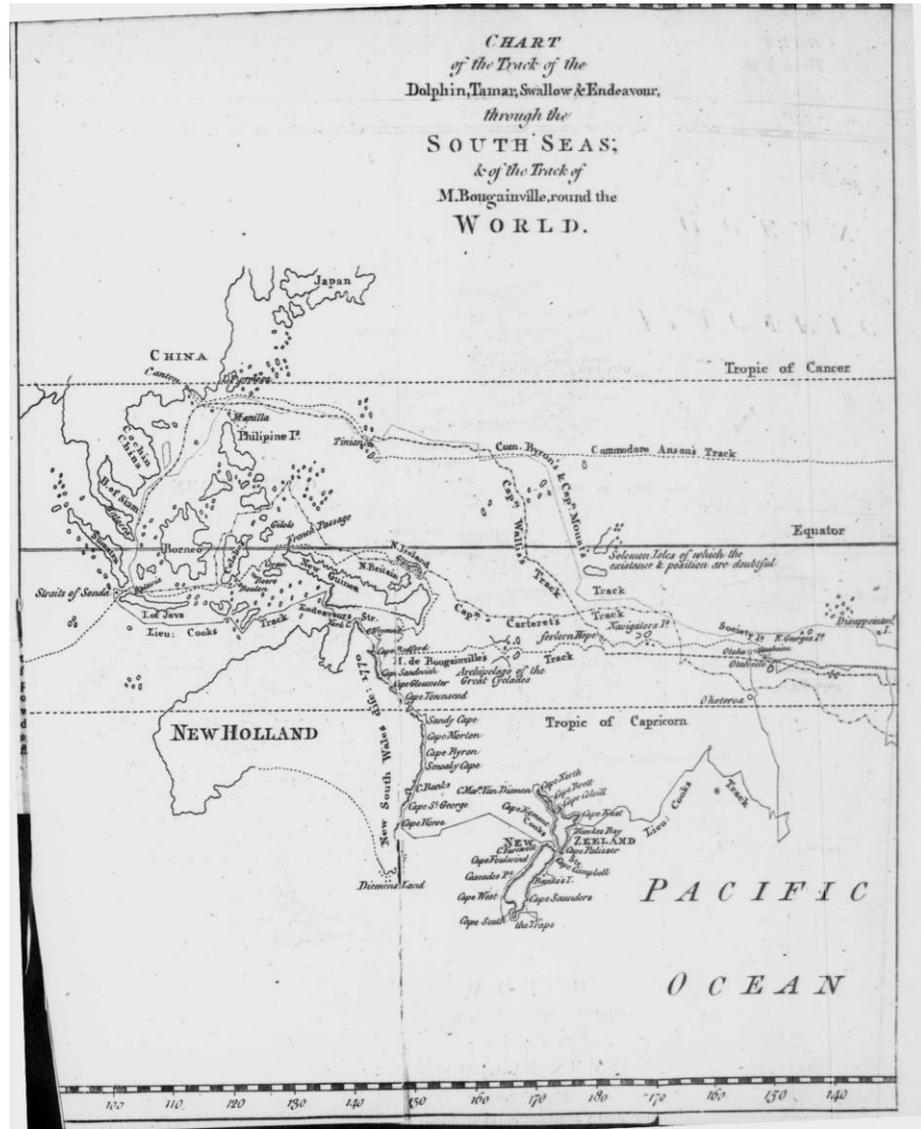
Herein lies the key to the entire chart – the Pacific Ocean is the clear focus of Cook’s [and therefore the Admiralty/British Government’s] explorations. Indeed, above the words “Pacific Ocean” a solid black line indicating “Lieu: Cooks Track” brands the ocean, descending from the Society Islands to unravel the densely-packed toponyms of the ‘new’ land of New Zealand and the previously unexplored coast of New South Wales. It is entirely consistent with the voyage’s second, secret set of Admiralty orders to go in search of the Southern Continent that New Holland, New Zealand and the far South East of the Pacific should become the primary focus of the chart. What is more, being the most eagerly anticipated aspect of the voyage, this is also the reason why the South Seas section is the first to appear in print.

Although the chart appears to have been rushed in its production³¹¹, the reader is aided in their history of the ‘discovery’ of this region by a highly-detailed depiction of navigational tracks annotating the map, locating it in relative time as well as space. These tracks were not just those of James Cook’s *Endeavour* but those of his predecessors, too: George Anson (*Centurion et al*, 1740-1744); John Byron (*Dolphin*, 1764-1766) & Patrick Mouat (*Tamar*, 1764-1766); Samuel Wallis (*Dolphin*, 1766-1768) & Philip Carteret (*Swallow*, 1766-1769); and Louis Antoine de Bougainville (*Boudeuse & Étoile*, 1766-1769).

The tracks of the different navigators are named for themselves, rather than their ships – in part, perhaps, an expression of the growing culture of celebrity. The tracks themselves are detailed and differentiated using a variety of dots and lines, with “Lieu: Cooks Track” being shown as a solid black line in contrast with the other tracks which are all segmented. The unexplored southern parts of “New Holland” are depicted with a dotted line while the newly explored eastern coast of what is styled “New South Wales disc: 1770” is not only completed in relative detail showing bays and headlands but it is also heavily engraved

³¹¹ For example, on the separate sheet of western Europe, Britain – especially Scotland – appears badly distorted. The Historian of Cartography, John Moore, suggests that this appears to be “a great example of a map quickly produced to meet a particular market and NOT an exact description of the world as then known.” Certainly, Scotland’s depiction seems to owe more to “Ptolemy” than scientific cartography [John Moore, personal email communication, 1 June 2016. His contribution here is gratefully acknowledged].

with place names. There was clearly no need to name its ‘discoverer’ who was by then assumed by the editors to be sufficiently well known by the reading public; there is certainly no attempt to mention Abel Tasman who penetrated further south in New Holland than Cook, and who first revealed the existence of New Zealand (then called ‘Staten Land’) to the west. Tasman’s ‘discovery’ here is left unattributed: the North and South Islands are shown with their coastlines completely surveyed and similarly densely named relative to the better-known lands to the north, giving the impression to readers that the “South” is now known and the gaps in knowledge-cum-coastline have almost all been filled in.



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Figure 22. Central Section (1/3): ‘Chart of the Track of the Dolphin, Tamar, Swallow & Endeavour...’ (1773) through the South Seas; & of the Track of M. Bougainville, round the World’.

Engraved by Thomas Bowen, published in *The Gentleman’s Magazine*: and historical chronicle, 43, December 1773, p589. © ProQuest 2007.

To the south of New Zealand is a vast and empty void, only encroached upon by the lettering of the name “Pacific Ocean”; however, this is not an anxious space: geographical doubt is expressed in very few locations. The Solomon Islands of modern Oceania are labelled “*Solomon Isles of which the existence & position are doubtful*”; doubt is similarly expressed in the trending of the coastline of “Navigators Is:” and also the islands in the “Great Cyclades” discovered by Bougainville where the coastlines are left incomplete; finally, there is the aforementioned dotted line on the south coast of New Holland and also in “New Guinea” - but beyond this there is no other suggestion on the chart that this part of the world remains an enigma. Cook has quite literally “filled in” the map of the Southern Ocean and readers hoping for a sighting or even a mention of the Continent to the south are left disappointed: there is nothing shown but empty ocean.

As previously discussed in Chapter 3, in his careful study of maps in *The Gentleman’s Magazine* to 1754, Reitan suggests that to publish a map of an area is to assert a claim to territoriality.³¹² There is certainly no mention of the Polynesians, Micronesians and Melanesians who dominated the region and whose forebears had colonised vast tracts of ocean – and whose descendants still plied across its waters for hundreds, even thousands of miles reading the stars, skies and seas and holding their maps in their heads with incantations. Instead, “Lieu: Cooks Track” has claimed the ocean as the most southerly of all the navigational records on the chart, spawning English language names in its wake: the re-writing of history and geography to make it more ‘British’ is now well underway.

In the next instalment of the *Epitome* of Cook’s first voyage, published in 1774, the report speaks of Cook “steering to the southward with a view to the discovery of a southern continent”.³¹³ The reader learns how he sailed south to 40 degrees 22’ S (his orders were to search for the Continent to 40 degrees South) but “with no signs of a continent appearing, they changed their direction, and steered to the northward” before heading west then south

³¹² Reitan, 1985:54-62.

³¹³ ‘An Epitome of the VOYAGE round the WORLD by Lieutenant Cook...(Cont)’, *The Gentleman’s Magazine*, 44, Jan 1744, p18.

again. At this point, *The Gentleman's Magazine* carries a striking engraving of “The Head of a new Zealand Chief curiously Tataowed” showing a man in ceremonial head-dress and feathered cape, with a greenstone earring and heitiki (Figure 23).³¹⁴ On turning the page, the reader then discovers that on 6th October, land was seen from the mast and then:

[O]n the 7th they approached the land, and, from its elevated appearance, the general appearance was, that they had found the *Terra Australis incognita*.³¹⁵

Further mention is made of this being the Continent on the following page, though the tone is now turning more knowingly *ex post facto*:

In coasting along this continent, as they still imagined it to be, they sometimes passed small islands, sometimes lost sight of land, and sometimes were entangled among rocks and shallows.³¹⁶

However, rather than continuing with the idea of this being “*Terra Australis incognita*”, by the end of the page the name of the long-sought-for land unambiguously morphs without any explanation into Tasman’s New Zealand, shifting it almost imperceptibly from the imaginary realm to ‘known’ geographic place. This is followed by a full and frequently complimentary account of the behaviour and culture of the “friendly Zealanders” (Maori), including a reference to the engraved plate – again, making the unfamiliar unthreateningly familiar and proximate. While the modern-day reader would know of New Zealand’s insularity, the eighteenth-century reader would not: it was postulated by some that the land discovered by Tasman was a promontory of the Continent-proper, thus Cook continues his coasting well beyond the waters of New Zealand and well beyond his orders to go to 40 degrees South:

³¹⁴ Plate: ‘The Head of a new Zealand Chief curiously Tataowed’, *The Gentleman's Magazine*, 44, Jan 1744, p18-19.

³¹⁵ *Ibid*, p19.

³¹⁶ *Ibid*, p20.

... they again tacked and stood to the southward, and continued with that course, with many variations, according as the land trended, til Thursday, March 1, when having advanced as far as lat. 48° S. and seeing no land a head, they tacked and stood to the northward...



Figure 23. 'The Head of a new Zealand Chief curiously Tataowed' (1774)
The Gentleman's Magazine, 44, Jan 1774.

In the early seventeenth century, Bishop Joseph Hall had blamed man's 'curiosity' for his moral failure to live a simple, pious life. By the reign of George III, 'curiosity' about the wider world was not only celebrated as a legitimate stimulus to greater knowledge but was considered essential for anyone wishing to engage with polite society. The rapidly growing eighteenth century press both fed off – and sustained – this desire for new geographical knowledge and information which brought the unknown into the realms of the western imaginary, evidenced by the investment in detailed articles and images shared with its readers.

By this island circumnavigation, the expectations of the Continentalists on board are thus thwarted and the limits of *Terra Australis* rolled back. However, in place of the fabled land now lay a fully-charted and yet still fantastical New Zealand full of vast mountains, giant trees and curiously oversized birds. As for the land's inhabitants, the report would have evoked both the familiar and the shocking for the eighteenth-century reader: the "Indians" lived with much the same – and sometimes more - civility, order and personal hygiene than many in Europe, farming the land, building magnificently fortified settlements with privies to many of their houses – and yet “dogs and men were equally eaten as dainties”. This was indeed a strange and paradoxical land, closer to the theatrical imaginings (cited at the start of the chapter) of Mr Garrick's *Quidnunc* Wilding than he could have believed - though, instead of losing their heads as his fictional character asserts, the vanquished Maori lost their bodies to their countrymen's cannibalism.³¹⁷

4. Making Sense of the 'Other': The Transformation of Mai

The public's thirst for geographical news, especially about the new lands and peoples of the imagined or newly-discovered south, is exemplified by an entry in the *Historical Chronicle* section of the magazine for August, 1774, which also highlights the growing cult of celebrity - a feature of the eighteenth century in general and its press in particular.³¹⁸ The article discusses the progress of “Omiah, the visitor from Otaheiti” who can be viewed in press terms almost as an analogue for the fantastic Continent, such is the excitement caused by his arrival. Omiah, (or as he is more commonly called today, Omai or Mai) was the young Polynesian man brought home to Britain with other natural history 'specimens' by Tobias Furneaux, captain of *Adventure* on Cook's second Pacific voyage in search of the Southern Continent. His arrival caused a sensation among the upper classes and literati: cast as not only an exotic curiosity but as a living embodiment of the Noble Savage and a substitute for the Continent itself, he was feted by the aristocracy, dined with the Royal Society and was even granted an audience with King George III.³¹⁹ Here, the

³¹⁷ *Ibid*, p69.

³¹⁸ Entry for Thursday 25th August, 'Historical Chronicle', *The Gentlemen's Magazine*, 44, Aug 1774, p388.

³¹⁹ For more on Mai's reception in Britain, see Collingridge, 2002:267-8.

Historical Chronicle devotes a full half page to his social life in Britain, in between news of a man mistakenly shooting his own son with a blunderbuss, and multiple, shambolic attempts by a hapless highwayman at mugging a group of travellers. Set in this sensationalist context, the entry does not disappoint: Mai is clearly well enough known to be called “*the* visitor from Otaheite” (emphasis added) – validating his notoriety in the public sphere while building a common bond amongst readers that they are members of a select and erudite and worldly group of cognoscenti. “Mr. Banks” and “Dr. Solander” are not given a descriptive introduction at all, suggesting that they, too, are well enough known not to need one.

Mai is introduced with an explanation that he had been the victim of the King of "Bola-Bola" [Bora Bora] who had driven both Mai and Tupaia (the Polynesian priestly navigator who had joined Cook's first voyage) from their native "Ulatea" [Raiatea] to take refuge in "Otaheite" [Tahiti]. Both men are said to have lost their "great possessions" (Tupaia) or at least "some estate" (Mai) in fleeing for their lives, with Mai “being young” having to take up "fishing, and other similar employments, to gain a livelihood." This piece of information is given with a tone bordering on over-justification, as if the journalist were trying to habilitate someone who would otherwise be considered too lowly to operate in a status-obsessed society.

However, Mai was not just a victim of the Bora-Borans' violence; the report alleges that he suffered a second time from "one of the frays which Capt. Cook unfortunately had at his first arrival on that island", in compensation for which he was apprenticed to a Tahitian priest "to learn that kind of science which qualifies for the priestly profession". The report goes on to discuss Mai's social standing, commenting that his "deportment is genteel, and resembles much that of well-bred people here". He is also reported to have had such faith in Banks and Solander that he submitted to be inoculated against small pox without any hesitation, firmly underlining the unequal nature of the relationship.

The entry in the *Historical Chronicle* is most illuminating in terms of ‘peopling’ southern lands in the geographical imagination, pointing up the complex and often conflicting methods by which the Polynesian (and by extension, potentially other newly discovered peoples) could intersect with western society: from the published textual evidence, it appears he has gained access to elite British society by being ‘of the right sort’ (i.e., of “some estate”, “genteel” and educated in “that kind of science which qualifies for the priestly profession”) while simultaneously distinctly ‘Other’ (an outsider in Tahiti, a foreigner in Britain, ‘exotic’ by inference and - given the reputation of the South Sea islanders for their impolite sexual mores – by prurience). He is, therefore, like the austral land of New Zealand, both different from us and similar to us – though it is worth remembering the precise terminology used to describe that genteel deportment: it is “genteel, and resembles much that of well-bred people here” - the use of the word “resembles” comes close; however, it is a small but significant step back from being considered equally *as* one of us...

5. The Thirst for New Geographical Knowledge about the South

A letter to the editor of *The Gentleman’s Magazine* in May 1773 illustrates how geographical and scientific knowledge *per se* - and about the South in particular - was being constructed in the public sphere on an almost daily basis in the contemporary periodicals. This was happening not just through learned articles from erudite, ‘celebrity’ scientists or renowned admirals but also directly by members of the public.

The flow of information between the mid eighteenth century press and its wider readership was vigorously and vocally two-way, with ideas regularly debated and contested in print. One reader, “J.N.”, writes that he eagerly anticipates the return of Captain Cook from his second voyage, in order to resolve the question of whether there is an equivalent of the Northern Lights at the South Pole – a presumption predicated on “Newtonian philosophy” and its hypothesis of a hollow earth combined with Edmund Halley’s theory of an inner core:

... Dr. Halley, in order to account for the variation of the magnetic needle, supposes, that there is another globe or world included in ours, at its centre, which is magnetical; and that there is a space between them. This space he imagines is filled with a subtle luminous vapour, which, issuing through some openings near the poles of our earth, produce all the appearances of the Northern lights... Whether there are like lights around the South Pole, I have not heard; but hope we shall learn, when Capt. Cook, Mr Forster, and the other gentlemen, who are gone to those parts of the world, return home.³²⁰

As before, it is not only the subject matter of the letter that is of interest here but its context and language. From its positioning between an item on an altercation with the ‘Caribbs’ in St Vincent and a debate on the ethics of political representation, the item is evidence for a mainstream and sophisticatedly nuanced debate in the British press and contemporary polite society about the nature of the world and, in particular, the existence and nature of any presumed Great Southern Continent. In this example, “J.N.” links theoretical cosmology with practical exploration, reaffirming the scientific reputation of Cook’s voyages and the so-called ‘Gentlemen Philosophers’ on board. It also reaffirms the growing culture of science in wider society – that one tests a hypothesis via experimentation or fieldwork, as opposed to the traditional speculative geography whereby the ancient or Classical wisdoms were contested intellectually through logic and reason.

“J.N.” would doubtless, therefore, have been amongst those readers who would have turned with interest to the review of Cook’s *Resolution* journal - the anonymous Newbery edition - published in December 1775 which details his second voyage in search of the Great Southern Continent and the southern seas. The review, which follows a damning account of some “uninteresting occurrences” in Asia, is published in three parts continued throughout the magazine and running to some thirteen pages in total. This suggests the editor perceived significant public interest in the voyage and its findings. However, it

³²⁰ Letter by “J.N.”, *The Gentlemen’s Magazine*, 43, May 1773, p211

should also be remembered that the account of the first voyage has been damned, and this account opens with almost vituperative criticism of the second voyage's aims and objectives.

Once again, the article leads with the concept of "curiosity", though this is tempered with an openly insulting barb:

It is, perhaps, to the gratification of this passion, added to the desire of fame, more than to patriotism or public spirit, that we owe those hazardous enterprises which have gradually opened a general intercourse among mankind, and which may be said, in these later times, to have rendered the inhabitants of the whole earth but as one people.³²¹

The introduction continues in this slighting vein, suggesting that the voyage "does not seem to have been undertaken with views wholly national" and that "[o]ther motives" lay behind the voyage's service and the selection of its commanding officers.

The motives of the reviewer are laid bare in the following paragraph which recounts how, without "Mr. Dalrymple"'s attacks on the published *Endeavour* journal, the whole enterprise would have languished in obscurity due to its "non-importance":

excepting some South-Sea islands, no new lands had been discovered, not the existence or non-existence of the SOUTHERN CONTINENT determined, though four voyages had been made professedly for that purpose.

Furthermore, it repeats Dalrymple's own claim to the admiralty "*that if he had been employed, he would not have come back in ignorance*" [original emphasis].

³²¹ Review: 'Journal of the Resolution's Voyage on Discovery to the Southern Hemisphere... Illustrated with a Chart, in which the tracks of both ships are accurately laid down; and other Cuts. 8vo. pp328. Newbery', *The Gentlemen's Magazine*, 45, Dec 1775, p587.

The reason for Dalrymple's open hostility is cited in terms of his frustration with his lack of control over how knowledge is being generated about the South: it is "pique" at being "deprived of the command of the Endeavour, *on pretence the he had not been bred up in the Royal Navy*" [original emphasis]. He is certainly scathingly critical of the voyage's achievements and command under Cook whom he personally lambasts for not pursuing a sighting of alleged land by his men (in other words, for lacking the very "curiosity" criticised in the review's introduction).³²²

The reviewer then states that it is left to the reader to determine

whether the voyage before us was projected "with the *sole view* of determining the EXISTENCE or NON-EXISTENCE of an undiscovered continent in the Southern hemisphere" as the writer of the preface has assured us; or whether a motive of another kind does not seem to have had some influence.

No explanation to what that ulterior motive might be is given or suggested, leaving it up to the reader to conclude for themselves, or perhaps dismiss the idea entirely in favour of becoming submerged in the accounts' exciting dangers and confounding "curiosity".³²³

6. The Construction of a New Southern Imaginary: Ice and Transformation

The Gentleman's Magazine review of the *Resolution* Journal continues with an account of the voyage in search of the Continent, from leaving Britain to the first crossing of the Antarctic circle (17th January, 1773) – the first known ship in history to achieve this – and then via New Zealand to Tahiti (15th August, 1773). Continuing the theme of the tantalising dangers of navigating 'off the map', there are several graphic descriptions of the terrifying ice islands that confronted the ships in high latitudes and could easily be

³²² *Ibid*, p588

³²³ *Ibid*, p587

mistaken for land, some of them being “three or four miles in circumference” although “the far greater part appeared like ruins of ancient cities, or the fragments of Gothic churches and castles”. This is followed by depiction of a scene in which the men, reaching into the water to extract ice to resupply their freshwater, found that “their arms soon became like icicles, and numbed, as for the present to be totally incapable of use” conferring status from extreme personal hardship.³²⁴

For the reader in Britain, these would have been terrifyingly awful mental images, quite alien to personal experience or the public imagination and crossing into the grotesque. Indeed, when Edmond Halley had gone looking for the Continent seventy-five years previously, he and the crew at first seemed unaware that icebergs even existed: they were confounded by the sight before them, thinking instead that the vast white islands at 51 degrees south were made of chalk – until sheer physical proximity revealed the shocking truth.³²⁵ Even a renowned scientist like Halley could not believe that the bergs were floating with only 1/8 of their mass above the surface, instead concluding that they must be resting on the ocean floor despite the fact that their lead ran out at 140 fathoms.³²⁶

Until the return of Cook’s second voyage, therefore, information on icebergs largely consisted of the scant reports by whalers and explorers in the far north, and the very few reports by explorers such as Bouvet and Halley in the far south. However, images painted and drawn *en route* by the voyage artist William Hodges, and naturalist J.R. Forster, were now poised to penetrate the public domain after the return of the *Resolution* in 1775. Indeed, William Hodges was the first artist to cross the Antarctic Circle and produced some of the first ever images of icebergs drawn or painted in the field, one of which depicts the very act of *Resolution* and *Adventure* taking ice for water³²⁷ (Figure 24; see also

³²⁴ *Ibid*, p588

³²⁵ Ipsen, D.C.: *Edmond Halley: More Than a Man with a Comet*, (Bloomington, IN, Xlibris Corporation), 2004, p44.

³²⁶ Ipsen, 2004:44.

³²⁷ ‘The Resolution and Adventure, 4 January 1773, taking ice for water, latitude 61 degrees South’, Ink and wash on paper, 14x22 in., Mitchell Library, State Library of New South Wales.

Figure 26), and one from earlier in the voyage that was discovered lying beneath an existing image of Pickersgill Harbour, New Zealand when x-rayed by the Royal Museums Greenwich in 2004.³²⁸ This ghostly black and white image (Figure 25) is now regarded as the first ever image of the Antarctic to be produced in oils *in* the Antarctic, rather than from oral or written reports; Pieter van der Merwe suggests that the reason for it being obliterated was “probably that such icy themes - even Alpine scenery - had not yet become part of the conventional European landscape repertoire”.³²⁹

This assertion that the iceberg imagery might be uncomfortably novel to an eighteenth-century audience is supported by the language of the book review which paints an “other-worldly” image of the Antarctic and far south. Although frequently surrounded by [white] ice, the scenes selected for relaying in the Magazine educe an impression of a strangely *darkly* magical landscape even where – when crossing the Antarctic Circle on 14th January - the men “saw the sun rise at 12 o’clock at night”. Like the grotesque imagery of the icebergs, this midnight sunrise evokes a world-turned-upside-down – a threatening space lying beyond the edge of human experience and imagination; this mood is compounded further by the report of a storm with “prodigious fall of rain, every drop of which was of the size of the common pea” and where:

...the sea rose to a tremendous height [that] the ships rolled, the rigging gave way, and the waves, by breaking over the bows, kept the men in continual terror of being washed overboard.³³⁰

³²⁸ According to a RMG Museum blog, the previously unknown image is the “first known depiction in oils of the Antarctic, and Hodges’ only known image of this part of the voyage”.
www.rmg.co.uk/discover/behind-the-scenes/blog/hodges-film, accessed 30/1/16.

³²⁹ See entry on Antarctic Art, Riffenburgh, Beau (Ed): *Encyclopedia of the Antarctic – Volume 1*, (New York, London; Routledge) 2007, p92.

³³⁰ Review: ‘Journal of the Resolution’s Voyage on Discovery to the Southern Hemisphere...’, *The Gentlemen’s Magazine*, 45, Dec 1775, p589.



Figure 24. William Hodges: 'The Resolution and Adventure, 4 January 1773, Taking Ice for Water'

Latitude 61 Degrees South. Ink and wash on paper; 14 x 22" (Mitchell Library, State Library of New South Wales).

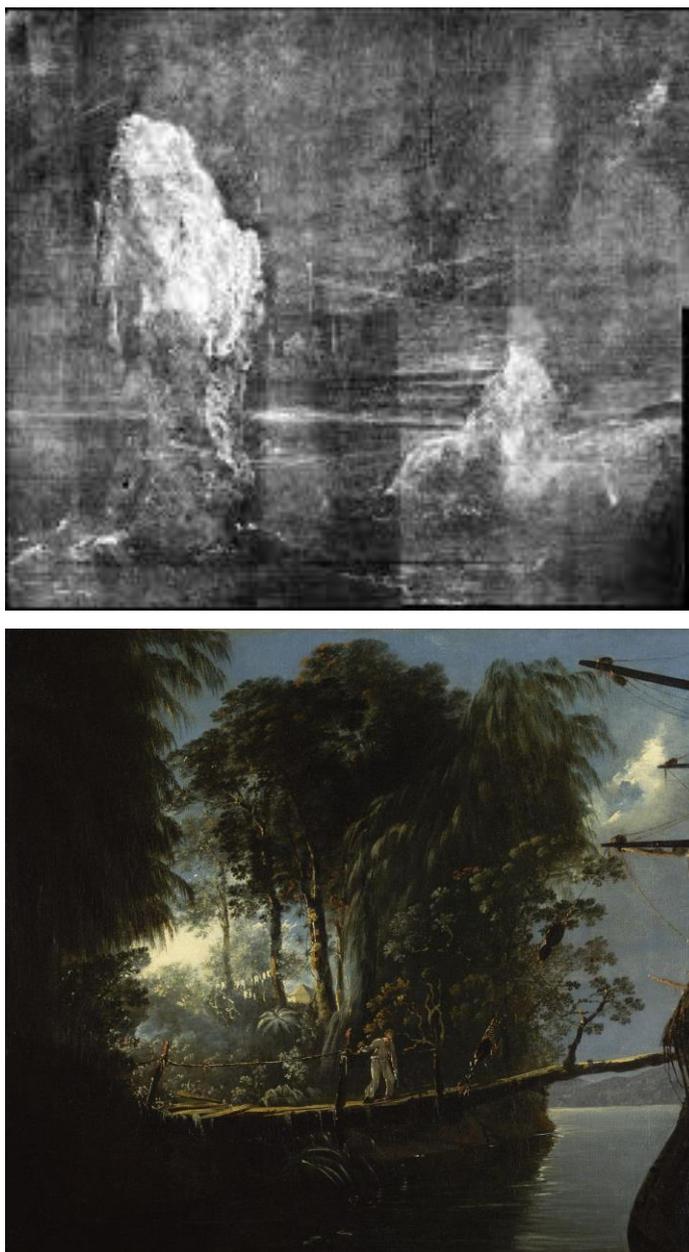


Figure 25. William Hodges: The first ever depiction in oils of the Antarctic (above) (1773) unexpectedly revealed by X-ray (2004) under a more comforting view of Pickersgill Harbour, New Zealand (below). Wales described the Antarctic icebergs, appearing like ‘an old square castle, one end of which had fallen into Ruins, and it had a Hole quite through it whose roof so exactly resembled the Gothic arch of an old Postern Gateway that I believe it would have puzzled an Architect to have built it truer’. [Wales, MS Journal, 23 February 1773, Safe1/84, Mitchell Library, Sydney. ©Royal Museums Greenwich, 2004.



Figure 26. William Hodges: Antarctic “Ice Islands” (1773)
William Hodges impressions of the Antarctic “ice islands” from 9th January, 1773 which the men harvested with pickaxes and melted for surprisingly sweet fresh water.
Images: Princeton University Library.

The unsettling atmosphere continues with the account of the two ships being reunited in Charlotte Sound, weary from their hardships at sea, with *Resolution* in particular suffering from her experiences ‘off the map’ in the far south:

being sometimes surrounded with islands of ice, out of which the people on board could only extricate themselves by the utmost exertion of their skill in seamanship; sometimes involved in sheets of sleet and snow, and in mists so dark that a man on the forecastle could not be seen from the quarter deck; sometimes the sea rolling mountains high, while the running tackle, made brittle by the severity of the frost, was frequently snapping, and sometimes rendered immoveable by the accumulation of ice and snow.³³¹

What follows are two paragraphs underlining both the “hardships” faced by the men that were “impossible to convey” to those without direct experience, and the fortitude required to even contemplate a voyage in such a “horrid” region over half a globe away from home.

These extreme hardships have the effect of elevating the men far beyond the human ‘norm’: the waters of *Terra Australis incognita* have propelled them irreversibly beyond the edge of the known into the unknown, conferring a new superhuman status, moral superiority and wisdom on the crew. This transformative power of environmental adversity has been noted by Millar in her analysis of British Polar expedition narratives in the nineteenth century³³² and it appears to have an earlier expression here. However, the mortal danger does not just confer new authority and credibility on the crew and its science: here in the freezing waters of the unknown south, the physical environment itself takes on a near mythic aura, too, as if it has the capacity to endow humans who cross into

³³¹ *Ibid*, p589.

³³² Millar, 2013:77-87.

its realm with enhanced powers, transfiguring the idea of polarity - for both reader and sailor - from 'north' and 'south' to 'them' and 'us'.³³³

It is also worth noting here that the powerful space of the Antarctic and peri-Antarctic is not universally transformational. Reinforcing the negative tone of the article's introduction, not only is Cook left unenhanced by its empowering effects, in this account at least he emerges *diminished* both personally and professionally in terms of his command over his men during their baptism by ice. In fact, the reviewer sets up an apparent dynamic whereby his men achieve their transformation almost in spite of their captain: it is the "people on board" (not their captain) who are credited with "the utmost skill" that kept them all alive amidst the bergs, and likewise it is due to "happy circumstance" (not good victualing and management) that, in an era when captains could expect to lose around half their crew from scurvy on long voyages (indeed half of *Adventure*'s crew would soon be afflicted³³⁴), the crew of the *Resolution* "continued in perfect health, scarce a man being so ill as to be incapable of duty" which enabled them to continue with their remarkable feat of exploration. Moreover, the reviewer selects a quote from the book's Editor saying that Cook "*despair[ed]* of finding any new land" (emphasis added) in the terrifying southern waters, and - when driven back by the ice - he tried to head to Queen Charlotte Sound, but he "was not able to effect his purpose", instead ending up hundreds of miles away in the far south of New Zealand. In contrast with his superhuman, super strong and morally superior crew, Cook's general appearance of failure sets the captain at odds with his men, throwing the dichotomy in even sharper relief.

³³³ A modern parallel would be the awe and status shown to cosmonauts and astronauts - and the physical environment of space itself. Serving cosmonauts at Russia's Star City were asked what it was like emotionally to leave the earth behind and enter space - to which they replied, "It's impossible to describe unless you have been there and experienced it" [personal anecdote, Dec 1999]. The effect of being irreversibly transformed - privileged but also isolated through personal experience - would very likely have been very similar for Cook's men in the 18th century where the unknown south was the 'final frontier' of human geographical knowledge about the earth.

³³⁴ Review, *The Gentleman's Magazine*, 45, December 1775, p590

It is not only the crew and the icy seas that are built up in the public imagination from this review. The landscape and peoples of New Zealand – rumoured to be a promontory of the famed Continent until Cook’s circumnavigation in *Endeavour* just a few years before - are also laid out in graphic detail. The *Resolution*’s month in Dusky Sound from March 1773 gives the reader their first mention of a darker, dystopic side to the island:

On this part of the island, which is the most southerly, and consequently the coldest and most unfruitful, the inhabitants are but few, and live in continual terror of their northern countrymen, who, if they can take them by surprize, carry them off to eat them, in like manner as the savage beasts of the forest carry off their prey when impelled by hunger.³³⁵

The idea of the forest being an untamed and dangerous space for Cook’s men is in stark contrast to the reported experience of the lone Maori family encountered and eventually befriended in Dusky Sound: when scared by the sight of the ship arriving in the cove, they had immediately fled and sought refuge in “the covert of the woods”. Not only does this cast the heavily wooded landscape of New Zealand as an alien and threatening landscape to the Europeans, the fact that the family chose to head into its blackness rather than risk the strange “tenderness and humanity” of the Western world further positions the Maori with the “savage beasts of the forest” in opposition to the westerners. They might superficially resemble the same species, but to the Enlightenment reader with ideas of cultural ‘progress’ from the likes of Voltaire, Ferguson and Kant, the differences would have been acute – and their ‘savagery’ did not lie far beneath the surface.

Another indication of the imaginative friction between the known and unknown in this newly emerging land occurs shortly after their departure from Dusky Sound in May 1773 when the *Resolution* tried to enter Queen Charlotte Sound – a place known to the captain and many of the crew from previous visits to this favoured and supposedly safe site.

³³⁵ *Ibid*, p590.

However, instead of the relief of the familiar, they find that even ‘known’ land- and seascapes can confound with unexpected savagery:

...to their great astonishment [they] found themselves surrounded with water-spouts, some of them not more than three or four hundred yards from the ship’s course, and having but little wind to clear them, were in the utmost terror, dreading their effects. It happened, however, providentially, that none of them burst till the ship had reached the Sound...³³⁶

As for the conjectured Continent itself, this remains as much a chimera for *Resolution* and *Adventure* – reunited in the Sound and now heading north to resume their search in the Pacific – as it did for the eighteenth-century reader:

In all this long run they never had once sight of land; for that now they had ranged more than half the southern hemisphere in various parallels, but all beyond any known tracks, and, except Van Diemen’s Land, and New Zealand, both already known, they had seen nothing but sky and sea.³³⁷

When eventually they do sight land in the form of a scattering of small islands, it is Tupaia from the previous *Endeavour* voyage who is credited for his geographical awareness, having reportedly drawn a “plan of more than 100 of his own knowledge, most of them within the Tropics.”³³⁸ Interestingly, it is thus the Europeans who are portrayed here as the ignorant travellers, not the Polynesian priestly navigator... As with his successor, Mai, Tupaia is baldly introduced by only his first name rather than with an explanation of who he was, suggesting that the contemporary audience was wholly familiar with him and his

³³⁶ *Ibid*, p590.

³³⁷ *Ibid*, p591.

³³⁸ *Ibid*, p591.

role on board the *Endeavour* – but also setting him apart from the conventional respect of a title such as *Mr. Banks*, *Dr. Solander* or *Captain Cook*.

In contrast to Tupaia's ancestral knowledge of Pacific lands, the reviewer ends this section of his *Resolution* account by laying out the westerners' newly acquired knowledge of an empty ocean to the south, quoting the book's 'Editor':

...That it may be affirmed, with certainty, that so far as our voyagers have already proceeded, no continent exists; and that all the conjectures and positive assertions of former navigators, and the reasoning of geographers and astronomers, concerning a Terra Australis Incognita, *within the limits just traced*, have not the least foundation in truth; but are fictions, unsupported by facts, and now fully disproved. [original emphasis]³³⁹

Cook and his men have sailed over the rumoured location of Continental lands posited by Dalrymple and other believers, finding instead only disappointment for some, corroboration for others, and hardship for all. The only winner here is the scientific method - testing a hypothesis through practical experiment and drawing conclusions from the results that no amount of repetition will vary. There is, however, just the slightest room for believers in the italicised codicil that the non-existence only applies to the area that has been charted. For the ardent Continentalists among the reading public, there is still room for hope in the regions yet to be explored, tantalised by the review's arch closing sentence that "the most interesting part is still to come. (*To be continued.*)".³⁴⁰

That 'continuation' occurs in the following edition of *The Gentleman's Magazine* in January 1776.³⁴¹ The second article picks up with Cook and his men leaving the Society

³³⁹ *Ibid*, p591.

³⁴⁰ *Ibid*, p591.

³⁴¹ 'Late Voyages of the *Resolution* and *Adventure*', *The Gentleman's Magazine*, 46, January 1776, p15-20.

Islands to sail to what is now the Tongan group, in order to confirm the existence and position of the islands Tasman had called Middleburg [‘Eua] and Amsterdam [Tongatapu] as part of Cook’s forensic accounting of land in the Southern Ocean. The description of these tropical islands, styled “the Paradise of the world” for their bounteous pleasures including the women who “refuse nothing to strangers”³⁴², add to the construction of the western imaginary of the South Pacific and the remaining vestiges of hope for a Continent. Here,

[t]he inhabitants are bold, but not brutal; they are large of stature, ingenious, and enterprising; they have many original arts among them, which they have carried to great perfection, and their utensils, instruments of war, and other curious inventions, are in high estimation among the Tropical islanders, and find ready purchasers wherever they are exposed to sale.

This near utopian description extends to the islanders’ houses that are “far more commodious than those of the islanders near the Line”, suggesting that the Pacific cultures become more refined the further south one travels, all of which appears to bode well for the Continental dream.

However, there are limits to the southern fantasy: the image of utopia is rapidly destroyed by the review’s account of their return to New Zealand. Here, the crews are beset by foul and “tempestuous” weather during which the ships are permanently separated.³⁴³ The savage weather is compounded when, on turning the page, the reader is assaulted with a scene of cannibalism among the Maori - the final proof of the ‘savagery’ of the “Indians” with their “depraved appetites”. In this borderland between the known and unknown, just like the weather, the inhabitants are quick to confound.

³⁴² *Ibid*, p18.

³⁴³ *Ibid*, p18.

On departing New Zealand to continue their journey south in search of the Continent, the sea adds its confusion into the mix of signs that unsettle the reader's emerging geography of the South: a floating tree trunk and two seals come into view - "infallible signs of land being near, but none appearing, they concluded that some island adjoining to the easternmost extremity of New Zealand could not be far off."³⁴⁴ Three days later, on 1st December 1773, the crew spot a seal, two penguins and "a great deal of sea-weed, all certain indications of land, yet none could be discovered: probably a small island, which they might pass in the night." Eleven days later, at latitude 62° 17' South the men do indeed see an island - but it's an island of ice – and three days later, on 15th December, at 66°4' South "the ice came so thick about the ship, that she was unable to proceed either to the Southward or Eastward".

Again, the descriptions of the hardships being endured now take on a sublime, almost supernatural tone that to the modern ear has echoes with Coleridge's *Rime of The Ancient Mariner*³⁴⁵, with snowflakes "larger than geese's feathers" that "fell so thick that from the quarter-deck the officers could not see the bow sprit".³⁴⁶ For several days amidst the ice and snow, the crew endured "the intolerable cold" and "tempestuous" weather – "yet the Captain still persisted in advancing to the South-East ". On 20th December 1773, they crossed the Antarctic Circle, continuing south to 67°27' until again driven back north-eastwards by the fields of ice. However, the brief retreat would not last for long: having reached 47° South, Cook again turned south east. Passing "six albatrosses, some ice-birds, and three Pintada-birds" they finally crossed the Antarctic Circle for the third and last time

³⁴⁴ *Ibid*, p19.

³⁴⁵ In fact, the gothic *Rime* is thought to have been inspired in part by Coleridge's tutor, William Wales, astronomer on board *Resolution* that dipped three times beneath the Antarctic Circle. Professor John Bowen asserts, "In the mid 18th century, critics and writers became more and more fascinated by experiences that don't seem to fit within their normal category of what's beautiful and what's pleasurable. They get fascinated by what it means to be in the middle of a storm at sea, or to see a shipwreck, or to be on the top of a high mountain in a great wind. And the word that they use more and more to describe this is the *sublime*. The sublime isn't harmonious, balanced and beautiful - which had traditionally been the concern of the aesthetic, but is often terrifying and awesome and overwhelming and Gothic is absolutely at the centre of that move to the sublime and sublimity in understanding the world." His video and associated transcript can be found at <http://www.bl.uk/romantics-and-victorians/videos/thegothic#sthash.BTUgVQJe.dpuf>

³⁴⁶ 'Late Voyages of the *Resolution* and *Adventure*', *The Gentleman's Magazine*, 46, January 1776, p20.

on 27th January, reaching 71°10' south on 30th January, 1774 where “they passed a huge island of ice, and heard many dreadful crack, as if the whole earth had been cleaving asunder”.³⁴⁷

What follows that ominous, apocalyptic scene is the dystopic end of the Continental dream where, even by climbing the mast head, no land can be seen; in fact, there is “nothing...but the dreary prospect of ice and sea” – a strangely passive end to a dramatic episode but one that gives a flavour of the exhaustion of both captain and crew at meeting with this seemingly endless ice-scape.³⁴⁸

Of the former might be fancied a whole country, as far as the eye could carry one, diversified with hills and dales, and imaginary plantations, that had all the appearance of cultivation; but, being often deceived with false appearances, and this second attempt at discovery promising no better success than the former, the Captain once more gave orders to direct the ship’s head to the Northward, to the great joy of all his crew.

For the reader, as well as for the *Resolution*’s crew, this marked the death knell of the fabled Continent: the finality of the ship’s search is marked by the termination this part [two] of the account. However, it is not the end of the voyage: the reader is immediately advised that the account is “*To be continued*” and then redirected to an “*annexed Map*” for a “*perfect Delineation of the Track of the Resolution...in which, to avoid confusion, the Track of the Adventure is omitted.*”³⁴⁹ [original emphasis].

This, then, is Cook’s definitive map showing...nothing...at the bottom of the world. For the eighteenth-century reader, he has brought truth and light to the world like a scientific Jesus – only in this unfolding picture of hell, it is not fiery but freezing.

³⁴⁷ *Ibid*, p20.

³⁴⁸ *Ibid*, p20.

³⁴⁹ *Ibid*, p20.

7. Mapping the ‘New’ South: The Triumph of Science

The featured chart (Figure 27) is again engraved by master cartographer Thomas Bowen and entitled, “*A MAP of the SOUTH POLE, with the Track of his Majesty’s Sloop Resolution in Search of a SOUTHERN CONTINENT*”³⁵⁰, laying bare the motivation for this second voyage into the Southern Ocean. A standard stereographic projection with a 10° graticule, it appears to embody the advances made by Johann Heinrich Lambert (1728-1777), an exact contemporary of Cook who is regarded today as “one of the most outstanding contributors to the science of map projections” whose advances resulted in the Lambert Conformal Conic Projection of 1772.³⁵¹ Here, the polar Lambert azimuthal equal area projection of the southern hemisphere creates the effect of the parallels of latitude spreading further apart away from the centre with the result that the scale decreases radially as distance increases away from the centre. The meridians are shown as straight lines and the directions from the centre are true.³⁵²

This chart bears a striking similarity to the map drawn up by Cook himself in preparation for the voyage, showing the discoveries made in the Southern Ocean up to 1770, which he enclosed with his memorandum to Lord Sandwich, dated 6 February, 1772.³⁵³ This was another southern polar projection, though one extending to the Equator instead of to 30°S and showing a thick line (originally yellow) depicting Cook’s prosed track across the oceans and circumscribing the Antarctic Circle. At 12”x12”, the preparatory map was slightly larger than the one featured here in *The Gentleman’s Magazine* and its audience

³⁵⁰ ‘A MAP of the SOUTH POLE, with the Track of his Majesty’s Sloop Resolution in Search of a SOUTHERN CONTINENT.’, *The Gentleman’s Magazine*, 46, Jan 1776; p.[9].

³⁵¹ Thanks to Historian of Cartography, John Moore, of the University of Glasgow for providing me with this information on Lambert and map projections via personal email, 1/6/16.

³⁵² Again, I gratefully acknowledge the help of John Moore for supplying this information via personal email, 1/6/16.

³⁵³ ‘A Map of the Southern Hemisphere. Shewing the Discoveries made in the Southern Ocean up to 1770’, Mitchell Library MSS, reproduced in Skelton’s addendum to J.C. Beaglehole’s edition of *The Journals of Captain James Cook on his Voyages of Discovery: Charts & Views – drawn by Cook and his officers and reproduced from the original manuscripts*”, Boydell Press in association with Hordern House, Sydney, 1999.

was highly restricted to an inner circle of the Admiralty but it, too, shows a polar space empty of anything other than the graticules of longitude and latitude.

However, while the chart of 1776 might look very similar to Cook's hypothetical route map, there is a substantive difference: this featured chart represents real experience, revealing the privileged and authoritative view of Cook and his men who have by now travelled 'not only farther than any other man has been before...but as far as...it is possible for man to go'³⁵⁴ – in this case, to below the Antarctic Circle. For magazine readers in the northern hemisphere, the resultant 'bottom up' view of the world is completely at odds with their experiences of the world from their boreal vantage point: just like the article that has preceded it, the chart also unsettles their sense of what is 'normal' and even possible, directing their gaze to arguably the least known space on earth and confounding the imaginative potential of the far south, now revealed in all its deadly geography.

However, on closer inspection, the suggestion that this is a map of the South Pole is clearly erroneous: in reality, the South Pole is a blank space on the map, circumscribed only by the graticules of latitude and longitude, and occupied not (ever) by the voyagers but by a single cross of theoretical meridians and the number "90" for the degrees of longitude. Any 'occupation' of the South Pole to establish priority is therefore as much of a chimera as the fabled Continent itself: Cook is claiming the South by dint of getting the closest - not only to the geographical limit of the Antarctic ice but – as evidenced by his aforementioned quote - to the conceptual limits of human endurance, capability and experience.

The track of *Resolution* is detailed along with landmasses both previously known and new to the West. Also, detailed on the map are dates when the ship sailed through specific areas such as "Track in 1773" or "Track in 1775", and assertions of direct/first-hand experience and hardships, such as the annotation "Much Ice" between the "Isle of Georgia" and

³⁵⁴ Online version of Cook's Journal for the second voyage,
<http://www.captaincooksociety.com/home/detail/225-years-ago-january-march-1774>. Accessed
 26/2/16

“Sandwich Land”, and “Thick Foggs” on the track midway between New Zealand and Cape Horn, annotated “Dec 1774”. These annotations, while relatively limited in number, are drawn from first-hand experience and – at least according to the conventions of mid eighteenth century reporting in *The Gentleman’s Magazine* – such primary evidence confers enhanced authority and credibility to both the gentlemen and the map, locating the voyagers firmly within the realm of ‘explorers’ as opposed to mere ‘navigators’. They are therefore both figuratively and geographically a world away from the reader’s experience, pushing the bounds of knowledge, experience and insight ‘farther than any other man’.

Instead of being marked with the long hoped-for “Continent”, the most southerly point on *Resolution’s* track is marked somewhat more mundanely with the words “field ice”. This understatement both sardonically underscores the scale of the obstruction and asserts without any emotion that the Continental dream is dead: pragmatism, not imagination, has won the day. If any land does exist further south, it is not only barren but inaccessible. In terms of its utility to both the crew and to Britain, it is therefore worthless.

Furthermore, in conjunction with the accompanying text, this apparently ‘empty’ polar region (at least in terms of sought-for Continental land) here creates a paradoxical and potent central space, one that is loaded with not observed coastlines or limits of the ice but with meaning and significance: just as the imagined landscape has been transformed into an ice-filled void, the textual references to the extreme climatic conditions have transformed the crew and their captain from ordinary sailors into gothic heroes, putting their lives not just *on* the line but beyond it, in pursuit of an ultimate truth. The reader can attempt to ‘travel’ there via the page but - without sharing the experience of the hardships the crew endured – they are forever prevented from sharing Cook’s geo-transformation.

With this depiction of an ‘empty’ South Pole, the power of a *Terra Australis* as a signifier not just for land but for imperial ambition is therefore erased from the map of the southern hemisphere – at least until the nineteenth century’s ‘Commercial’ then ‘Heroic Eras’ of

polar exploration. Ironically, however, the *horror vacui* - so typical in the maps and imaginings of the southern hemisphere in previous centuries - is this time in-filled not by Swiftian savagery, mythical creatures or flamboyant cartouches but instead by the certainty of the scientific method³⁵⁵ and the map itself. Science (albeit with the transformative effect of gothic power) has finally defeated traditional lore and has planted its flag at the Pole.

8. Making Sense of the New World: Curiosity, Utility and Re-conceptualisation

The next instalment of *The Gentleman's Magazine's* account of the “*Journal of the Resolution's Voyage*” occurs the following month, dedicating some five pages to its coverage. Once again, the Continent is a central theme, this time in reference to the captain's search for the Juan Fernandez Islands to the west of Chile:

They were now in a temperate climate, and, as the ship's company rightly judged, were directing their course in pursuit of that country which Juan Fernandez is said to have discovered, and which, by many able navigators, has been *supposed*, and by some *affirmed*, to be part of the *terra incognita Australis*; a supposition and affirmation equally ill grounded.³⁵⁶ [original emphasis]

The use of italics here is interesting. This is the only time in the instalment that italics are used for emphasis and – in contrast with their use for foreign names or words such as the Latin *terra incognita Australis* - they have the deliberate effect of adding to a sceptical tone to the voice of the author. Indeed, the effect of this emphasis coupled with the repetition of “supposition” and “affirmation” compounds the impression of a rather scathing condemnation of the Continentalists' presumed gullibility, terming it “ill grounded”. It is also worth noting here how far the editorial line seems to have changed

³⁵⁵ Characterised by Pedley (2017) as based on enlightened principles of “Rational thought, observation and measurement, repeatability and replication and wide participation”. In her lecture, she argues that even the language of science permeated the public sphere of the eighteenth century, leading to expressions such as “New and Accurate” filtering into maps and texts.

³⁵⁶ “JOURNAL of the RESOLUTIONs Voyage...”, *The Gentleman's Magazine*, 46, Feb 1776, p66.

from the (previously noted) biting comments aimed not only at the rationale and execution of Cook's voyages of discovery but also at the captain himself who is now referred to as "very humane".³⁵⁷

However, not every past report or tantalising appearance of land is groundless: the frequent "signs of land" noted by the crew presage the ship's arrival at "the famous EASTER ISLAND of the Dutch, and the DAVIS'S LAND of the English, the existence of which had been doubted."³⁵⁸ Here, the concept of curiosity as a virtue (discussed in Chapter 2) is once again invoked in the voyage account, ascribed to the "gentlemen" (as opposed to the lower class sailors or marines) who were propelled to "visit those famous statues, or more properly idols". It was these statues that had given rise to the "fabulous reports of the first discoverers, that on this island they had seen men from 12 to 20 feet high" – although the 'giants' are now clearly revealed as man-made and carved from stone. Notwithstanding this earlier confusion, the gentlemen's curiosity is further stimulated as they marvel at the statues, wondering "by what powers they had been raised, or by what art fabricated" if they were, as they seemed, indeed comprised of one huge slab of stone. The island's air of inexplicable mystery seems to imbue itself within the gentlemen as they go on to muse over the origins of the population, being located as they are "on a speck of land not more than 12 or 15 leagues in circumference, and at least a thousand miles from any known land".³⁵⁹

These questions, framed in the context of curiosity as a virtue, help to construct a more coherent geographical imaginary for the Pacific Ocean - both *in situ* by the gentlemen themselves and for the dis-located reader of *The Gentleman's Magazine* at home in Britain or elsewhere in the West. However, rather than it being reassuring for both these parties, fitting tidily with preconceptions of this new and "other" part of the world, it is instead deeply challenging in terms of how that world is constructed geographically and

³⁵⁷ Viz., "the captain very humanely ordered the officers mates before the mast", *ibid*, p66.

³⁵⁸ *Ibid*, p67.

³⁵⁹ *Ibid*, p68.

philosophically. Here, *in situ*, it seems the “epistemological anxiety” - cited by Murray as occupying blank spaces on early maps of *Terra Australis* - is internalised by the gentlemen explorers as layer upon layer of new questions penetrate their accepted ideas of how things are, unsettling their relations with their own constructed worlds, and with the reader back home, many of whom are hoping for thoughtful and evidence-based answers.

In the final instalment of the voyage narrative, printed in March 1776, ‘our Journalist’ reports how they rounded Cape Horn and entered the South Atlantic, the mariners still searching for signs of the Continent. As they sailed through an unfamiliar strait on 17th February, 1775, “the land seemed to have no end” and, from “the lofty appearance of the rocks and mountains” – similar to those of Tierra del Fuego, the sailors concluded “that at length they had discovered the *Continent*, in search of which they had already suffered such frequent and grievous hardships”.³⁶⁰ The “Journalist” providing the material for the article makes no judgement of the veracity of the sailors’ claim but the editor weighs in urging caution:

By the track laid down in the map of last month, which was communicated to us by a very nice observer, there is no reason to suppose the land seen on this occasion to be any other than an island distinct from that afterwards seen on the 28th of the same month, in lat. 60: 4, which is there distinguished by the name of SANDWICH LAND.

³⁶⁰ ‘Journal of the Resolution’s Voyage...’, *The Gentlemen’s Magazine*, 46, March 1776, p121.

But should it appear, upon farther examination, that what is there distinguished by the name GEORGIA ISLAND, and SANDWICH LAND, are but parts of one and the same continent, as our Journalist seems to take for granted they are, there will then be no doubt about the existence of a TERRA AUSTRALIS, though by its situation it can contribute very little to the purposes of commercial intercourse.

It is interesting to look closely at the language and structure of how these ideas are conveyed. Firstly, there is a clear link in the sailors' (and Journalist's) minds between suffering "grievous hardship" and discovering the Continent, with the Journalist apparently inferring that discovery is dependent on – or at least contingent with – a punishing level of effort. This concept echoes Dalrymple's criticism of Cook's first voyage that the Captain might have found the Continent if only he had looked harder for it. However, the editor gives more weight to the evidence of the ship's track on the map annexed in the January 1776 instalment (Figure 27) which he claims was "communicated to us by a very nice observer".

The terminology here is most interesting: in the eighteenth century, the word "nice" had changed in meaning from its earlier negative or neutral associations to new positive values of respectability and virtue.³⁶¹ Other sources, including Samuel Johnson's 1755 *Dictionary of the English Language*, define it as "fastidious" or "scrupulously or minutely cautious".³⁶² It seems, therefore, that the editor has made a judgement about whose information to trust – the sailors' or the "very nice" observer's. Both have been first-hand observers but it appears the assumed social standing of the 'nice' witness seems to carry the greater weight in terms of the authority of information. According to the editor, however, the final verdict should rest on the evidence of "further examination" – that is, through more systematic and 'scientific' direct observation and analysis, not through even

³⁶¹ Information from Oxford Dictionaries online: <http://blog.oxforddictionaries.com/2012/10/change-in-word-meanings/> accessed 16/3/16 at 13:52.

³⁶² "A Guide to Eighteenth-Century English Vocabulary" by Professor Jack Lynch, Rutgers University, 14 April 2006 <http://andromeda.rutgers.edu/~jlynch/C18Guide.pdf> accessed 21/3/16 at 18:10.

“nice” observation or a sailor’s gut feeling based on how what he sees balances with his expectation or a wished-for outcome.

The editor’s comment regarding the possibility of South Georgia and Sandwich Land being connected as part of a Continent is also worth interrogating here. Notwithstanding Cook’s assertion of insularity from his $\frac{3}{4}$ circumnavigation and surveying of South Georgia – and his significant but partial survey of Sandwich Land, the editor seems to be tapping into a presumed sentiment among his readers that they would not be surprised if a Continent existed here; indeed, one might almost infer from the tone that they might find this highly desirable. The fact that the “Journalist seems to take for granted” the existence of a Continent underscores the contemporary confidence that this voyage – or future voyages - will reveal land to the south. The irony here is that – from the bleak descriptions given by Cook and his men - any land that does lie this far to the south would clearly “contribute very little to the purposes of commercial intercourse” – in other words, it is tantamount to ‘useless’ in the minds of the public (Figure 28). This body-blow lays bare the motivation for the voyage, at least in the public’s interpretation: without some value for trade, there is precious little utility in Cook being down there beyond providing fodder for the press, the *Quidnuncs* and the geographically curious.

9. The (Re) Construction of Geographical Knowledge: validation & resolution

Terminating the final instalment of the unauthorised voyage account is a fascinating post-script illuminating the process and presumed conditions for the construction of new geographical knowledge, here addressed to “intelligent” and “inquisitive” reader, along with “the critic”:

[From the epitome now concluded, the *intelligent reader* will be enabled to judge of the importance of the relation. The remarkable conformity between the ship’s course, as daily noted by the Journalist, and as laid down by the geographer; (*both strangers to each other’s intentions*) leaves no room to suspect the authenticity of the materials. We have only to observe father, that neither the *inquisitive*, who read for information, not the *critic* who reads for faults to cavil at, will be disappointed in the perusal of the book. The writer has evidently paid greater attention to the choice of his matter, than to the refinement of his language. An infinite variety of entertainment is introduced from the relations of former voyages, and some judicious remarks of the writer’s occasionally interspersed; but, though, upon the whole, an extensive knowledge of the subject is discoverable, yet some obvious errors have been suffered to escape, both in science and in grammar which, we doubt not, will be corrected in another edition.]³⁶³

³⁶³ Postscript to ‘Journal of the Resolution’s Voyage...’ *The Gentlemen’s Magazine*, 46, March 1776, p121-122.



Figure 28. Possession Bay, South Georgia (1775 and 2003)
William Hodges's impression of Possession Bay, South Georgia, Tuesday 17 January, 1775, and January, 2003 © Vanessa Collingridge.
Far from this being a *provincia aurea*, the shockingly barren nature of the landscape described by Cook is clearly visible from both contemporary and modern images.

First, the editor artfully divides the readers into those “*intelligent*” enough to appreciate the epitome’s “importance” – and those who are not. This sleight of hand naturally encourages his audience to align themselves with those favouring the epitome as a form of self-flattery – an assertion supported by Heyd’s findings on the role of “puffery” in the eighteenth century press and the desire of the rising number of *Quidnuncs* in the population to be seen as well-read and well-informed.³⁶⁴ Having artfully “puffed” the readers, the editor then re-asserts the authority of the epitome’s information, favourably comparing the “Journalist”’s account with the “geographer”’s which – as well as independently validating the information of the former – also confers respectability by his association with the latter who is here portrayed as a skilled and professional practitioner. Next comes an assertion that the “Journalist” has focused on his subject matter more than refined language, which serves to remind readers that he is concerned largely with matters of substance, not appearance. This theme is reinforced by favourable comment on his use of context (i.e., the “infinite variety of entertainment” through references to other voyagers’ journals) and his “*judicious* comments” [emphasis added] which are “occasionally interspersed” through the text - further enhancing the epitome’s credibility and authority by highlighting the first-hand, direct and thoughtful nature of the observations. The postscript finishes by lauding the “extensive knowledge of the subject”, and by diminishing “some obvious errors...both in science and grammar” as mere slips doubtless to be corrected in a future edition of the book.

In its entirety, the epitome is presented to the readers as an authoritative and credible first-hand account of the voyage – and, crucially – the Magazine gets to ‘scoop’ the story for its readers (and rivals) before Cook’s own *official* account is published the following year. However, while the magazine and its contents are “puffed”, the widely-held expectation of a bountiful Continent located to the far south is exploded. From both the voyage account

³⁶⁴ Heyd, 2015:59-84; 71.

and the associated charts, it is made clear that the Continent – at least as imagined in the reading public’s minds in the second half of the eighteenth century - does not exist.

Certainly, the epitome seems to be almost the last word on the matter: for three months after the final instalment in March, 1776, there is no more mention of Cook and his discoveries – or non-discoveries - to the south. Then, in a letter from “An Old Sailor” published in June 1776³⁶⁵, the correspondent raises the topic of Cook’s preparation for his third (and final) voyage to the South Seas. *En passant*, while discussing discoveries to be made in the northern part of the world, the correspondent issues the following claim:

It may be presumed, that all doubts concerning the existence of a southern continent are now solved, and that our future researches will be directed towards the north, unless the unknown parts of that vast country distinguished in our maps by the name of *New Holland* should be thought of importance enough to merit examination.³⁶⁶

In other words, for the public at large and even for those intimately connected with the sea, the reports in newspapers and magazines following Cook’s second voyage had unequivocally settled centuries of debate about what lay to the south. It is worth nothing that the geographical curiosity that has typified explorations in the Southern Oceans is not here regarded as a virtue in its own right. The “Old Sailor” inextricably links geographical exploration with geographical “importance” and “merit”. While the underpinning factors in these attributes are not identified, a clue might perhaps lie in the previous article’s discussion of Sandwich Land and Georgia Island: viz., “commercial intercourse”. This would certainly ‘fit’ with the contemporary view of New Holland/New South Wales which, along with its people, was regarded as largely ‘miserable’ and barren, that is,

³⁶⁵ Letter: ‘AN OLD SAILOR’, *The Gentleman’s Magazine*, Vol. 46, June 1776, pp268-269.

³⁶⁶ *Ibid*, p268.

devoid of commercial potential and therefore meriting little curiosity from those in the West.

But while the putative Continent had seemingly been erased from South and the public imagination, interestingly, the meme of *terra incognita* does not appear to have been extinguished *per se* - it has merely been relocated. The “Old Sailor” goes on to describe the land of North America stretching to the west where, he believes, “there is great reason to believe that the continent extends to an immense distance in that direction...terminated only the Indian Ocean, or the sea of Great Tartary”:³⁶⁷

The vast tract that is here unknown bears a very considerable proportion to the extent of the whole globe. From 140th deg. of west long.to the 180th, and 50th of lat. Northward, it is yet a question whether land or sea occupies the greater space. How many nations, islands, and civilised states may be comprized within this immense extent[?] What new arts, new sciences, and new ways of living, may be traced in countries so remote, where no European has ever yet to set his foot. As the earth is uniformly various (if I may be allowed the expression) in her productions, what treasures may not the naturalist add to his stores in such a vast research?

³⁶⁷ *Ibid*, p268.

The language and geographical imagination encapsulated in this extract bear an uncanny correspondence to the language and imaginative potential of the Great Southern Continent, as suggested by proponents Wytfliet in regard to his World Map of 1597, and Dalrymple in his three, substantive works on the Continent³⁶⁸. First, Wytfliet:

The South land... is explored only at a few coastal places because after one and other voyage that route has been discontinued and thence rarely sails are set except that ships are driven off by cyclones. It takes its beginnings two or three degrees under the Equator and is assigned such an extension by some that it may well appear to be the fifth continent after having been discovered fully.³⁶⁹

Likewise, Dalrymple had postulated that the Continent – containing some “50 million” inhabitants and stretching over 4596 geographic miles and occupying

a greater extent than the whole civilised part of Asia, from Turkey, to the eastern extremity of China. There is at present no trade from Europe thither, though the scraps from this table would be sufficient to maintain the power, dominion, and sovereignty of Britain, by employing all its manufactures and ships.³⁷⁰

In these passages, it appears that – for some members of the public, at least - the imaginative potential of a Continent has more solidity and endurance as a meme than as a geographical reality: it must be there somewhere...we just need to look harder for it.

³⁶⁸ Dalrymple’s corpus of work on the postulated Continent includes his three key texts: *An Account of Discoveries made in the South Pacifick Ocean, Previous to 1764 (1767)*, *A Historical Collection of Voyages...in the South Pacific Ocean (Vol. I, 1770)* which deals with Spanish voyages, and its sister edition (Vol. II, 1771) which deals with the Dutch voyages.

³⁶⁹ Wytfliet, Cornelius: *Descriptionis Ptolemaicae Augmentum* (1597), accompanying comment to his World Map (“Vtrivsqve Hemispherrii Delineatio”) of 1597, quoted in *Terra Australia to Australia*, Ed Glyndwr Williams and Alan Frost, OUP, Melbourne, 1988, pp16-19.

³⁷⁰ Dalrymple: *Historical Collection*, Vol. I, 1770, xxvii-xxix, quoted in Beaglehole, 1974:120-121.

The following month, another unauthorised and anonymous account of Cook's *Second Voyage round the World* is reviewed in *The Gentleman's Magazine*.³⁷¹ The two-page review does not mention the voyage aim of going in search of the Southern Continent; instead, it focuses on details of conflict and violence between the Captain and his men, and the indigenous peoples of the South Seas.

However, while not of direct relevance to the Continental debate, the review is interesting in terms of the judgement it makes on the authority and production of geographical knowledge. The tone of the review is scathing and dismissive, citing there is "little to add that is new in the work" which, at times, contains "misrepresented" facts and "many wilful errors... purposely introduced to abuse those who have had the misfortune to fall under [the author's] displeasure". This statement is followed by a series of examples where the veracity of the reviewed account is undermined by a rival version of the truth used by the anonymous correspondent for the magazine. There is no direct evidence or source cited to support the correspondent's apparently weightier authority – just [his] association with the magazine (viz., he is referred to as "our correspondent").

As final "proof" of the unreliability of the account, the reviewer also claims that "[e]ven the latitudes of places which are not taken from former authors, are some of them wrong three or four degrees; and the longitudes four, five and sometimes eight or nine degrees".³⁷² This comment reflects the contemporary preoccupation (exhibited in the work of Cook, John Harrison and the Admiralty Lords, and discussed in the modern-day writings of Withers and Mayhew³⁷³) with the importance of accurately "fixing" imaginative or speculative geographies on a scientifically referenced and graticulated map of the world – a primary rationale for geography at large, the *Resolution* and *Adventure*'s voyage in particular - and the basis of all future trade and commercial relationships with any 'new' lands. The reviewer - who appears to have had foresight of the as-yet

³⁷¹ Review: 'A Second Voyage round the World... By James Cook, Esq', *The Gentleman's Magazine*, 46, July 1776, p323-324.

³⁷² *Ibid*, p324.

³⁷³ For an overview, see Withers, 2006:711-729.

unpublished official voyage account - continues with the ‘evidence’ for his claim along with an endorsement of its authority and scientific credibility, arguing that the ‘truth’ will out “as soon as the account which is compiling under the authority of the Lords of the Admiralty shall make its appearance”.³⁷⁴

10. The Final Word: Cook’s *Resolution* Journal

That “appearance” – at least in terms of a review in *The Gentlemen’s Magazine*³⁷⁵ - takes another fifteen months. Just over three pages is dedicated to Cook’s own account of the voyage, covering extracts concerning topics including the Maori, the Society Islanders, “Omai” and “*terra australis incognita*”, along with a lengthy section of praise for Cook himself. Mention is also made of George Forster’s account of the voyage which, while “undoubtedly of merit...is not only superseded by the above, but is also invidious and interested”.

Given that the selection of the extracts by a reviewer would normally represent the subjects that the reviewer considers to be most note-worthy for the audience, it can be argued that the inclusion of “*terra australis incognita*” (albeit briefly) underlines the enduring public interest in the fabled Continent, even after its well-publicised dismissal as a geographical reality. The Continent – and the hardships of searching for it - are raised in the context of the “Discourse” by the President of the Royal Society Sir John Pringle written about James Cook for the Sir Godfrey Copley Medal, which is annexed in the account and used to round off the review³⁷⁶:

In conclusion, to adopt Sir John Pringle’s words, “how meritorious must that person appear, who hath not only made the most extensive but the most instructive voyages;

³⁷⁴ Review: *The Gentleman’s Magazine*, 46, July 1776, p324.

³⁷⁵ Review: “A Voyage towards the South Pole... Written by *James Cook*...’ *The Gentleman’s Magazine*, 47, October 1777, p491-494.

³⁷⁶ *Ibid*, p493.

who hath not only discovered, but surveyed, vast tracts of new coasts; who hath dispelled the illusion of a *terra australis incognita*, and fixed the bounds of the habitable earth, as well as those of the navigable ocean, in the Southern hemisphere!” What Sir John truly calls a *wonder of the deep*, and the *romance of his voyage*, ought also to be mentioned, viz., his receiving his support in the high Southern latitudes from those very fields and mountains of ice which seemed to threaten nothing but destruction, by discovering that frozen sea-water would thaw into fresh, a transmutation then little expected.

What is being expressed here in Pringle’s “Discourse” is the sentiment of the times: that what counts is the added value for the host nation in terms of utility and benefit. Cook has brought home with him useful, accurate and trustworthy information; he has mapped new lands ensnaring them into the developing ecology of an empire; he has shone the light of geographic knowledge over our dark ignorance of the southern hemisphere; and, as well as being an agent of science in an age of imperialism, he has also brought “*wonder*”, “*romance*” and also the ‘magic’ of transmutation. Although the historian Sünne Juterczenka argues that Cook only became truly famous after his death³⁷⁷, the evidence in *The Gentleman’s Magazine* suggests that he was already being eulogized by 1777 – a year after his departure on his third voyage and two years before his death in Hawai’i. In fact, the language and sentiments expressed here seem to give the fullest expression yet of the sea-change in interest in Cook, his voyages and the new geographies and imaginaries arising from his travels in search of the Great Southern Continent over the course of the late 1760s and 1770s. Public opinion explored through the lens of the articles, letters and features analysed in this chapter has swung from dismissal and even disdain, to laudatory statements verging on the obsequious.

³⁷⁷ For a fuller analysis – and some criticism of the idea of Cook’s fame – see Juterczenka, Sünne: ‘The Celebrated Captain Cook’ – or Was He? Contemporary Press Culture of the Third Pacific Voyage (1776-80), Bärbel Czennia (Hrsg.), *Celebrity – the Idiom of a Modern Era*, New York, 2103, pp193-216. Thanks to Glyn Williams for lending me his copy.

With the benefit of historical hindsight, it could therefore be argued that Cook was operating at a time when the Age of Reason was giving way to the Age of Celebrity – and in him, the press and the public had found its perfect bridge. But rather than Cook the Celebrity being ‘created’ solely by the press, the evidence in the articles under consideration here suggests that - as well as it being the locus of his personal “transmutation” - the unsettling space of Southern Oceans has become a crucial agent in his re-formation. As already explored, the experiences of Cook and his men in the Antarctic have resulted in their own metamorphosis from sailors and navigators to epic voyagers and heroic explorers, battling not only the prodigious seas, surreal weather and gothic icescapes of the deep south but the limits of their (northern and western) knowledge and experience. And, in turn, Cook’s voyages into that challenging, ‘edgy’ space off the map of the world have helped to re-form the geographical and imaginative space that lay to the South for the public back home.

Of course, the “transmutation” of the Great Southern Continental idea itself - from *provincia aurea* to icy wasteland to what would become Antarctica - was only just beginning; meanwhile, the insertion of the indefinite article (“a”) in front of “*terra australis incognita*”, a construction which hitherto had been seldom used by either journalists or members of the public on the pages of *the Gentleman’s Magazine*, embodies a distancing or de-coupling of the concept from established popular belief. Just like the “frozen sea-water” utilised by Cook’s men, it appears that over seventeen years of reporting in the *Gentleman’s Magazine*, the unknown southern land as previously imagined and desired has become less solid and more slippery to hold onto when examined under the fiery glow of eighteenth century science.

Summary

As outlined in detail in the Methodology section of Chapter 3, the above research was carried out using an archive of *The Gentleman's Magazine* from 1760-1777, selected by a key word search of terms pertaining to the Great Southern Continent. The analysis was conducted according to the Research Aims and Objectives laid out in Chapter 1 and - in combination with the six cross-cutting themes – forms the interrogation of the archives for Chapters 4 and 5. These cross-cutting themes facilitated a close-reading of the textual, cartographic and graphic materials encompassed within the select archive and focused specific attention on:

- The **control** of knowledge about the emerging South
- The **credibility** of knowledge about the emerging South
- The **knowledge *per se***,
- its perceived **utility** for the eighteenth-century audience and society
- the **(re)making sense of the world** in the light of new knowledge
- the **transformational power** of the South in its 'Continental' and Antarctic formulation

This summary will firstly review those specific objectives, assessing how far they have been achieved, before moving on to a more general discussion of the overarching aims, themes and questions arising.

Objective 1: Representation and understanding of the Continent in *The Gentleman's Magazine*, 1760-1777.

The first Research Objective was to “construct and interrogate an archive...to track how the Great Southern Continent was variously represented and understood by differing parties within the public sphere.” For the purposes of this chapter, this was successfully achieved using one title, *The Gentleman's Magazine*, from the British Library's *Burney Collection*, both in its hard and soft formats. With the obvious limitations of the magazine pitching itself at those who felt an affinity with the word ‘Gentleman’ – and thereby doubtless excluding large numbers of women along with men of a lower social standing – it appears to function reasonably well as an analogue for the (literate) public sphere.

In terms of the demographic reach, the inevitable gender and social bias towards a predominantly male ‘literati’ operating in the middling to upper echelons of society is to be addressed by the use of the full range of periodicals in the Burney Archive in Chapter 5.

Notwithstanding these potential sources of bias, *The Gentleman's Magazine* was the most popular and influential monthly magazine of its day³⁷⁸ with a distribution network stretching across Britain and an uptake extending out to Europe and the colonial world. It drew on a breadth of content from regional and national newspapers and magazines across Britain, generating a broad geographical audience who would read/share/discuss it at home, in coffee houses, clubs and salons, or in the emerging libraries, largely in its monthly format but also as a bound, annual volume. This extended its intellectual and discursive ‘life’ and also its reach and relevance for readers.

The choice of the magazine to represent the public sphere is also pertinent for the social and intellectual networks of its contributors (and indeed those of the collecting Burney family). These incorporated some of the leading contemporary figures in maritime

³⁷⁸ Greene, Donald (1977), cited in Reitan, 1985:54

exploration, theorising and journalising of the day, including Alexander Dalrymple, John Hawkesworth and James Boswell. These social networks also have important implications for the access to - and the control and flow of – geographical knowledge, locating the magazine centre stage as an opinion- and knowledge-former in a society caught up in what Heyd describes as a “news craze”.³⁷⁹ Contributors like Hawkesworth were often directly and independently engaged in the process of knowledge production about the geography of the emerging South; furthermore, David Henry - the editor and publisher of *The Gentleman’s Magazine* – was also the leading contender for publishing in late 1775 the anonymous, unauthorised but highly popular early ‘spoiler’ account of the *Resolution* voyage (probably based on the journal of gunner’s mate, John Marra) – an account extracted at length in the magazine.³⁸⁰ This denotes an almost unparalleled level of engagement in the construction of austral geographical knowledge from a magazine editor and [in this case] his journalists. While this was a major advantage for the analysis above, it also forms a potential source of bias in itself (see Chapter 5). However, a study of exactly *who* is exerting control over the published knowledge in the magazine, along with *how* they are doing it (including their motivations and connections), underlines the very fluid and complex relationships between those making and receiving the news in the timeframe under consideration – a time when journalists would frequently write anonymised ‘letters to the editor’ in their own and other periodicals, and the reader-contributor was an inherent and essential part of the developing press culture.

As demonstrated in the preceding analysis, *The Gentleman’s Magazine* archive is dense and content-rich in its coverage of what lies to the South, locating the subject as a key area of sustained and varied public interest over the period. The sub-archive constructed for this research tracks the textual representations and re-workings of the Continental meme and associated austral knowledge in great detail over its seventeen year timeframe, with a range of supporting illustrations and maps representing not only a significant intellectual,

³⁷⁹ Heyd, 2015:59-84.

³⁸⁰ See annotated list of published accounts for the Cook voyages, www.captaincooksociety.com/home/collectables/books/eighteenth-century-books accessed online 6/11/2016, at 12:39.

financial and time investment on the part of the editor but also a significant contribution to public knowledge and feeling about the South during those years – particular in the ‘scooped’ coverage of Cook’s second voyage. Crucially, however, the flow of information is far from being *ex cathedra*: the active participation by the public in the form of published letters, debates and counter-claims strongly supports the argument that, through its relationship with the press, the Continent was a rigorously contested – and constructed – area of *public* knowledge rather than being restricted to the cultural elites of “celebrated” royal geographers or famous navigators.

Along with the participatory nature of the debate, what emerges from the archive analysed above is a vastly changing series of representations of the very idea of the Continent over the period. From its early form as Buache’s 1763 theoretical and ‘reasoned’ framework of a “fertile and prosperous” land³⁸¹ - based on conjectured ideas about the nature and structure of the world in the context of historical and classical learning - it morphs and evolves by 1765 to become the unsettling, supernatural otherworld – ‘witnessed’ (but not measured) by Byron - of giants, goblins and seven-foot “monsters in human shape”³⁸²; from there it shape-shifts once again to become Cook’s empirically surveyed “New Zealand” and barren, southern sea from the voyage chart of 1773³⁸³, finding representation as home of reader “J.N.”’s logically conjectured aperture for the emanating Southern Lights³⁸⁴ that same year. As its ‘true’ nature is gradually revealed by direct ‘scientific’ observation - and more emotional journalising - during Cook’s second voyage, it is then re-presented in the magazine as a place of anxiety: the contested space of Dalrymple’s [speculative] desire and Cook’s alleged lack of [empirical] curiosity³⁸⁵. When Dalrymple effectively loses the battle for control of information about the South to Cook, the reading and viewing public is presented with a brand new and genuinely shocking geographical

³⁸¹ Buache, *The Gentleman’s Magazine*, 33, January 1763, p61.

³⁸² Review: Byron’s Voyages, *The Gentleman’s Magazine*, 43, 1773, p287.

³⁸³ “Chart of the Track of the Dolphin, Tamar, Swallow & Endeavour, through the South Seas...”, Engraved by Thomas Bowen, *The Gentleman’s Magazine*, 43, December 1773, p589.

³⁸⁴ Letter: ‘J.N.’, *The Gentleman’s Magazine*, 43, May 1773, p211.

³⁸⁵ Review, *The Gentleman’s Magazine*, 45, December 1775, p587.

imaginary of the fearful, sublime Gothic icescapes of the Antarctic Circle³⁸⁶ along with [David Henry's] contemptuous moral landscape, cleansed - for the "intelligent" reader - of its "unsupported...disproved" "fictions".³⁸⁷

And then there is...nothing: the non-discovery delineated in "Cook"'s southern polar projection where the emptiness is claimed only by the voyager's tracks and *British* science planting its flag at the Pole.³⁸⁸ But this is no kenophobic *horror vacui*: as represented by "An Old Sailor", the emergent South is now just an unimportant space, devoid of "merit", utility and epistemological anxiety. With no significant land there to hold his interest, he instead directs his gaze Northwards to a putative continent of "new arts, new sciences, and new ways of living" extending from North America.³⁸⁹ Resolved in its science and stripped of its economic and geopolitical meaning, the South is now irrelevant.

In just seventeen years, therefore, the Continent offers first promise, then fear, disappointment and, ultimately, insignificance. However, this is no smooth, unified trajectory: the differing parties involved in its representation also vary in their ascendancy in the public sphere: the period from 1760 to the early 1770s proffers the most optimistic representations of the Continent in *The Gentleman's Magazine*, with the theoretical scientists of Buache, Dalrymple and "J.N." speculating on what lies beyond the liminal zone of human knowledge and experience. In accordance with Reitan's ideas on map and charts adding to a public sense of territoriality, the Continent's depiction on charts makes it 'more real' and therefore more imaginatively feasible to 'possess' and control. With the first and especially the second voyage into the South Seas of James Cook – a practical navigator, empirical science begins to invade the intellectual landscape of the theorists. By December, 1775, when *The Gentleman's Magazine* publishes its unauthorised account of the *Resolution* and *Adventure*'s voyage, the sheer force and volume of 'new' and empirical

³⁸⁶ Review, *The Gentleman's Magazine*, 45, December 1775, p588.

³⁸⁷ Review, *ibid*, p591.

³⁸⁸ "A MAP of the SOUTH POLE...in Search of a SOUTHERN CONTINENT", *The Gentleman's Magazine*, 46, January 1776, p9.

³⁸⁹ Letter: AN OLD SAILOR, *The Gentleman's Magazine*, Vol 46, June 1776, pp268-269.

knowledge crowding the pages of the magazine drowns out the voices of the armchair geographers. The editor, Henry, is responding to what he clearly perceives as a palpable thirst for this new geographical knowledge and demonstrates on the page a growing acceptance not only of its facts but of its methods. Empirical science wins the day over speculation but it is a science based on utility and therefore, other than knowledge useful to navigation (such as wind directions, ocean currents and depth data), its focus is firmly towards the land. Ultimately, therefore, in an era characterised by Gascoigne as having “science in the service of Empire”, the victory is pyrrhic: with no potential for trade or colonisation, the empire has no use for the icy wastelands of the Antarctic.

Objective 2: Mechanisms of Continental knowledge (re)production, 1760-1777.

While the first of the stated research objectives has been answered by the analysis above, the second demands a detailed investigation of the *mechanisms* of knowledge (re)production about the putative nature of the South by – and within – the press. This has been achieved by a close reading and analysis of the archive in all its representational forms, interrogating it with the six cross-cutting themes laid out above. Perhaps the most important consideration arising is not simply the new austral knowledge *per se* that arrives firstly from the theorists (for example, Buache’s Continental hypotheses) and then from the empiricists (for example, the records of experiences in voyage journals and material artefacts brought back in these floating “Wunderkabinetts”) but how that knowledge – particularly knowledge-at-a-distance - is controlled and made credible by the journalists and editor of *The Gentleman’s Magazine* on its journey into the public sphere.

In terms of the control of knowledge, one of the clearest examples of the mechanism at work in the archive is Dalrymple’s seemingly ceaseless tirade through published letters and articles in the magazine against Cook’s lack of curiosity and rigour during his first voyage, purportedly inherent flaws in Cook’s *modus operandi* that led to him coming back

“in ignorance” over the existence of the conjectured Continent.³⁹⁰ Unable to control or compete with Cook’s actions and knowledge production *in situ* in the South, Dalrymple instead attacks his moral character with his own weapons of pen and page. A man of letters with impeccable literary and Establishment connections, he uses his professional power to build up an oppositional narrative of his own authority versus Cook the blundering practitioner, lurching into the South Seas without Dalrymple’s studied knowledge of history, natural philosophy and logic to support and guide him. His repeated claim that he “*would not have come back in ignorance*” [original emphasis]³⁹¹ is a clever and damning accusation in light of contemporary discussion over curiosity as an essential factor in knowledge production and a vital first step in making sense of the world.

As well as the way Dalrymple’s views are referenced in the magazine articles and debates, including the claim that without his intervention and accusations, Cook’s voyage would have languished in obscurity, the success of moral attack as a control mechanism can be seen in seen in Cook’s response. After Dalrymple’s print campaign against him - and the debacle of Hawkesworth writing up Cook’s first voyage and thereby wresting control of his own experience from him - Cook insists on retaining control over his thoughts and words in the official account of his second voyage. However, as demonstrated, even ‘official’ publications find it hard to prevent some control escaping through ‘leaks’ and ‘scoops’, attesting to the strong demand and interest in the public sphere for more geographical knowledge about the putative nature of the South.

This concept of an active (and highly contested) knowledge economy raises a concomitant problem, however, in terms of the perceived value of its currency, that is, the *credibility* of knowledge. For theorists, such as Buache and Dalrymple, the value-cum-credibility of their ideas is based on their success in manipulating other people’s ‘evidence’ through nuanced historical interpretation of past ideas and observations to achieve an intellectually

³⁹⁰ Review: ‘Journal of the Resolution’s Voyage on Discovery...’, *The Gentlemen’s Magazine*, 45, Dec 1775, p587.

³⁹¹ Review, *ibid*, p587.

coherent outcome. Of course, the inherent paradox in this approach is that these observations increasingly rely on expert, *in situ* empirical testimony (in this case, ‘scientific’ navigators) - and a means of conveyance (in this case, the ship) to get the new data from ‘there’ to ‘here’. In terms of the production of knowledge and the growing culture of empirical science over the seventeen-year period of this investigation, the observations arising from the field – and disseminated via the organ of the press - increasingly failed to corroborate the ideas of the speculative geographers, and ultimately destroyed their credibility as a separate mode of knowledge production, instead subsuming it into the early ‘ideas’ stage of hypothesis-building in the scientific method.

The battle for credibility is played out in textual and cartographic form as the battle to the death over two competing mechanisms of knowledge production about what lies to the South. These signs take different forms in their textual and graphic representation within the archive of *The Gentleman’s Magazine*. On cartographic representations of austral space, these signs are characterised in the analysis above by the increasing use of inscribed voyage tracks and empirical data that collapse time, space and experience (especially perceived danger or ‘hardship’) and proclaim an authority almost impossible to achieve from written sources alone. This is compounded by an apparent trend in map projection towards the ‘privileged view’ of the explorer, setting the ‘viewer’ apart from the norm and therefore aiding an aura of it being ‘expert’. This is clearly demonstrated by the embedded experiential knowledge inscribed on the magazine’s 1776 map of the Resolution’s voyage “in Search of a SOUTHERN CONTINENT” – a map which uses the south polar projection to give a ‘privileged’ and radically new view of the austral world.

In textual form, the battle for credibility employs a number of interesting mechanisms that have been demonstrated throughout the analysis above. Along with the trope already discussed of credibility gained through ‘hardship’ in the field, credibility in the public sphere is first asserted by knowledge being published [from the Latin, *publicare*, to make public] and thereby incorporated into a print culture that was one of the bedrocks of polite society. Verbal accounts, or poorly written ones, by ‘inarticulate’ or unknown sailors

offering ‘knowledge’ had to be mediated through an editor/publisher to gain legitimacy through public circulation, shifting their geographical sphere from private to public and their nature from ‘gossip’ or ‘hearsay’ to more stable, ‘documentary’ forms of ‘expert’ testimony. This is clearly demonstrated by Hawkesworth being tasked to write the official account of the *Endeavour* voyage by the little-known lieutenant Cook, and an anonymous editor [David Henry] publishing the account [generally attributed to crew member, John Marra] of the *Resolution* voyage.

However, in terms of credibility, it was not enough to be reproduced in print. The battle for credibility – particularly of knowledge-at-a-distance - leaves perhaps its most visible marks in the detailed epistemological ‘anxting’ over the competing accounts of the austral giants by a range of ‘trusted’ (that is, socially elevated) observers, including some of the greatest naval commanders of the day. The mechanisms of credible knowledge production are here laid bare – and, in this case, found wanting. The reviewer achieves this through the philosophical debates by the journalist over how to reconcile the vastly differing accounts, with resolution only found by an intellectual ‘fudge’ of deciding the witnesses saw different giants in different places... Elsewhere, for example with Buache’s styling as “the celebrated M. Buache” or the journalist’s appeal to the “intelligent” reader, puffery is used as a clear assertion of credibility [‘expertise’] for the person, their ‘knowledge’ and the organ reproducing their knowledge (in this case, *The Gentleman’s Magazine*). Other important mechanisms arising from the analysis include connecting ‘new’ knowledge with unestablished credibility with a ‘known’, credible fact/person/association. This is evident in Hawkesworth’s over-long title for his voyage account, which overtly name-checks the aristocratic naturalist Banks as well as the lesser known Cook, and also Buache’s association of his ‘new’ knowledge (via Tasman) about the Maori of New Zealand with the better-known human landscapes of China and Japan.

Finally, the sheer volume of information of information flooding onto the page about the ‘true’ nature of the far South also helped establish its credibility. From the late 1760s but especially from the 1773 review of (established *Gentleman’s Magazine* journalist)

Hawkesworth's *Voyages*, the topic of the putative Continent is located firmly in the mainstream public sphere by dint of the hitherto unprecedented length and number of related articles, letters and book reviews published in the magazine – enough to satisfy even the most ardent *Quidnunc*. Chapter 6 reviews whether this was an aberration or replicated across the British press of the mid to late eighteenth century, legitimising the claim that the Continent was a central theme in the public's geographical imaginary.

Objective 3: The memetic power of the Continental trope, 1760-1777.

The final research objective of the chapter was to “identify, map and analyse the complex and dynamic relationship between the Continent and wider society through the prism of the eighteenth century press over the final years of its ‘life’, ‘death’ and ‘re-birth’ as the Antarctic in the popular imagination”. This relationship – assisted by the six cross-cutting themes - has been a primary focus of the analysis of *The Gentleman's Magazine* archive and affords intriguing insights into the utility and memetic power of the Continental trope as a contested geographical idea for making sense of the world - particularly as a ‘fantastic’ idea with no basis in geographical fact.

The changing role of the Continent in wider society is perhaps best tracked and interrogated by the way it was used in *The Gentleman's Magazine* to make sense of the (interior and exterior) worlds of the mid to late eighteenth century. Again, Buache's 1763 treatise³⁹² is a useful starting point, constructed as the final part of his grandly entitled “theory of the earth” of 1752 and extending over five pages with an associated, engraved map. As well as this investment in column inches and resources, the timeframe here is noteworthy, bounding the start and finish of the Seven Years War that atomised geopolitics, turning nations (particularly the French and British) inwards and against each other. Published in English in *The Gentleman's Magazine* just a month before the signing

³⁹² Buache: “Geographical and Physical Observations”, *The Gentleman's Magazine*, 33, January 1763, pp32-36.

of the Treaty of Paris in February 1763, Buache argues his Antarctic theory “compleats” his global theorising, making sense of his world geography. By turning his attention to the nature of the far south, he is therefore reconnecting the “Antarctic Regions” with a global idea (in this case, a global pattern of mountain chains, land and waters) in the same way that Britain and France’s ‘scientific’ attention to the South reconnects them with imperial desires for post-war global pre-eminence. Buache’s theory and its accompanying map also draw the reader’s gaze down to the South, helping to construct imaginatively a world that makes sense according to the scientific beliefs of the day – especially, that seawater cannot freeze and thus the presence of ice must necessitate the presence of land. From there, it is just a small step for war-torn Europeans rethinking the losses and gains of their overseas territories to imagine actively the land as temperate (good for settlement), inhabited (good for trade) and desirable (good for geopolitical and strategic power). Buache’s theory is therefore the first hint in the selected archive that the Continent might represent to the wider society of eighteenth century Britain a potential value other than just physical land: more than mountains, earth and rivers, the landscape he constructs becomes an analogue for a virgin space, unsullied or carved up by the bellicose North and burgeoning with promise from its “good tracts of country”³⁹³, “affable” population and “revered” king.³⁹⁴ However, given the previous discussions on the pre-eminently utilitarian function of the Continent in *The Gentleman’s Magazine*, the reader is left in no doubt that - while the science is interesting and confirms its physical form - this almost utopian putative space is there to be occupied and monetized by the West.

Reitan’s work on the use of maps in *The Gentleman’s Magazine* from 1731-1754 raises the important issue of how the founding editor, Edward Cave, deliberately introduced maps and charts to ‘explain’ conflicts in little known parts of the world from 1739, not only educating the public about their geography but locating cartographic representation as an essential way of ‘knowing’ distant places.³⁹⁵ Although only hinted at by Reitan, concomitant with this ‘knowing’ is a sense of intellectual possession or territoriality.

³⁹³ *Ibid*, p34.

³⁹⁴ *Ibid* p35.

³⁹⁵ Reitan, 1985:54-62.

Following this logic, it can be argued that the significant investment in maps and charts by editor David Henry became an essential mechanism in the emotional interest in – and ownership of – space by the public sphere. In the case of the Southern Continent and the magazine (as seen in Buache’s chart of 1763), this helped to develop and strengthen an imperial relationship with the putative region through its cartographic ‘life’ on the page. This cartographic mechanism of control is particularly pertinent for *The Gentleman’s Magazine* given that rival magazines and newspapers were – by dint of reduced investment per issue and their, often faster, production times – less likely to be able to compete in their use of maps, leaving *The Gentleman’s Magazine* to dominate cartographically the eighteenth-century press.

Meanwhile, the trope of inhabited austral lands is raised again in the lengthy feature in May 1767, comparing the differing accounts by Noort, Drake, Magellan and others of the giants of Patagonia. This article – along with the 1773 review of Hawkesworth’s *Voyages*³⁹⁶ – resonates strongly with Flint’s work on conceptualisations of the monstrous peoples of the world in previous centuries, and how they should be treated.³⁹⁷ Like the Continent itself, she argues that the tradition of monsters owes its popularity “partly to mythical projection, partly to observation, partly to the attractions they had for artists, always to the appeal they made to the human imagination.” As Flint demonstrates, monsters like the Patagonian giants or Byron’s “enormous goblins”³⁹⁸ were fully accepted as existing in the known world – while at the same time emotionally distanced from the more ‘human’ sphere. In other words, austral regions such as Patagonia or the putative Continent acted as a ‘safe’ zones where monstrous beings could be safely distanced from the sites of human habitation to the “outermost fringes of the world” but should not be vilified as “bad workmanship” by God.³⁹⁹ In this public re-imagining of the Continent, it is

³⁹⁶ Review, *The Gentleman’s Magazine*, 43, June 1773, p286.

³⁹⁷ Flint, 1984.

³⁹⁸ Review, *The Gentleman’s Magazine*, 43, June 1773, p286/7.

³⁹⁹ Flint, 1984:71-72

therefore a curious, monstrous but ultimately benign space – one that still remains attractive to encounter.

This re-imagining of the “outermost fringes of the world” connects strongly with ideas on liminality and the meaningful landscapes constructed for the Southern Continent – a space that occupies the liminal zone between the known and the unknown worlds of the eighteenth century Western geographical imaginary. Like Fumiko and Williams’s blind *itako* on the sacred mountain at Osorezan (discussed in Chapter 2)⁴⁰⁰, the scientists, philosophers and journalists operate in the liminal zone of the private/public and the known/unknown through their writings, maps and illustrations, helping to quell society’s epistemological anxiety, mediating and controlling the flow of information about and between the two worlds. In this way, the search for the Continent becomes a search for a revised emotional geography on behalf of a public that is having to process a rapidly changing world of industrialisation, agricultural reorganisation and, ever-expanding geographical horizons, forcing them to continually re-imagine and re-negotiate their own relationship between themselves and their place in the world.

The concept of liminality can also be used as a way of exploring the purported transformative power of the austral regions – a re-working of the Continental meme that is increasingly played out in the public sphere over the timeframe of the archive. This form of geographic re-imagining is particularly visible from 1775 onwards in the early accounts of the *Resolution* and *Adventure*’s experiences in the Antarctic, accounts that in their reporting can unequivocally be described as ‘sensational’. In a similar vein to how crossing the Equator was once a metaphysical barrier for sailors - later mediated by the ritualistic naval practices of ‘Crossing the Line’ - three hundred years on, that line appears to have shifted south to the Antarctic Circle that becomes the new metaphysical barrier. Crossing it ushers Cook and his men beyond the edges of the known world and into a liminal zone of

⁴⁰⁰ Fumiko, Miyazaki and Williams, Duncan: ‘The Intersection of the Local and Translocal at a Sacred Site: The Case of Osorezan in Tokugawa Japan’, *Japanese Journal of Religious Studies*, Vol. 3, No. 4, Fall 2001:399–440.

the supranatural where nothing is quite as it appears, “being often deceived with false appearances”⁴⁰¹ – a mood evoked in the archive by the increasing use of sublime and grotesque language and imagery. The magazine’s 1775-6 review of the ‘anonymous’ voyage account outlined above marks a decisive shift to a re-formed imaginary, painting a vivid picture of terrifying ice islands that “appeared like ruins of ancient cities, or the fragments of Gothic churches and castles”⁴⁰² – summoning up the iconography of savage power – and reporting how, when harvesting sea ice to melt for drinking water, the men arms “soon become like icicles” until “numbed” and useless. In this strange, *un*-earthly, place, the men “saw the sun rise at 12 o’clock at night”.

This sensational, dis-orientating and dis-locating account leaves the reader in no doubt that they are crossing through a capricious liminal zone not quite of this world – of “cities” without people, of ice masquerading as land, of human flesh that turns readily to ice in the briny water just as Lot’s wife turns to a pillar of salt when she looks back at the land she’s left behind. This is the language of horror, of loss and of violent reckoning: in the continuation of their voyage, the men stand on deck in snowflakes “larger the geese’s feathers” and hear “dreadful cracks as if the whole earth had been cleaved asunder”.

In terms of the analysing the complex and dynamic relationship between the Continent and wider society, these magazine accounts can be interpreted as evidence of a violent shift from a reassuringly consistent cosmological paradigm of a benign and bountiful land to a radically new ‘scientific’ paradigm revealing an unexpected, grotesque and dystopic hell. For the sailors – and the reader - this was not meant to be how the story ended. The epistemological shock, horror and fear of the empirical observer is transferred onto the forcibly re-imagined, monstrous landscape itself. For the reader, sharing the experience

⁴⁰¹ Review: ‘Journal of the Resolution’s Voyage on Discovery...’, *The Gentlemen’s Magazine*, 46, Jan 1776, p20.

⁴⁰² Review: ‘Journal of the Resolution’s Voyage on Discovery...’, *The Gentlemen’s Magazine*, 45, Dec 1775, p588.

vicariously through the page, this brutal, bloody re-birthing is, quite literally, “dreadful”; and, just like the landscape, s/he is left transformed and empty of hope for the future.

The new landscape of science revealed by Cook’s men offers little in the way of utility to the crew or the nation and knowledge structures that sent them. Prevented by ice from reaching the pole, it is not even clear if some relic of the Continental idea still exists – but even if it does, in terms of both potential and meaning, it is dead to eighteenth century society. After two thousand years’ gestation, the ancient dream of a Continent has been stillborn. For the reading public, it now sees that the promise of a land of great extent, of tropical cornucopias and riches beyond compare, has been nothing more than a cruel chimera; disillusioned and cheated of its prize, it instead turns its gaze to the north.

However, the transformational power of the Southern meme in its ‘Continental’ and ‘Antarctic’ formulations, outlives the geographical fantasy. Along with the violent transmutation of its own nature and form in the geographical imagination, the potent force of the far South leaves a permanent change of those who come into contact with its ‘fantastic’, mythical power, either *in situ* or via the page. Through voyaging into the unknown across the new Line of knowledge and experience, enduring hardship and surviving, Cook and his men are themselves ultimately transformed: the crew into supra-human wise and worldly men of unique experience, some – including the anonymous but probable John Marra - from sailor to author; the botanising Forsters and Sparrman - and astronomers Wales and Bayley - into published polar ‘experts’; and the Captain from being the incurious, lazy and often name-less nobody of his early press image to his reconstructed heroic form in 1777 - the “very humane” expert navigator who “undoubtedly ranks as the first of this or any age of nation”.⁴⁰³ Even *The Gentleman’s Magazine* itself is altered by the contact with the Continent through its ‘scooped’ serialisation of the anonymous 1775 voyage account: its review dominated the content between December 1776 and March 1776, running to some twenty two pages in its various parts and,

⁴⁰³ Review: ‘A Voyage towards the South Pole... Cook/Strahan’, *The Gentleman’s Magazine*, 47, Oct 1777, p491.

according to Beaglehole, “very likely the source of most public knowledge of the voyage before the appearance of Forster and Cook”.⁴⁰⁴ While such a substantial investment by David Henry, the editor, might add weight to attributions of his involvement as editor in the anonymous account, the lengthy review of this and subsequent accounts of the *Resolution* voyage certainly attests to the intense and sustained public interest in news of the Continent, and of the magazine’s re-formulation and reputation as the authoritative source for reliable information about the ‘true’ nature and form of the far South.

The memetic power of the Southern Continent thus extends far beyond its geographical extent as a polar fantasy: its dynamic relationship with editor, journalists and readers of *The Gentleman’s Magazine* over the period 1760-1777 attests to its own voyage from the putative, esoteric and scholarly map of the world and into the mainstream geographical imagination of mid to late eighteenth century society. And ultimately, even after its death as a geographical idea with the press reports from Cook’s second voyage, its legacy was profound, helping to re-form the geographical imaginary of ‘the Antarctic’ along with the very language of the sublime and gothic land- and sea-scape that underpinned the Age of Romance to come.

⁴⁰⁴ Beaglehole/Cook: *Journals* II, 1999, p.cliv.

Chapter 5. Newspapers & the Public Perception of the Great Southern Continent, 1760-1777

He was extremely curious to know “from what part of the country I came, and how I was taught to imitate a rational creature...” ...It was with some difficulty, and by the help of many signs, that I brought him to understand me. He replied, “that I must needs be mistaken, or that I said the thing which was not;” for they have no word in their language to express lying or falsehood. “He knew it was impossible that there could be a country beyond the sea, or that a parcel of brutes could move a wooden vessel whither they pleased upon water.

Gulliver in conversation with his Houyhnhnm master in the fictional ‘Houyhnhnms Land’, located South of New Holland.

Gulliver’s Travels, Jonathan Swift, 1726.⁴⁰⁵

Introduction

This chapter interrogates the developing ‘knowledge’ about the Great Southern Continent, believed by many to lie in the largely unexplored high southern latitudes. It does this via an analysis of British newspapers in British Library’s ‘Burney Collection’, in the period spanning 1760-1777. As discussed in Chapter 3, this era of intense maritime activity encompasses the planning and preparation for the *Endeavour* voyage, its execution (1768-1771) and its aftermath. It also covers Cook’s second voyage in HMS *Resolution* and *Adventure* (1772-1775) in search of the putative Continent. Finally, it encompasses the planning and early stages (1776-1777) of Cook’s last voyage, specifically the remit to return the Polynesian visitor, Mai, to the Society Islands.

⁴⁰⁵ Swift, Jonathan: *Gulliver’s Travels*, Part IV “A Voyage to the Country of the Houyhnhnms”: Chapter III, para 4. E-Book: <http://www.gutenberg.org/files/829/829-h/829-h.htm> accessed online 12:07, 10th August, 2016.

As well as analysing contemporary press and reader reaction to the voyages themselves, the emerging cultural and physical land-, sea- and icescapes are explored and interrogated through the lens of eighteenth century newspapers. News reports, articles, letters and classified adverts are analysed to establish the extent to which the emerging imaginary represents (or not) a radical shift in western geographical thinking about the nature of the antipodal south in particular, and the wider world in general.

Structure of Chapter 5

In order to understand changing public ideas and understanding about the Continent over the period 1760-1777, the following analysis is broken down chronologically to reflect the dominant themes of their years - and the uneven press coverage about the South:

1. 1760-1765: the narrative structure of the South
2. 1766-1770: expectations of the emerging South
3. 1771-1772: controlling the emerging South
4. 1773: the battle for 'authority', credibility and control
5. 1774-1777: reconstructing a Southern imaginary

The chapter concludes with a summary of findings discussed in relation to the three Research Objectives outlined in Chapters 1 and 3.

1. 1760-1765: the narrative structure of the South

Figure 18 shows the first half of the 1760s to have little press coverage or comment on what lies to the far South, with even less written on the nature of any putative lands. The marked lack of discussion and debate in the early years is not, however, unexpected: until the end of the French and Indian Wars, Britain's attention had been firmly directed towards military conflicts in the northern hemisphere, particularly in North America. However, with the routing of the French fleet at the Battle of Quiberon Bay in 1759 and the signing of the Treaty of Paris in 1763, any threat of renewed military action was effectively extinguished and attention turned to new lands and potential colonies further afield in what Marshall and Williams call "a Pacific craze"⁴⁰⁶.

However, even during the fallow years that typify the early 1760s, the theme of the Continent does not disappear entirely and is maintained in the classified advertisements' section of newspapers, aided by the eighteenth century reading public's deep love affair with travelogues that stemmed from classics such as Swift's social and political satire, *Gulliver's Travels* – a book "universally read, from the cabinet council to the nursery."⁴⁰⁷ Hence, in the absence of any news of actual, current voyages from 1760-1765, the press carries a series of adverts for Robert Paltock's (1750) *Life and Adventures of Peter Wilkins*⁴⁰⁸ and George Shelvocke's (1726) *A Voyage Round the World, by the Way of the South-Sea*⁴⁰⁹, both sold at six shillings each. The advertisements of 1760-1762 in the *Whitehall Evening Post or London Intelligencer*, *General Evening Post* and *Public Advertiser* therefore suggest the public had maintained its hunger not only for the travelogue genre but for a geographic imaginary about what lay to the south.

⁴⁰⁶ Marshall, P J and Williams, Glyndwr: *The Great Map Of Mankind: Perceptions of New World in the Age of Enlightenment* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1982) p258.

⁴⁰⁷ Quote from Swift's friend John Gay. See British Library catalogue entry for Children's illustrated edition of *Gulliver's Travels*, 1864: <http://www.bl.uk/collection-items/1864-illustrated-edition-of-gullivers-travels> accessed 20:50, 22/8/2016

⁴⁰⁸ 'Life and Adventures of Peter Wilkins, a Cornish Man, relating particularly to his Shipwreck near the South Pole....', *Whitehall Evening Post or London Intelligencer*, London, 15/4/1760-17/4/1760, Issue No 2197: Classified Ads.

⁴⁰⁹ 'A Voyage Round the World, by way of the Great South-Sea, performed in a private Expedition...in the Year 1718', *General Evening Post*, London, 9/1/1762-12/1/1762, Issue No 4407, Classified Ads.

It is worth pausing to explore the impact and significance of these works in the public sphere. Much has been written on the reception and influence of Shelvocke's privateering expedition of 1719-22 along the coast of South America and into the Pacific⁴¹⁰: the voyage itself was fraught with mutiny, (alleged) shipwreck and skulduggery – as well as fought-over riches; Shelvocke reputedly earned some £7000 as his share – enough to pay-off some of his enemies - and was accused of squirrelling away other loot.⁴¹¹ The ocean dramas and ensuing Admiralty and legal battles seem to have ensured a prurient public interest that kept his book sales alive; certainly, his son George felt confident enough to re-issue the *Voyage* in 1757 with it still being sufficiently popular to be advertised in the London press five years later.⁴¹² Indeed, through this and Shelvocke's inclusion in subsequent compilations of voyages⁴¹³, his *Voyage* would be central to the public imaginary of the South throughout the rest of the century: Wordsworth noted that it was reading Shelvocke's passage about the shooting of a black albatross that inspired him to suggest the killing of the bird as a portentous literary device to his friend Coleridge for his 1798 epic poem, *Rime of the Ancient Mariner*⁴¹⁴ - a work that did much to reformulate the public imagination about the high southern latitudes in the post-Cook era.

⁴¹⁰ Most notable modern works of substance on Shelvocke include Oscar Spate's 1983 *The Pacific Since Magellan: monopolists and freebooters* (Vol. 2) and Williams, 1997.

⁴¹¹ Lamb, Jonathan: 'Shelvocke, George (1675–1742)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press, 2004; online edn, Jan 2008
[<http://www.oxforddnb.com.ezproxy.lib.gla.ac.uk/view/article/25320>, accessed 23 Aug 2016, 10:33]

⁴¹² 'A Voyage Round the World, by way of the Great South-Sea, performed in a private Expedition...in the Year 1718', *General Evening Post*, London, 9/1/1762-12/1/1762, Issue No 4407, Classified Ads; also 12/1/1762-14/1/1762, Issue No 4408: Classified Ads; and *Public Advertiser*, London, 12/1/1762, Issue No 8484: Classified Ads.

⁴¹³ See advert for Newbery's 'Voyages', *Morning Chronicle and London Advertiser*, London, 4/9/1773, Issue No 1337: Classified Ads.

⁴¹⁴ Beer, John: 'Coleridge, Samuel Taylor (1772–1834)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press, 2004; online edn, Oct 2008; for an image of the relevant page in Shelvocke's *Voyage*, see: [<http://www.oxforddnb.com.ezproxy.lib.gla.ac.uk/view/article/5888>, accessed 23 Aug 2016] <http://www.bl.uk/romantics-and-victorians/articles/an-introduction-to-the-rime-of-the-ancient-mariner>, accessed 12:55, 23/8/2016

If Shelvocke builds on the legacy of Swift and Defoe's literary voyage narrative, the genre is given a sublime twist by the monstrous magical realism of Paltock's *Peter Wilkins*, arguably "the most influential eighteenth-century vision of an undiscovered Southern Continent".⁴¹⁵ Its popularity among the reading public is clearly evident from the series of advertisements in the press⁴¹⁶ (Figure 29).

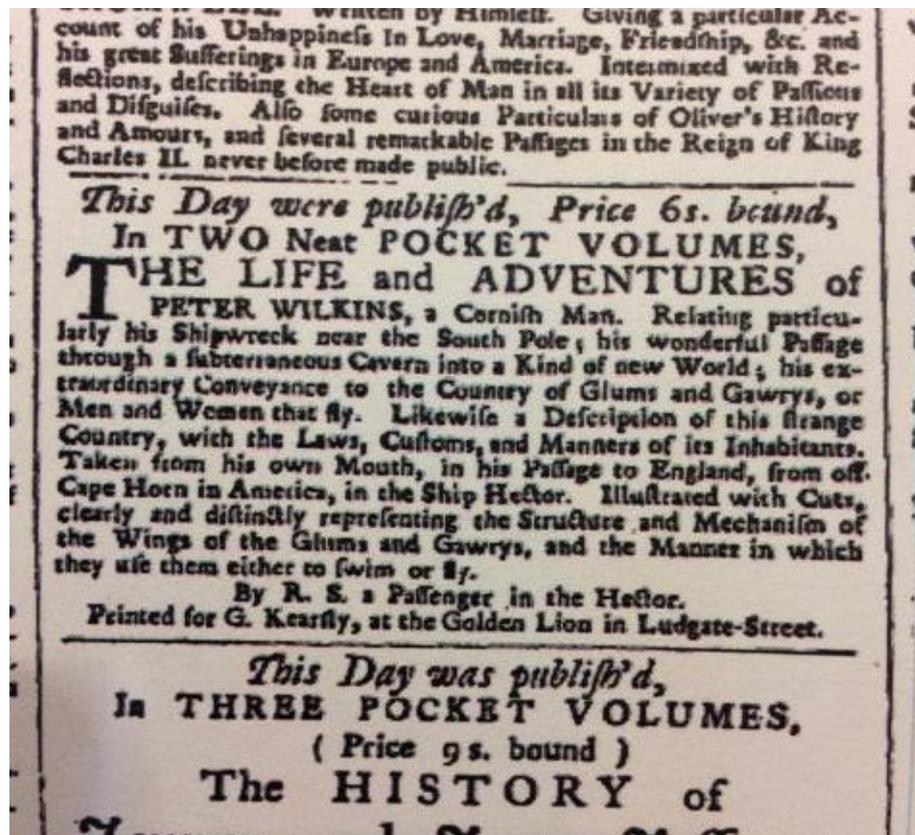


Figure 29. Advert for Robert Paltock's *Peter Wilkins* (1760) *Whitehall Evening Post or London Intelligencer*, 15-17th April, 1760

This well-advertised and popular work is an example of the influence of the literary genre in the production of a geographical imaginary of the putative South. Paltock's narrative presents an island of winged people located at Pole, where his hero rescues and falls in love with Youwarkee, a flying woman or *Gawry*. But for mortals like Wilkins, the land itself – called Graundevolet – can only be reached by way of a vast underground cave, into

⁴¹⁵ Carroll, 2015:27.

⁴¹⁶ *Viz.*, *Whitehall Evening Post or London Intelligencer*, London, 15/4/1760-17/4/1760, Issue No 2197: Classified Ads; then repeat adverts on the 22/4/1760 and 29/4/1760.

which he is sucked as if into a terrifying vortex. In a twist to the concept of transformation through geographical re-location and hardship (discussed at length in Chapter 4), the book describes how, for five weeks, Wilkins suffers the claustrophobic horror of travelling through the cave, with only a tiny home-made lamp for succour. Here, then, is the classic trope of a frightening journey into the unknown.

After his traumatic gestation, Wilkins is birthed from the “dismal Abyss” into a wondrous scene of bucolic bliss:

a prodigious Lake of Water, bordered with a grassy Down, about half a Mile wide, of the finest Verdure I had ever seen; this again was flanked with a Wood or Grove, rising like an Amphitheatre, of about the same Breadth.⁴¹⁷

With the “Lake” being saltwater, this paradisiacal Southern Land has future echoes in the structure of Buache’s hypothesised Continent of 1763, with its towering mountains encasing a vast inland sea; and like Buache’s land, Graundevole’s temperate climate also promises bountiful sources of wood, (ultimately fresh-) water and food. This, then, is a heaven on earth – a landscape of desire, with elegant civilisations of ethereal winged folk, sufficiently like us to love and marry and raise a Christian family yet sufficiently *unlike* us in their supra-human capacities to elicit envy and yearning. Wilkins – and by inference the eighteenth-century reader- is truly dis-located, transformed by his travel and hardship into another form of half-man/half creature, torn between wanting to be back home and wanting to be ‘one of them’. In the way that Cook and his men were ultimately transformed by their experiences in the high latitudes of the Southern Ocean, Wilkins is irrevocably changed by his stay in this divine world. When he finally tries after his thirty-five-year absence to re-enter his old, mortal world in England, he is unable to regain his former self and dies upon stepping ashore at Plymouth.

As well as its transformational significance in positioning the putative South as a utopian superlative of earth, the work is also pertinent for the way it attempts to control and

⁴¹⁷ Paltock, 1990:77.

‘authorise’ knowledge in the newspaper advertisements. These portray the book as a work of fact about “a Cornish Man, relating particularly to his Shipwreck near the South Pole”. The adverts trumpet the fact that Wilkins’s adventures in “a Kind of New World” were “Taken from *his own Mouth*, in *his Passage to England*, from *off Cape Horn in America*, in *the Ship Hector*”⁴¹⁸ (emphasis added). Here, then, one short sentence works hard to confer credibility by puffing four facts in close succession: that this is an authored, first person account (and therefore conveys his embodied ‘truth’); that Wilkins had gained direct experience of the ‘facts’ *in situ* and thus is sharing privileged knowledge; that he was witnessed (verified) by “R.S. a Passenger in the Hector”, who wrote down his tale on the sea voyage home; and that he was not only on a generic ‘ship’, but a realistically *named* ship, “the Hector”.

The book’s desire for credibility is enhanced further by the adverts’ description of a series of scientific-sounding illustrations of the flying people (Figure 30).

Even in this (fictional) account, the control and credibility of knowledge are therefore still paramount, with both ‘science’ and ‘fact’ deliberately blended to produce and reinforce the legitimacy of this (fantastic) polar land in the mind of the reader, locating the landscape in the liminal zone of possibility.

⁴¹⁸ Whitehall Evening Post or London Intelligencer, London, 15-17 April, 1760, Issue 2197: Classified Ad: “Life and Adventures of Peter Wilkins, a Cornish Man, relating particularly to his Shipwreck near the South Pole....”



Robert Peck.
The Front of a Glumm Drefst.



Robert Peck.
The Back of a Glumm Drefst.



Robert Peck.
As Ganvrey Extended for Flight.

Figure 30. Illustrations from Robert Paltock's *Peter Wilkins* (1750) as advertised in contemporary newspapers in the mid eighteenth century. Note the scientific drawings, almost verging on the anatomical.

2. 1766-1770: expectations of the emerging South

News of actual voyages to the south reappears in the public record in June 1766 with *Lloyd's Evening Post* reporting the fitting out of the *Dolphin* for “her second voyage to the newly discovered island in the great South-Sea”.⁴¹⁹ This short entry is of interest for the use of the definite article in “the island”, laying bare the assumption that the reader already has knowledge of what – and where - this was, even though here it is not mentioned by name. Also, worthy of note is the reported sentiment that she is being made ready “with all possible expedition”. This corroborates Marshall and Williams’ aforementioned concept of a “Pacific craze”, here conveying the geopolitical urgency of *Dolphin*’s return in order to establish British priority on the island, and also to satisfy what appears to be the British public’s growing curiosity and desire for new discoveries after the hiatus of war. However, an interesting comment underscores the desire to control the flow of knowledge about the South:

The Commander and Officers on board the *Dolphin* have, during their late Voyage, corrected the meridians of a great number of places, which have been erroneously marked in the different charts of the South-Seas.⁴²⁰

The naval elite are here asserting their scientific and moral authority as the bringers of (a British) ‘truth’ from *in situ* empirical experience ‘in the South Seas, mediated via the Admiralty Office, the Press and the reading public.

The battle to control knowledge about the emerging South finds parallels in textual form with adverts in 1767 for John Callander’s “*TERRA AUSTRALIS COGNITA Or Voyages to the Terra Australis*” – itself largely plagiarised from Charles de Brosses’s 1756 *Histoire des Navigations aux Terra Australis*. Published in Britain in three successive volumes from 1766-1768, this work is evidence of the sustained interest in the idea of as-yet undiscovered lands to the south on both sides of the Channel and the lingering geopolitical

⁴¹⁹ *Lloyd's Evening Post*, London, 16/6/1766, issue 1395: News.

⁴²⁰ *Lloyd's Evening Post*, London, 16/6/1766, issue 1395: News.

rivalries between the two nations for the imperial control of overseas lands. Its motives are laid bare in the (British) advert's description that it:

Contains an Account of the Manners of the People, and the Productions of the Countries hitherto found in the Southern Latitudes; the Advantages that may result from further Discoveries on this great Continent, and the Methods of establishing Colonies there to the Advantage of Great Britain.⁴²¹

This, then, is not discovery for the sake of science or furthering geographical knowledge: it is firmly rooted in an agenda of imperial expansion and aggrandisement for the benefit of (in this plagiarised version) Great Britain – as Gascoigne has dubbed it, “science in the service of empire”.⁴²² The idea was certainly not new: two decades earlier, in his second edition of John Harris's classic work *Navigantium atque Itinerantium Bibliotheca or, A Compleat Collection of Voyages and Travels*, Dr John Campbell had published his heartfelt entreaty to “the Merchants of *Great Britain*” to establish trade relations and colonies in the newly emerging lands of the Pacific – a plea that aroused so much interest from merchants that – less than a year after the Seven Years War had ended - the volumes had to be reprinted.⁴²³

However, the press advertisement in the *London Chronicle* also reveals caution on behalf of Callander who says he has the three volumes “already prepared for the Press” but “wants only to know the Success at the First, before he begins to print the Two remaining Volumes”.⁴²⁴ In this way, Callander is able to control the flow of knowledge about the putative Continent, at least to an English-speaking audience not conversant with de Brosse's original. This point is significant: in his investigation of de Brosse and the Pacific imaginary⁴²⁵, Ryan cites the *Histoire* as “marking a fundamental change in Western thinking” about the South Seas – but one available almost exclusively to those who could

⁴²¹ *London Chronicle*, London, 3/2/1767-5/2/1767, Issue 1581: Classified Ads

⁴²² See Gascoigne, 1998.

⁴²³ Beaglehole, 1974:117-122. See also Bonner, William Hallam: *Captain William Dampier*, Stanford University Press (Stanford) 1934, p54, 59.

⁴²⁴ *London Chronicle*, London, 3/2/1767-5/2/1767, Issue 1581: Classified Ads.

⁴²⁵ Ryan, 2002:157-186.

speak French (a German translation finally appeared in 1766). Regarded by Ryan as a key advance in the scientific understanding of the Pacific, he argues that, “prior to its publication even the most eminent savants in Europe were severely constrained by the lack of available and reliable literature through which to understand the lands and inhabitants of *les Terres australes*”⁴²⁶ with “little known [about the work] in London scientific circles”.⁴²⁷

In this light, Callander’s controlled release of ‘new’ information is more understandable and all the more pertinent in terms of public knowledge of the putative geography of the south. Changing only the glory of rightful discovery and exploitation from France to Britain, along with anglicised toponyms and [Vaugondy’s] anonymised maps, Callander’s plagiarised version did indeed run to the full set of three volumes, published in Edinburgh between 1766 and 1768, and formally introducing the terms ‘Polynesia’ and ‘Australasia’ into English language and thought.⁴²⁸

However, away from the pages of the press (at least for the moment), Callander’s control over the flow of information was not hermetic, particularly to those with elevated education and connections: prior to the 1766 release of the plagiarised *Voyages to the Terra Australis*, fellow Scot Alexander Dalrymple (son of a baronet and MP) had initiated direct correspondence with de Brosses (by inheritance both Comte de Tournai and Baron de Montfalcon) with the two men sharing maps, ideas and information; this ‘knowledge’ in both conversational and material form was later passed directly to Joseph Banks (baronet and close friend of Lord Sandwich, first lord of the Admiralty) in advance of the *Endeavour* voyage, with a copy of Dalrymple’s forthcoming book and de Brosses’s *Histoire* taken in the library of the Captain’s Great Cabin where they were consulted by James Cook.⁴²⁹

⁴²⁶ *Ibid*, p176.

⁴²⁷ *Ibid*, p178.

⁴²⁸ *Ibid*, p180.

⁴²⁹ *Ibid*, p181.

For the majority of people in mid eighteenth century Britain, such privileged personal networks were beyond the imagination. However, increasingly knowledge could also be bought: at a time when a cup of coffee cost around a penny, Callander's volumes, sold at six shillings each, were not only affordable by the rich (those with an annual income of £500 or more), they also came within the reach of the middling sorts (classed as those with an income above £100 per year).⁴³⁰ This assertion is supported by the evidence of Callander's work being advertised in popular mainstream newspapers such as the *Public Advertiser* and *London Chronicle*, and also by its positioning on the page among a hotchpotch collection of classified advertisements, Ship News, legal news or book notices. Typical of this assumed public appeal is the *Public Advertiser* of 27th March, 1767, that locates Callander's advert between one for "Fillet Nets for the Hair"⁴³¹ and a letter from Thomas Walpole offering himself as a parliamentary candidate for the Borough of Lynn – certainly not an indication that the books were for an erudite, specialist audience.

For the Admiralty's part, its control of knowledge in the eighteenth century is as much demonstrated by what it does *not* say publicly as what it does: after almost two years of silence in the press about the search for a Southern Continent, the *Public Advertiser* for 13 June, 1768 carries the following announcement:

It is said, that two Sloops of War are ordered to be fitted out the South Sea, to go in Quest of the Swallow Sloop, which the Dolphin parted Company with after getting out of the Straits of Magellan; that they are to rendezvous at the newly-discovered Island, and from thence to attempt the Discovery of the Southern Continent.⁴³²

⁴³⁰ Data from <https://www.oldbaileyonline.org/static/Coinage.jsp>, accessed 30/8/2016 at 18:34

⁴³¹ "Fillet Nets" were hair nets, usually worn at night and covering the whole head. Source: Cumming, V, Cunningham CW & Cunnington, PE: *The Dictionary of Fashion History*, (Berg Publishers): 2010, p81.

⁴³² *Public Advertiser*, London, 13/6/1768, Issue No 10431: News.

This rather bald, unattributed notice assumes a high degree of public awareness about the Southern Continent and Britain's voyages in search of it, along with significant public interest. "[T]he newly-discovered island" of Tahiti is not mentioned by its local and British names; the reader is expected to know its name. It is interesting to note that two months previously, the *Public Advertiser* had carried news that informants from Brest had written that three French "Ships of War" were being fitted out to go "in Quest of the Southern Continent, so much spoken of by former Voyagers".⁴³³ Although hostilities towards the French had officially ended five years previously, acute curiosity – if not exactly rivalry – is still palpable in the contemporary press.

The next comment on the putative Continent appears just three days after the announcement about Britain's "Quest" and, over the next nine days, is reprinted verbatim in two other London newspapers:

We are informed, that the Island which Captain Wallis has discovered in the South-Sea, and names George's Land, is about fifteen hundred Leagues in Circumference; that its principal and almost sole national Advantage is, its situation for exploring the Terra Incognita of the Southern Hemisphere. The Endeavour, a North-Country Cat, is purchased by the Government, and commanded by a Lieutenant of the Navy; she is fitting out at Deptford for the South-Sea, thought to be intended for the newly-discovered Island. Several Astronomers are going out in her, to observe the Transit of Venus over the Sun; and some Gentlemen of Fortune, who are Students in Botany, are likewise going in her upon a Tour of Pleasure. Thus we see, that a Voyage round the World, or to the South-Sea, which a few Years ago was looked upon as a forlorn Hope, and the very mention of which, was enough to frighten our stoutest Seamen, is now found from Experience, to be no more dreaded than a common Voyage to the East-Indies.⁴³⁴

⁴³³ *Public Advertiser*, London, 8/4/1768, issue No 10434: News.

⁴³⁴ *St James's Chronicle or the British Evening Post*, London, 16/6/1768-18/6/1768, Issue No 1139: News; *Gazetteer and New Daily Advertiser*, London, 20/6/1768, Issue No 12261: News; Westminster

Here, then, are the motives of the British Admiralty and Government – and the editor - laid bare: Tahiti – appropriated and re-cast here as the ‘British’ “George’s Land” - has its real value to the nation in its strategic location as a base for searches for the valuable Continent; the *Endeavour* voyage – while not explicitly connected to that Continental theme in the article, is linked editorially by its contiguity. Cook, currently unknown and un-noteworthy, is left unnamed along with the Astronomers; Banks and Solander are first described as “Gentlemen of Fortune” rather than botanists, their voyage is said to be not for science but taken as a “Tour of Pleasure”.

What to the modern eye might seem a minimising of the men, their mission and motives must be viewed in terms of eighteenth century culture and geopolitics. Cook’s Admiralty orders to sail to 40 degrees South in search of the Continent were to be kept in the utmost secrecy - unopened until he was in Tahiti and not discussed thereafter by anyone on board without explicit permission from naval superiors.⁴³⁵ The emphasis, therefore, of the voyage being more of a playboy’s Grand Tour would have been not only a clever ruse to divert attention from its real purpose, it would have resonated strongly with the expectations made of such grandees in contemporary culture.

However, it is the final sentence of the press report that gives perhaps the most revealing insight into the public’s changing geographical imaginary: the South Seas are clearly in a process of (re)construction. Even though they are - as yet - imperfectly known, the reports from and of those who have begun to penetrate the region – albeit experienced vicariously through the pages of books and periodicals - have pushed back the liminal zone between the known world and the ‘other’. Travelling to the world of *terrae incognitae* is no longer to be feared; it is a world of opportunity for those bold enough to risk sailing into uncharted waters to seize their prize.

Journal and London Political Miscellany, London, 25/6/1768: News.

⁴³⁵ Beaglehole, 1974:147-149

A month later, Cook and Banks are publicly named in the press as, respectively, *Endeavour*'s Commander and "a Gentleman of a considerable Fortune", giving readers their first glimpse at the cast list for the long-running production in the South Seas and their emotional buy-in to the narrative of exotic exploration.⁴³⁶ Two days later, another character, John Gore, is assigned to the ship as third Lieutenant and notice is given that she will sail within the fortnight.⁴³⁷ By now, *Endeavour* has joined the press's cast of characters in her own right. In August 1768, news is released of her progress down the Thames⁴³⁸ and onwards via "the Madeiras" to the South.⁴³⁹

Despite information about *Endeavour* being severely constrained by her location in the South Seas, press discussion about the nature of the far South does not entirely disappear; instead, it switches from a basis of testimony and experience to theoretical speculation. An article in the news section of the *St James's Chronicle or the British Evening Post* discusses the origins of the Aurora Borealis, contrasting Halley's theory on "Magnetic Effluvia" with those of his rivals.⁴⁴⁰ Once again, this locates the topic of the nature of the South firmly in the public mainstream - but also in the metaphysical: according to Halley, the effluvia "enters the Earth near the South Pole and pervading its Pores pass[es] out again at the same Distance from the Northern [Pole]." He does not propose any exact process or mechanism – merely citing that it is "by the Concourse of several Causes" that light is emitted in the far North. The South therefore has a role to play in making sense of the functioning and natural phenomena of the world but, as yet, the functioning of its scientific landscape is as speculative and ethereal as its imagined *terra firma*.

For almost a year, there is no more press comment about the region or what it might contain. Then, in October 1770, an anonymous letter in the *Public Advertiser* heaps vitriol and scorn upon those who have taken possession of the Falkland Islands and who have

⁴³⁶ *St James's Chronicle or the British Evening Post*, London, 21/7/1768-23/7/1768, Issue No 1154: News.

⁴³⁷ *Public Advertiser*, London, 23/7/1768, Issue No 10524: News.

⁴³⁸ *St James's Chronicle or the British Evening Post*, London, 6/8/1768-9/8/1768, Issue No 1161: News.

⁴³⁹ *Public Advertiser*, London, 31/10/1768, Issue No 10610: News; *London Journal*, London, 5/11/1768, Issue No 391: News.

⁴⁴⁰ *St James's Chronicle or the British Evening Post*, London, 4/11/1769-7/11/1769, Issue No 1357: News.

seemingly ignored the attendant risk of inciting another war with Spain. “X”’s letter - addressed to “To the GREAT SCHEMERS, for settling FALKLAND ISLAND”⁴⁴¹ - highlights some important indicators of public opinion about how knowledge and control of the southern space is being (and should be) managed, both intellectually and (geo)politically. The letter complains of the secrecy of actions and motives from the “schemers”, “abettors” and “contrivers” involved in the mission, and a lack of hard geographical information about “where this Island is, and what it may be worth”. “Is it to the East or West of Cape-Horn, and in what Latitude?”. “X” explicitly demands that “you [i.e., the so-called “schemers”] ...tell us [i.e., the public]”, and that the schemers disclose the costs of taking possession and “let the Nation see it”.

It is clear, then, that this argument for a public justification and reckoning of occupying the Falklands is based overtly on geopolitical and economic grounds: “X” cries, “Where are the Revenues, the Produce of this Terra incognita?...Is it anything but the Residence for Gulls? And shall we not be look’d upon in that Light for meddling with this nothing of a Place, as it now appears to the Generality of the Nation?”. However, “X” moves on from this utilitarian demand into more philosophical territory, demanding not only that more information in general should be disseminated to the public but that the public should have a say in the decisions of the government. Through the letter, “X” is therefore highlighting both a firm grasp of geographical concepts and some ‘insider’ geographical information, but [he] is also arguing in the strongest possible terms for “the Nation” [that is, the ‘public’] to be part of the conversation about the nature, purpose and use of newly emerging southern lands.

“X” finishes the letter with a disgusted P.S.:

P.S. I am told that the Island has neither Man nor Beast, or Herb fit for either on it.
Nothing but water! Oh, the wonderful Ingenuity of the Contrivers!

⁴⁴¹ *Public Advertiser*, London, 1/10/1770, Issue No 11140: News.

Clearly, then, at least for certain portions of polite society, the acquisition of new southern lands *per se* is not enough: it is the economic and geopolitical utility of the lands that is the key to judging their discovery or conquest as ‘successful’ - a reality check for so-called ‘schemers’ and dreamers, and a shot across the bows for voyages like *Endeavour*’s, sailing off the known map of the world in search of the Great Southern Continent.

3. 1771-1772: controlling the emerging South

Notwithstanding “X”’s scornful dismissal of the emerging South, a report in the *London Evening Post* in January 1771, sandwiched between news of the Santa Domingo earthquake and the British royal court, reaffirms the public’s enduring interest in the putative Continent and brings news to tantalise even the most cynical reader:

We learn by the Endeavour, from the South Seas, that they discovered a Southern Continent, in the latitude of the Dutch Spice Islands; that the people were hospitable, ingenious, and civil, of a copper complexion, but handsome and well-made. Mr. Banks passed some months among them; and though these people were so politely civilised, it is very extraordinary that they have no kind of worship or religion amongst them. Two of the natives came voluntarily with Mr. Banks, but died of the flux at Batavia. From this voyage we expect many discoveries and much entertainment. They had an excellent observation of the transit of Venus; but the ingenious Mr. Green died upon his return. Upon their arrival, the Admiralty seized all the officers (sic) papers. In consequence of this discovery more ships will be destined in search of this new terrestrial acquisition.⁴⁴²

This is illuminating on a number of levels: firstly, the information underlying the report is said to come “by the Endeavour” and thus carries the inferred authority of direct testimony and experience. Unbeknown to the reader at the time, the next sentence is a reporting error,

⁴⁴² *London Evening Post*, London, 20/1/1771-23/1/1771, Issue No 6803: News

imbued with what looks to be wishful thinking: the ‘Southern Continent’ here is actually the already-known King George’s Island (Tahiti), discovered for the West by Samuel Wallis in 1767, and the location to which Cook had been sent to observe the Transit of Venus. Interestingly, it is referred to here as “a” Southern Continent, leaving the door open for further Continental discoveries; what is more, its reported location lying “in the latitude of the Dutch Spice Islands” also positions it well to the north of Cook’s zone of exploration, leaving space for more ‘discoveries’ further to the south, as well as in the reader’s mind.

In line with the standard utopian Continental trope, the glowing description of the Continent’s inhabitants portrays them to be as welcoming as the land itself, although the use of the word “but” to separate their “copper complexion” and their “handsome and well-made” appearance, belies the apparent compliment and reveals the ingrained prejudice of the writer. What is more, the seeming lack of religion in the ‘civil’ population sits at odds with the contemporary narrative that godliness is a ‘civilising’ influence – another example of the West struggling to make sense of the ‘other’ in this new world of the South. Finally, it is interesting to note that the Admiralty “seized” all the officers’ papers. This is an extremely loaded word for what was at the time a standard practice of the day to protect the Admiralty’s intellectual and economic capital from the voyage - especially from falling into the hands of any enemy nation. However, in an era of simmering geopolitical anxiety, with an Establishment - and at least some sections of the public back home - keen to grow a far-flung colonial empire, the wording here does lay bare the very real tensions between individual actors and an organ of the State trying to control the flow of privileged information from half a world away.

The theme of economic and strategic potential of any future discoveries to the South is again raised as a central topic in a long letter to the *Public Advertiser* in February 1771.⁴⁴³

⁴⁴³ *Public Advertiser*, London, 5/2/1771 [No Issue No. cited]: News

The anonymous correspondent argues that Spain's demands in the region of the Falkland Islands and other southern lands unfairly restricts our territorial claims to any new discovery, even those in "the remote Parts of the Earth". Imagining a "Southern Continent inhabited by a populous and civilised Nation, such as the Peruvians", [s/he] worries "that Spain should enjoy the Fruits of our Researches", underlining how insecure mid-eighteenth century British society feels about their long-term adversary, despite the nominal peace.

The geopolitical dimensions of Continental discovery find expression in press reports in the summer of 1771, following *Endeavour's* return. The *Middlesex Journal or Chronicle of Liberty*, *Public Advertiser* and *Hoey's Dublin Mercury* carry news that – "According to Letters from the Hague"- the Dutch VOC [East India Company] is highly disturbed by reports of the "discoveries of the English towards the Southern Continent and among the Dutch islands".⁴⁴⁴ Once again, the newspaper report asserts its veracity by the mention of direct testimony from the Netherlands: this is not just hear-say, but *Dutch* hear-say. Furthermore, the wide reporting (across Britain and Ireland) suggests a general public audience highly sentient of rival European tensions in the race to discover the putative Continent – along with the geopolitical stakes of being the first to capitalise on the presumed bounties that would surely accrue.

In what transpires to be a busy year for the construction of the geographical imaginary of the far south, two rather left-field articles are also worthy of mention. In March 1771, the *Public Advertiser* carries a satirical report of a conversation between "Jeremy Twitcher" and "Captain Sancho Panca" (sic) – where Twitcher – the "cunning, treacherous highwayman" in John Gay's hugely popular *Beggar's Opera* is a euphemism for Lord Sandwich, First Lord of the Admiralty, temporary Secretary of State and a member of the

⁴⁴⁴ *Middlesex Journal or Chronicle of Liberty*, London, 3/8/1771-6/8/1771, Issue No 366: News; *Public Advertiser*, London, 5/8/1771, Issue No 11440: News; *Hoey's Dublin Mercury*, Dublin, 10/8/1771, Issue No: 750: News.

infamous Hellfire Club⁴⁴⁵, and Sancho Panca his unidentified Spanish adversary.⁴⁴⁶ In the conversation between the two characters, the reporter uses the trope of *Terra Incognita* which has particular resonance given the tensions between Britain and Spain over the Falkland Islands and the Continental explorations overseen by Sandwich that were currently underway:

[T]hey held their Tongues in national Dispute; yet, when their own proper Territories, the Terra incognita beyond the Moon, comes to be attacked you will find them quite another Sort of Men.⁴⁴⁷

This (barely) covert political swipe insinuates not only the strong connection in the public imagination between Sandwich and ‘his’ “Terra incognita”, it also besmirches the imagined geography of the unknown land (cum-Continent-cum Falklands) with the same connotations of moral debauchery, Janus-faced duplicity and the abuse of privilege that enmire Sandwich throughout his career and are featured regularly in the popular press of mid to late eighteenth century Britain. Here, then, the “Terra incognita” is located both geographically in the south and scornfully “beyond the moon”, with the quixotic Sandwich and his sidekick chasing useless phantasmagoria instead of pursuing rational international policy in a picaresque farce worthy of the stage.⁴⁴⁸

⁴⁴⁵ Porter, Roy: *The Penguin Social History of Britain: English Society in the Eighteenth Century*, Penguin, 2nd Edn, 1990, accessed online via Google Books, 4/9/16, at 14:32.

⁴⁴⁶ Profound thanks to Dalrymple expert Andrew Cook for pointing out that “Sancho Panca” might well refer to the Spanish Government rather than a specific individual. Lord Sandwich was briefly Secretary of State in early 1771, the time when Madrid was reaching an accommodation with London over the consequences of the Spanish expulsions of the British garrison in the Falklands in 1770; 1771 was also the year that Dalrymple and Benjamin Franklin were drafting their plan for settling New Zealand with sheep. The following year, Dalrymple would discuss with Prime Minister Lord North plans for settling the land yet to be discovered in the South – land that ‘disappeared’ when Cook sailed over it *en route* to South Georgia. Andrew Cook, personal correspondence by email, 17/11/2016.

⁴⁴⁷ *Public Advertiser*, London, 2/3/1771, Issue No 11315: News.

⁴⁴⁸ The moon was a well-used metaphor in the eighteenth century. Thomas Gray, in his 1737 poem *Luna est Habitabilis* had imagined the moon as a British colony, the air thick with trading fleets.

In a less pejorative but perhaps even more surreal vein, the *General Evening Post*'s news section two months later carries a report about a character more suited to pantomime than the press: the “very celebrated Doctor Puf Stuf Shim Sham Quirko TOANGFU, Physician...to the Emperor of China” who is about to arrive in London, bringing with him “inestimable secrets” including:

that most surprising balsam, called Paramandelang Rattskiam-mum, brought from Whangwagngang, situated thirty degrees beyond the South Pole, which, by only being rubbed on the gums for five minutes, will cause an entire new set of teeth to sprout up instantly, to the amazement of all the beholders...⁴⁴⁹

Here, then, the landscape of the imagined south is positioned as a place of magic, mystery and re-birth/transformation, more akin to *Gulliver* or *Peter Wilkins* – and a polar opposite to the ‘reasoned’ Continent of economic and geopolitical opportunities that has recently typified its portrayal in the press. However, the fact that the context is so fantastically hyperbolic also suggests that at least a certain section of the public does not engage with the idea of a plausible Southern Continent and, for them, the trope now resides in another world of make-believe and theatrical entertainment, akin to Twitcher and Sancho Panca’s “Terra incognita beyond the moon”.

A notice in the *Public Advertiser* via the *London Packet* brings news of *Endeavour*'s safe return, two weeks after she arrived in the Thames.⁴⁵⁰ Interestingly, the item makes no mention of the search for a Continent or any discoveries, with only a brief reference to observations on the transit of Venus; more detail is given about the “riches” the men brought home, although given the Admiralty strictures on the control of naval information, this is not altogether surprising. However, it does relocate the discussion of southern exploration back into the realm of an earthly world and reasoned economic gain, with their

⁴⁴⁹ *General Evening Post*, London, 2/5/1771-4/5/1771, Issue No 5859: News.

⁴⁵⁰ *Public Advertiser*, London, 27/7/1771, Issue No 11434: News

new-found wealth seen here as their “Reward for their hard and dangerous Services, during a Voyage of three Years”.

Around two months after the *Endeavour*'s arrival a flurry of advertisements appear for an anonymous voyage journal entitled “*A Journal of a Voyage round the World, in his Majesty's Ship ENDEAVOUR, in the years 1768, 1769, 1770, 1771, undertaken in Pursuit of Natural Knowledge, at the Desire of the Royal Society, containing All the various Occurrences of the Voyage....*”.⁴⁵¹ The mysterious work, published by Becket and De Hondt in the Strand, is believed by many historians to have been written by American midshipman James Magra, though the evidence is circumstantial.⁴⁵² It was rushed into print at the end of September, with advertisements appearing within days in the *London Evening Post*. The advert makes several claims to intellectual rigour and credibility, not least with the following statement:

To remove every possible doubt of the authenticity of this Journal, the public are referred to the Editor's address to the Lords of the Admiralty, and to Mr. Banks's and Dr. Solander's, prefixed to the publication.⁴⁵³

The book itself has a long preface protesting its authenticity, though the so-called “gentleman and scholar, who made the voyage” and who was responsible for the main text seems to have ‘borrowed’ much of the text from Sydney Parkinson.⁴⁵⁴

⁴⁵¹ *London Evening Post*, London, 1/10/1771, Issue No 6824: Classified Ads

⁴⁵² Beaglehole has made a thorough study of potential candidates and concludes that Magra “may have been” the author “but the charge cannot be confidently made”. Beaglehole, 1974:289-290 text and fn 1. See also Beaglehole's textual introduction to Cook's *Endeavour Journal*: Cook, James, *The Voyage of the Endeavour, 1768-1771*, Beaglehole, J.C. (ed), (Boydell Press, Woodbridge/Hordern House: Sydney), 1999, pp cclvi-cclxv.

⁴⁵³ *London Evening Post*, London, 1/10/1771, Issue No 6824: Classified Ads [Original typographic error in “Banks” corrected for clarity].

⁴⁵⁴ Textual Introduction to Cook/Beaglehole, 1999, pp.cclvi-cclxv.

Significantly, its presence in the Classified Advertisements of the *London Evening Post* proves that the Admiralty found it impossible to control the transmission of geographical information from its voyages, despite rigorous efforts to prevent leaks. Private journals were technically illegal on such voyages, and Cook had issued orders that all papers detailing the voyage were to be collected in when *Endeavour* came into Batavia for repairs.

The speed with which the volume was brought to market suggests that the author and publishers were responding to a high degree of public interest – both perceived and actual – in the experiences and knowledge accrued from the voyage. Although the information it contains in its 130 pages is patchy and flawed, it had to be published before any superior rivals so speed was of the utmost importance to capitalise on a curious public. Certainly, the volume was of great interest to the French who had it translated and published, adding it as a supplement to the second edition of Bougainville’s own voyage account in 1772 although, as Beaglehole wryly observes, “Bougainville, one feels, deserved something better”.⁴⁵⁵

Assertions of great public interest in the geography of the South are supported by the advert in the *Public Advertiser* a month later for *Wheble’s Lady’s Magazine* for November 1771.⁴⁵⁶ Subtitled as an “Entertaining Companion for the Fair Sex, appropriated solely for their Use and Amusements”, the magazine’s list of contents advises “the Ladies are presented with an Extract from the Account of Dr. Solander’s Voyage in his Majesty’s Ship Endeavour.” This advert therefore suggests that interest in the *Endeavour* voyage had permeated far beyond the level of the (typically male) *Quidnunc* and (male-dominated) coffee house, reaching deep into polite society, including more feminised social and intellectual spaces such as the literary journal, salon and the emerging tea-houses. The context is also important in terms of the landscape of eighteenth century journalism: at the time of this advertisement, Wheble was in a fierce, running battle against the new owners

⁴⁵⁵ *Ibid*, 1999, p.cclvixiv.

⁴⁵⁶ *Public Advertiser*, London, 2/11/1771, Issue No 11548: Classified Ads

of the original *Lady's Magazine* (1770-1818) which he used to publish but lost control of in a legal case with his former business partners. Setting up his own rival *Lady's Magazine* (1771-1772), he would therefore have selected his contents for maximum sales and audience appeal. The fact that the "Account" is advertised as being that of "Dr. Solander" confers more intellectual credibility and therefore social and gender acceptability than it would have coming from that "Gentleman of Fortune" Joseph Banks's "Tour of Pleasure", although, as Gascoigne clearly documents⁴⁵⁷, the aftermath of the voyage saw both Banks's personal standing and intellectual reputation soar.

Unlike the contributions from readers that typified the original *Lady's Magazine*, the voyage information – and the emerging geographical imaginary that resulted - has been strictly controlled for its female readers by its male publisher-cum-editor, John Wheble.⁴⁵⁸ *Wheble's Lady's Magazine*, then, is selling the *Endeavour* voyage as breaking news in science, and thus educational, rather than the naval or exotic-erotic tale of a South Sea voyage which would most definitely challenge gender norms in eighteenth century polite society and provide an altogether different version of the imagined South.

The exotic-erotic portrayal of the South Seas is, however, brought to the fore and celebrated in an anonymous letter in *Hoey's Dublin Mercury* "from a gentleman on board the *Endeavour*" in September, 1771. The correspondent's extremely long account of the "manners and customs of the natives of Utahittee, Hou a Hanie, Bolobolo, and, Unatecha" (Tahiti and surrounding islands) contrasts strongly with his account of the "crude jealousy" and antagonistic behaviour of the supposedly-friendly Brazilians, and the fatal cold of Tierra del Fuego; by comparison, the Society Islands are constructed as a tropical paradise:

⁴⁵⁷ For a full account, see Gascoigne, 2008; he makes the same general comments about Banks's rise to fame in his ODNB entry on Banks: 'Banks, Sir Joseph, baronet (1743–1820)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press, 2004; online edn, Sept 2013 <http://www.oxforddnb.com.ezproxy.lib.gla.ac.uk/view/article/1300>, accessed 25 Sept 2016, 18:53.

⁴⁵⁸ See University of Kent *Lady's Magazine* blog <https://blogs.kent.ac.uk/ladys-magazine/tag/john-wheble/> accessed 3/9/2016, 20:24.

We continued here three months, and became as easy and familiar in the time as the natives of the climate; who are a kind, hospitable, active, sensible people. We married with their women, and enjoyed a felicity amongst them peculiar to the salubrity of so sweet a clime. As for my part, I never relinquished a situation with so much grief and dissatisfaction. The isle is well stocked with hogs, poultry, fish, and fruits, particularly the bread fruit, which, when baked, is superior to any made with wheat.⁴⁵⁹

For the reader, the “idle luxury” afforded by the island makes it seem paradisiacal: here there is food and sex in abundance for the sailors who can avail themselves to their hearts’ desire without the need for any apparent effort. The only comment about the Tahitians *per se* is that they are “kind, hospitable, active, *sensible* people” [emphasis added], insinuating that the cultural codes are shared, or at least congruent, on both sides. The anonymous correspondent continues in much the same vein:

Monsieur Bougainville had been here before us with two sail of ships, and brought the French disease [syphilis] among the poor people. He sailed from this place to Batavia, but made a fruitless voyage, as well as Captain Wallace. We sailed from Utahitee to Hou a Hanie, which is the isle of handsome women, and is 45 leagues west of Utahitee. Here we continued a week; but our crew being injured by the villainy of Bougainville's people, the captain would not suffer them to on shore. This isle is esteemed more fertile and more wholesome than the rest; and I vow, with the greatest sincerity, that it justly deserves the name; for I never beheld such a beautiful race of women, so elegantly limbed, and so divinely featured...

Once again, therefore, the South is sexualised and made subservient to the desires of the British gentlemen and crew (Cook’s diktat in Huahine notwithstanding). The author also

⁴⁵⁹ Hoey’s *Dublin Mercury*, Dublin, 3/9/1771-5/9/1771, Issue No 760: News.

distances his ship from Bougainville's, not just morally in terms of carelessly bringing syphilis (in contrast with Cook's more responsible restrictions on contact) but professionally: while they sailed west to "the isle of handsome women", Bougainville (like Wallis) managed to 'miss' the isle and the idealised women that here help to construct the South Sea fantasy.

As one of the first substantial reports of the experiences of those on-board *Endeavour*, this anonymous letter is fundamental in how it helps to establish a public imaginary of the South Seas - one that fits well with the pre-modern phase of Said's theory of a "system of knowledge about the Orient"⁴⁶⁰ that "recognises individuality" and attempts to reconcile it with its general and hegemonic context"⁴⁶¹. The geographical imaginary presented to the reader here is based on oppositional juxtapositions: good and bad, male and female, miraculous life and murderous death, idle pleasure and intense pain, in many ways reducing the region to a series of simplistic but powerful tropes (war-mongering male savages and beautiful, long-limbed and sexually available women) that would find ready purchase with an eighteenth century reader already schooled in the voyage accounts and fantasy travelogues of the times.

There is a less explicit but equally strong dimension to the newly discovered worlds, involving their projected utility: the 'savage' lands are also represented as having no apparent economic or strategic benefit while the paradisiacal offer bountiful advantage to a future colonist, or political or trade partner. This, however, gets more complicated when the ship arrives at the Dutch controlled East Indies where there is everything the men might desire – except "fornication" with the native women - a situation so untenable and confusing that they quickly move on to "sumptuous" Batavia where they find everything they need in terms of repairs and sex - but are exposed to a fatal landscape of disease.

⁴⁶⁰ Said breaks the time-frame for his analysis between the last third of the eighteenth century when Orientalism was on the rise and "modern" Orientalism which begins in the early nineteenth century. See: Said, E.W., *Orientalism* (Routledge & Kegan Paul; London and Henley) 1978, p30.

⁴⁶¹ *Ibid*, p9.

Here, then, in this colonised, monetised southern ‘paradise’ there is the illusion of utility but - unlike Tahiti - and other ‘new’ discovered isles, ultimately it is tainted with the moral hazards of western culture: you can get what you want but the price might be death. As the correspondent concludes with palpable pathos, “our sufferings have been beyond all belief; but I am determined not to stagger your credibility with any farther recitals”.

By December 1771, with information of the *Endeavour* voyage filtering into the public imaginary through the letters, press reports and unauthorised voyage accounts, the *Public Advertiser* reports that Joseph Banks is already preparing for “his next exploring Expedition”, this time to 60 degrees South; his aim, “to make a more perfect Discovery of those Lands towards the South Pole”.⁴⁶² The somewhat pleonastic term “more perfect” gives a nod to a seemingly obsessional cultural desire to reveal the true nature of the imagined South. Once again, it is the presumption of these austral lands harnessed to the celebrity and status of Banks that propels them both into the public sphere. However, the plan does not receive unilateral support: in an open letter to the Earl of Hillsborough in the *Public Advertiser*, “ATLAS” – a self-professed “Philosopher and Lover of Wisdom and Knowledge” – takes exception:

The Earl of Sandwich is desirous to distinguish his Administration of the Marine by some important Discoveries. He urges the speedy Departure of Mess. Banks and Solander, that he may have some Share in the Glory of their Voyages. He is not perhaps without Hopes of giving Name to a whole Southern Continent - *Icaro nomen daturus Ponto*.⁴⁶³

There are several points worthy of note in the letter. Firstly, Sandwich – First Lord of the Admiralty - is once again pilloried in the press, this time for his apparent self-interest in encouraging voyages in search of the Continent, that he may bask in the reflected national

⁴⁶² *Public Advertiser*, London, 5/12/1771, Issue No 11576: News

⁴⁶³ *Public Advertiser*, London, 31/12/1771, Issue No 11597: News.

glory arising from its discovery. Like Icarus, he is characterised as being too carried away by his own ambition to heed warnings of the fall that will inevitably ensue.⁴⁶⁴ Instead of sending out yet more voyages of discovery to the unknown parts of the world, especially those that might turn out to contain only sea, “ATLAS” argues that Britain should instead be consolidating its knowledge about the existing continent of North America.

This taps into a frequent theme in the press and public discourse, questioning the utility of (uncertain) discovery balanced with its great expense – an expense that, if done strategically and in the right places, could be nullified and “never...felt nor grudged”. When the correspondent ends his letter with a plea to remember that “Discovery is more meritorious than Conquest”, it is clear that the main issue is not the discoveries *per se* but their geographical focus – and, for this correspondent at least, America has more merit than the oceans of the South.

The widespread public interest in geographical matters is evident in the spate of advertisements across the press toward the end of 1771 and the start of 1772 for books about the world, such as Fenning and Collyer’s *New System of Geography*. Their work, first published in 1764-5, had already undergone a series of revisions but by 1771 had been updated to include “the latest Discoveries, particularly those important ones made in the late Voyage round the World, in his Majesty’s Ship Endeavour, compleated the Beginning of the present Year 1771”.⁴⁶⁵ Significantly, much is made of the “Maps and Cuts” that accompany the tome, including “a large whole sheet Map of the World by Kitchen”. Clearly, the public imaginary is being constructed from information in both textual and graphic form – and rather than being a niche topic, the *Endeavour* voyage is now

⁴⁶⁴ Transl: “Icarus, give the name of Pontus”, where Pontus is the (pre-Olympian) god of the sea. According to Greek mythology, Icarus flew too close to the sun, and fell into the sea; here I interpret the meaning to be more about Sandwich’s metaphorical demise being caused by finding sea rather than his longed-for land to the South.

⁴⁶⁵ *Public Advertiser*, London, 21/10/1771, Issue No 11538: Classified Ads; *Middlesex Journal or Chronicle of Liberty*, London, 15/2/1772, Issue No 450: Classified Ads.

considered required learning for anyone who wishes to engage in discussions about the nature and shape of the world and, in particular, the emerging South.

The succeeding months from March to May 1772 are marked by eight further articles in rapid succession and over a range of five different newspapers citing plans for another voyage in search of “further Discoveries...toward the South Pole”.⁴⁶⁶ King George III asks Parliament for a “proper encouragement” (i.e., money) and ultimately £4,000 is granted⁴⁶⁷ although an appeal to have this quashed is made – and ignored – in June, evidence that the project and strategy had not received unanimous support.⁴⁶⁸ The project detail is, however, firmly in the public domain, with the density and intensity of press coverage suggesting a high degree of active interest in the voyage from a mainstream public vicariously coming ‘on board’. By April, Solander and Banks are named as receiving orders “to endeavour to penetrate as far as 60 degrees South to see what land can be discovered towards the South Pole”⁴⁶⁹ and two days later, Lord Sandwich and “many foreign ambassadors, and persons of distinction” are expected at Woolwich to go aboard *Resolution* and take leave of Banks, Solander – and the less-mentioned Cook – before “their intended [polar] voyage”.⁴⁷⁰

However, even with the growing trend towards empirical knowledge from state-sponsored voyages themselves, the construction of the austral regions in the public imaginary still bears a strong influence from the fantastical and speculative. In the same way that the makers of the Hereford *Mappa Mundi* located strange beasts and mythical creatures like the unicorn at the southern margins of the known world, almost five hundred years later, the South is still the repository of all things on the margins of credibility. The next significant mention of the putative land is as home to the “Dancing Bear from Terra Incognita” – the “She-Bear” newly arrived in Britain and brought here by “Captain Exotic”

⁴⁶⁶ *Whitehall Evening Post or London Intelligencer*, London, 26/3/1772-28/3/1772, Issue No 467: News.

⁴⁶⁷ *Public Advertiser*, London, 8/4/1772, Issue No 11682: News.

⁴⁶⁸ *Middlesex Journal or Chronicle of Liberty*, London, 2/6/1772-4-6/1772, Issue No 496: News.

⁴⁶⁹ *Middlesex Journal or Chronicle of Liberty*, London, 11/4/1772-14/4/1772, Issue No 474: News.

⁴⁷⁰ *Gazetteer and New Daily Advertiser*, London, 13/4/1772, Issue No 13454: News.

in the *Discovery* who has “passed 25 years of his life in search of wild beasts and Cockleshells”.⁴⁷¹⁴⁷² This is shortly followed by an unattributed news report:⁴⁷³

We hear that on the very day that Astley the horse rider departs for France, his great rival Hughes intends to sail for the North Pole, round to the South Pole and take Falkland's Islands and Patagonia in [sic] his way home. He will likewise cross the river Plate and exhibit his performances to the WILD INDIANS on the Isthmus of Darien.

Clearly, then, in the latter half of the eighteenth century, there is still a credible perception of an ice-free South Pole, easy enough in terms of climate and terrain to cross by horse, and most likely also habitable (one doubts if “Mr Hughes” would claim to make such a journey if there wasn’t a belief in a polar audience being there to sustain him). Even in terms of extravagant showman claims such as this, the ideas must have had some purchase in the public’s geographical imagination about the nature of the far South. And the ideas are given more credibility by association with the “WILD INDIANS” of Darien – a well-known “fact” rooted in both geographic reality and the public consciousness since the disastrous Scottish attempt at colonisation in the late seventeenth century.⁴⁷⁴

The putative austral geography is not only the backdrop for the spectacular; it is also the focus for continued speculation *per se* and also in terms of its relationship with the natural workings of the planet. An August edition of *Bingley’s Journal* maintains the long-running debate about the origins of the Northern Lights and their equivalence in the south:

⁴⁷¹ *Daily Advertiser*, London, 28/5/1772, No Issue No cited: News.

⁴⁷² *Middlesex Journal or Chronicle of Liberty*, London, 28/5/1772-30/5/1772, Issue No 494: News.

⁴⁷³ *Middlesex Journal or Universal Evening Post*, London, 30/7/1772-1/8/1772, Issue No 521: News

⁴⁷⁴ An electronic search through the Burney Collection using the keyword “Darien” (date range 1/1/1672-31/12/1772) revealed 637 mentions in the popular press.

POSTSCRIPT

To the Editor of Bingley's Journal...

[Letter from "An ELECTRICIAN"]

...What I have said of the North Pole is equally applicable to the South Pole, where there is, no doubt, an Aurora Australis, or Southern Lights; but these are out of the reach of our view, the South Pole being as much depressed below our horizon as the North Pole is elevated above it, that is between fifty-one and fifty-two degrees...⁴⁷⁵

In terms of the construction of geographical knowledge, therefore, it appears that multiple factors are operating strongly during the period of Cook's voyages and are featured regularly in the mainstream press, not least scientific speculation and reasoning, sublime fantasy and direct empirical testimony from the voyages themselves. These are set against a context of broader geographical curiosity and thirst for knowledge about the world, evidenced here by a series of advertisements appearing for general books on world geography and also - set among notices for "Members of the Society of London Annuitants" and Mr. Gay's plays (including the Beggar's Opera featuring Mr Twitcher) – adverts for a "Portable Orrery" that offer the purchaser that privileged "South View of the CONSTELLARIUM".⁴⁷⁶

4. 1773: the battle for 'authority', credibility and control

Of the seventeen years under study, 1773 sees the largest number of press reports concerning the putative Continent. January 1773 heralds the appearance of regular advertisements trailing the publication of the official Admiralty account of the *Endeavour Voyage*, written by John Hawkesworth and to be published over the coming months by Strahan and Cadell:

⁴⁷⁵ *Bingley's Journal*, London, 22/8/1772-29/8/1772, Issue No 117: News

⁴⁷⁶ *London Evening Post*, London, 3/11/1772-5/11/1772, Issue No 6995: Classified Ads; *London Evening Post*, London, 24/11/1772-26/11/1772, Issue No 7004: Classified Ads.

In the press, and in or before the month of April next will be published, In two volumes, quarto, illustrated with cuts, designed and engraved by Cipriani, Bartolozzi, Rooker, Wooller and other eminent artists; and a great variety of charts and maps relative to countries now first discovered, or hitherto but imperfectly known. AN ACCOUNT of the VOYAGES undertaken by the order of his present Majesty, for the making of discoveries in the Southern Hemisphere, and successively performed by Commodore Byron, Captain Wallis, Captain Carteret, and Captain Cook, in the Dolphin, the Swallow, and the Endeavour; Drawn up from the journals which were kept by the several commanders, and from the papers of Joseph Banks, Esq. By JOHN HAWKSWORTH, L.L.D. ⁴⁷⁷

In terms of the control and credibility of information, let alone the information itself, the advertisements offer an insight into eighteenth century ways of thinking about the South. The knowledge the volumes offer is clearly high-status and perceived by the publishers as high value (the volumes would later be advertised in boards at three guineas). The four named “eminent artists” are among the leading artists of the day, with patronage from the King⁴⁷⁸ and close involvement in the Royal Academy⁴⁷⁹. The “great variety” of charts and maps therefore represent a significant investment on the part of the publishers, affirming a high degree of interest in graphic ways of accessing new geographical knowledge, concomitant with a high degree of (assumed) cartographic literacy in the public sphere of the mid-to-late eighteenth century. The plates, maps and charts offer for the first time a visual way of knowing the ‘new’ countries and lands brought to public consciousness by the *Endeavour* voyage, locating them geographically and conceptually in the emerging and ‘known’ worlds of the West. Once again, the personal standing, experience and testimony of the ‘witness’ narratives underpin the credibility of information, along with the voyage’s

⁴⁷⁷ The first of these adverts in the Burney Collection appears on the 19th January, 1773 – *London Evening Post*, London, 19/1/1773-21/1/1773, Issue No 7028: Classified Ads.

⁴⁷⁸ *The Gentleman’s Magazine* carries notice of Wooller’s tombstone where he was called “Engraver to the King”: *The Gentleman’s Magazine* 1785, Vol. 55, Part 2, p937.

⁴⁷⁹ Clayton, Timothy & McConnell, Anita: ‘Bartolozzi, Francesco (1728–1815)’, *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press, 2004; online edn, Oct 2007.

[<http://www.oxforddnb.com.ezproxy.lib.gla.ac.uk/view/article/1592>, accessed 7/9/2016]

proclaimed royal seal of approval: the naval commanders carry with them the experience, rigour and discipline to shore up the quality of their information, while the elite social status and botanising skill of “Gentleman of Fortune”, Joseph Banks, has already conferred the attention of the King.

The author charged with making the naval journals suitable for polite society has his name in capital letters as yet another badge of credibility and status, along with his legal qualifications. Hawkesworth was a leading journalist of the day and moved in rarefied social circles, being a close friend of both Samuel Johnson and Charles Burney.⁴⁸⁰ It was the latter who introduced him to Lord Sandwich, from which arose the commission to write the *Voyages* – a deal which paid Hawkesworth an extraordinary £6,075 fee, apparently more than the combined wages paid to all four naval commanders.⁴⁸¹ It was also a source of professional envy and much bitterness⁴⁸² that would affect the reception of the work on its eventual publication, along with its reaction in the press.⁴⁸³

However, in a post-script to this advertisement, another reason is made apparent as to why Hawkesworth’s name is writ large and puffed by his credentials:

As there is some reason to believe that an imperfect account of part of the voyage of the Endeavour, is surreptitiously printing, it is thought proper to inform the public, that there are no materials for such an account, but some loose and unconnected papers of the late Mr. Sidney Parkinson, who was one of Mr. Banks's draughtsmen; and therefore, it is hoped that they will suspend their curiosity, till the work now advertised is published, of which further notice will be given.

⁴⁸⁰ Williamson, 2006.

⁴⁸¹ Beaglehole, 1974:290.

⁴⁸² Viz., the sarcastic and damning letter from “A PATAGONIAN”, *Morning News and Chronicle and London Advertiser*, London, 19/6/1773, Issue No 1271: News.

⁴⁸³ Williamson, 2006; Beaglehole, 1974:289-291

This is the first salvo of many in a war over who controls information from the voyage and how to ensure the credibility of such ‘knowledge at a distance’. It is clearly made on a presumption that there is a significant degree of public interest in the voyage account (as evidenced by the bidding war and huge advance) and predicated on the fear that many readers might choose to buy the “imperfect” volume “surreptitiously” printing instead of the official [and by inference, perfect] Admiralty version. This, then, is Strahan and Cadell’s attempt to convince readers to wait the three or more months for their authorised version to appear – and *not* to buy the inferior [significantly cheaper and soon-to-be-published] account.

A momentary respite from the battles being played out in the press is provided when readers’ attention is diverted to a series of five parliamentary notices in March 1773 about paying for “prosecuting further discoveries towards the South Pole”: the £4,000 grant agreed for the original voyage scientist who declined the offer is to be reallocated in part to “Reynold Foster” [the Polish Prussian natural historian, John Rheinhold Forster] and his son [George] who will receive £1700. Again, this is more of interest for what it says about the value of information (and gossip) about the South and its public relevance: in contrast to the money given to Hawkesworth by the *Voyages* publisher, this is two thirds less for a commission of around three years’ duration, and with immense privations and dangers; however, the impecunious Forsters are at liberty to write, publish and earn royalties from their own journals – something they will do as soon as the voyage is complete, once again amidst tension over the control of ‘official’ voyage knowledge.

In the meantime, press coverage of the *Resolution*’s voyage “towards the South Pole” picks up in April 1773 with an “Extract of a Letter from Captain Cook of his Majesty’s Sloop Resolution”, sent from the Cape of Good Hope.⁴⁸⁴ This letter is worthy of note more for what it does not say than what it does: other than praising both the *Resolution* and *Adventure* as fine vessels and reporting that the crews of both ships are healthy, the rest of

⁴⁸⁴ *Public Advertiser*, London, 19/4/1773, Issue No 11867: Classified Ads.

the extract is empty of interesting content to the point that even Cook remarks that they “arrived at this Place without any Thing remarkable happening in our Passage.” The fact that – despite the dullness of information – the letter is printed at all is perhaps therefore an indication of Cook’s growing personal fame but also the intense public eagerness to read or hear anything to do with ‘his’ “Discoveries” in the Southern Ocean. Indeed, Cook hints at this urgency of his mission in his closing sentence:

I now wait for nothing, but a Wind to get out the Bay, after which I shall proceed to the Southward without Loss of Time.

With that time pressing on, Hawkesworth’s publishers also display a nervousness that they risk frustrating the public’s desire for knowledge of the South. They issue another round of notices across the British press throughout May 1773, promising that his *Voyages* will be published “*During the course of this month*”⁴⁸⁵ and then, by the end of May, by “Friday next”⁴⁸⁶ – offering this explanatory addendum to the adverts:

This work would have been published last month, pursuant to a former advertisement, if it had not been found impossible to get the engravings finished.

The reason for the underlying tension becomes clear with a news item in *Lloyd’s Evening Post* on 31st May, 1773:

On Friday came on before, The Lord Chancellor, at Lincoln's-inn-hall; the interesting Literary Cause between Dr. John Hawkesworth and Mr. Stanfield Parkinson, respecting the publication of Sydney Parkinson's Journal of the Ship Endeavour, against which the former had obtained an Injunction, which, on a full hearing of the merits, was dissolved...⁴⁸⁷

⁴⁸⁵*Morning Chronicle and London Advertiser*, London, 3/5/1773. The advert is repeated in the same newspaper later in the month, and also in the *Public Advertiser* and *London Chronicle or Universal Evening Post*.

⁴⁸⁶*Public Advertiser*, London, 31/5/1773, Issue No 11901: Classified Ads.

⁴⁸⁷*Lloyd’s Evening Post*, London, 31/5/1771-2/6/1773, Issue No 2484: News.

The article goes on to describe the case – and Parkinson’s defence - in detail, providing clear textual evidence of the legal and cultural battle over who gets to control information about the emerging South – the ‘grieving brother’ of the ship’s artist, a lowly but entrepreneurial upholsterer who has gained access to his late sibling’s voyage journal and sees a chance to make a good return, or the Admiralty and ‘knowledge’ establishment who have organised and funded the voyage. With publication of the rival account delayed, the arena for the dispute spills out of the court and onto the pages of the press:⁴⁸⁸

Next Week will certainly be published,
Elegantly printed on Elephant Paper, in One Volume, Quarto, and embellished with a
Variety of beautiful Engravings , Price 1 l. 5s. in Boards,
A JOURNAL of the VOYAGE of his Majesty's Ship ENDEAVOUR, in which
Joseph Banks, Esq, Dr Solander, &c., sailed ROUND the WORLD. Containing an
authentic narrative of all the discoveries and incidents attending that voyage, with a
minute description of the people and places discovered.
By the late SYDNEY PARKINSON,
Draughtsman to Mr. Banks.
To which will be prefixed, by the Editor, STANFIELD PARKINSON, an account of
the very extraordinary means that have been taken by Dr. JOHN HAWKESWORTH,
Dr. JOHN FOTHERGILL, and others, to delay and suppress this publication.

Two days after this, three more adverts for Hawkesworth’s volumes appear in three different papers⁴⁸⁹ advising the reading public that “Next Wednesday *will be published...*” – the [original] emphasis here taking on an even more declamatory tone in the context of the rivalry with Parkinson’s unauthorised publication. However, more evidence that a very genuine battle for ‘authority’ is underway in the public domain (and *for* the public domain)

⁴⁸⁸*General Evening Post*, London, 1/6/1771-3/6/1773, Issue No 6184: News.

⁴⁸⁹*General Evening Post*, London, 3/6/1773-5/6/1773, Issue No 6185: Classified Ads; *London Chronicle or Universal Evening Post*, London, 3/6/1773-5/6/1773, Issue 2572: Classified Ads; *Daily Advertiser*, London, 5/6/1773, Issue No 13246: Classified Ads.

appears at the same time, with a letter from “A Friend to the Injured” published in the *Public Advertiser*, addressed to “Dr. John Hawkesworth”. The letter brings to the fore how far the members of the establishment – some actively involved in knowledge creation about the South - will go in attempting to control the flow of that information to maintain their own interests – interests that compete with those outwith their circle of power. Even heavily edited, there is palpable vitriol against Hawkesworth’s perceived abuse of his position:

Sir,

The specious gloss with which you attempt to varnish over the grossest Duplicity extorts from me this address. Going to Lincoln's-inn-hall on Friday last, prepossessed very highly in your Favour, it was with equal Surprize and Indignation I learned from the Pleadings in Court that the Injunction you had obtained to stop the Publication of Sydney Parkinson's Journal of the Voyage of the Ship Endeavour was granted on a most groundless Application. If I wondered also a little as its being dissolved, it was only because I saw Equity prevail in the same Court which granted it. You or your Booksellers, indeed, tell us in a Paragraph in the Newspapers, that the Decision of the Court in the Cause is not final. I will venture to say, Sir, the Merits were fully entered into, and you dare not, you cannot, proceed farther...Be assured, Sir, that a full Relation of the whole of this oppressive and litigious Transaction will be laid before the Public in a few Days, who will then be enabled to judge whether or not you have acted on this Occasion in a Manner becoming your situation and Character.

I am, Sir, your's

A Friend to the Injured⁴⁹⁰

The letter clearly underlines how seriously Hawkesworth and his partners take the matter of Parkinson’s publication: they are using the full recourse of the law in their attempt to prevent publication, including an injunction and hearing with senior legal aides – but they

⁴⁹⁰ *Public Advertiser*, London, 5/6/1773, Issue No 11906: News.

are also using the public sphere (for example, publishing “a Paragraph in the Newspapers”) to play out their battle, giving credence to the suggestion that not only was the speculative geography of the South located firmly in the public domain, it was also acknowledged as *public* intellectual property and not merely the preserve of the elite. Indeed, the “Friend”’s assurance to Hawkesworth and, by nature of the open letter, the readers that the matter will be laid “before the Public...who will then be enabled to judge” for themselves is a conscious and deliberate use of the public sphere as the locus of debate – or, in other words, a ‘trial by newspaper’; it underscores the importance of the press in the public sphere of the mid to late eighteenth century, and how the public (in this case, the letter-writer) has a skilled sense of how to use the press in the creation, control and credibility of knowledge.

However, the “Friend”’s comment about the time taken by Hawkesworth to bring the legal action also raises some interesting possibilities. Without doubt, intellectual property rights are frequently abused in the mid to late eighteenth century (viz., Callander’s plagiarised version of de Brosse’s *Histoire*). Notwithstanding this, the legal battles over publication rights might also demonstrate a more cynical and longer game of using the public sphere (in this case, the press) to generate publicity thus increasing demand for the official voyage accounts. Evidence for this can be seen in the months before and after publication when advertisements for the rival works are published next to each other⁴⁹¹, with bald statements professing their individual claim to represent the ‘truth’ while denigrating their rival’s authenticity and authority. This active construction of an oppositional narrative by the book and newspaper editors keeps the storyline alive in the public interest, and thereby keeps the volumes in the public’s attention.

During this intense period of claim and counter-claim, a damning letter appears in the *Morning Chronicle and London Advertiser* addressed to “DOCTOR JOHN HAWKESWORTH”. This attacks not only his moral character but also his intellectual,

⁴⁹¹ A key-word search of the *Burney Collection* newspapers reveals seven press adverts in seventeen days between the 5/6/1773 and 22/6/1773, six for Hawkesworth’s *Voyages* and one for Parkinson’s *Endeavour* journal, with overlapping publication dates on 22/6/1773. This becomes an increasingly regular feature over the coming months.

scientific and literary capacity. The correspondent self-styles as “A PATAGONIAN”, that is, someone for whom the South is not only ‘known’ but emotionally inhabited. The fact that the letter has not been dismissed by the editor as that of a lone crank and is deemed worthy of publication strongly suggests that a segment of polite society regarded itself as heavily invested in the South, like austral *Quidnuncs*. Certainly, the letter length (over two broadsheet columns) suggests a very deep and detailed involvement with the subject matter – even though it deals only with Hawkesworth’s opening dedication to George III not the *Endeavour* voyage itself). The level of criticism is immediately apparent:

You tell his Majesty (God bless him!) that “After the great improvements that have been made in navigation since the discovery of America, it may well be thought strange, that a very considerable part of the globe on which we live, should still have remained unknown [*you mean SHOULD STILL REMAIN*], that it should still have been the subject of speculation, [*you mean STILL BE*] whether a great portion of the Southern hemisphere is [*you mean BE*] land or water; and even where land had been discovered, [*you should say HAS BEEN, unless you mean to intimate that such land has since been lost again; or, as Dr. G. would say, is found to be water!*] that neither its extent nor figure should have been [*SHOULD BE*] ascertained.”⁴⁹²

Grammar aside, the ‘Patagonian’ goes on to explain why it is perfectly explicable that the South should remain unknown: the benefits from first locating and discovering - then successfully conquering - a new territory that turns out to be rich in resources are so “remote and uncertain” that rulers tend to look closer to home. Meanwhile, quoting Hawkesworth’s words, the correspondent argues that his Majesty pursues discoveries “not ‘with a view to the acquisition of treasure or extent of dominion, but the improvement of commerce, and increase of knowledge’” – a position that he then demonstrates is logically untenable.

⁴⁹² *Morning Chronicle and London Advertiser*, London, 19/6/1773, Issue No 1271: News.

The cited letters, articles and advertisements attacking Hawkesworth in the press are just the tip of a much larger iceberg in a bitter campaign against the beliefs, skill and morality of the journalist, a campaign that reportedly contributed to his death just five months later in November, 1773.⁴⁹³ Criticisms are levelled from the ships' captains, angry at what they perceive as misrepresentations of their journals, from a public outraged by what they interpret as an unnecessarily sexualised portrayal of the South Seas, and from religious commentators furious at Hawkesworth's apparent denial of Providence.⁴⁹⁴ Most pertinent is that the attacks – and counter attacks – are located centre stage in the public sphere through the eighteenth century press; moreover, while the anger might be partly located in a society wrestling with a shift in its global imaginary, underlying this is also an intense and often brutal debate on the control and credibility of knowledge, especially knowledge derived 'at a distance'. In this case at least, Hawkesworth misjudged the mood of both the practitioners *and* polite society - and their desire to be part of the debate and the process – a misjudgement that carried a heavy personal price.⁴⁹⁵

Moral debates aside, the public also acquires information about the geography and nature of the South via the press from the Endeavour voyage itself. This information appears in a range of forms from self-proclaimed "concise Recitals"⁴⁹⁶ to letters, reports and serialised adaptations. However, frequently it appears as though the events have just happened rather than them having occurred up to five years previously. Often drip-fed with information in the 'news' sections, these 'reports' were, in reality, the more sensational passages extracted from the differing accounts and (re-) presented as 'news' with varying degrees of editing. One striking example of this is the report in the *Middlesex Journal* or *Universal Evening Post* for 24-26th June 1773 which describes in terms veering on the sublime "a bird's nest of a most enormous size...no less than six and twenty feet in circumference, and two feet

⁴⁹³ Fanny Burney ascribed his early death to the attacks on Hawkesworth, while Beaglehole adds "an intentional overdose of opium" into the mix. For a full account, see Beaglehole/Cook: *Journals*, 1999, p.cclii.

⁴⁹⁴ Williamson, 2006

⁴⁹⁵ Williamson, 2006

⁴⁹⁶ For example, see *St James's Chronicle or the British Evening Post*, London, 24/6/1773-25/6/1773, Issue No 1929:News.

eight inches high”.⁴⁹⁷ This is followed immediately by a sentence about the discovery of an eagle’s nest, and the killing of the occupants – the juxtaposition conferring the credibility of the ‘known’ onto the unknown ‘other’ and thereby legitimising what might otherwise seem unbelievable.

The next paragraph changes tack sharply, moving on to a less spectacular and more scientific discussion of the emerging geography of New Zealand, first revealed in part by Tasman but from 1642 to the *Endeavour*’s arrival “altogether unknown, and by many been supposed to be part of a Southern continent.” It is described as being made up of “two large islands, divided from each other by a streight or passage, which is about four hundred leagues broad” - and is then located with its coordinates from Greenwich, again normalising the information by drawing the unknown into the realms of the everyday. Curiously, the tone then changes yet again and there follows a short discussion of the putative Continent:

There has generally been supposed a continent in the Southern hemisphere; indeed, some persons have thought it absolutely necessary, in order to preserve an equilibrium of the globe; but the late voyage of Lieut. Cooke [sic] renders that matter very problematical; at least it pretty clearly proves that there is none to the northward of latitude 40°S. However, though this voyage reduces the only possible seite [sic] of a southern continent north of latitude 40° to a small space, 'twould be a pity to leave that unexamined, *especially as the voyage may turn to good account*, besides determining the principle question, if no continent should be found, by the discovery of new islands in the tropical regions, of which there is probably a great number, that no European vessel has ever visited. [Emphasis added]⁴⁹⁸

⁴⁹⁷ *Middlesex Journal or Universal Evening Post*, London, 22/6/1773-26/6/1773, Issue No 662: News.

⁴⁹⁸ *Middlesex Journal or Universal Evening Post*, London, 22/6/1773-26/6/1773, Issue No 662: News.

This extract clearly underpins the assertion that the Continent is not only part of the mainstream system of geographical beliefs in the mid to late eighteenth century [being “generally...supposed”], there also exists a vocal segment of the polite society that argues its existence is “absolutely necessary” to make cosmological sense of the universe: without it, the entire world would be unbalanced; in other words, the idea of the Continent makes the eighteenth-century world make sense. However, the emerging tension between theoretical speculation and empirical practice is also apparent: from this extract, the *Endeavour* voyage appears to have unsettled the very notion of a functioning system of beliefs by rendering the matter of a Continent “very problematical”. What happens next is a fascinating exercise in editing to deal with uncomfortable ideas: the journalist has extracted almost verbatim part of a paragraph from Cook’s journal [from “this voyage” to “ever visited”⁴⁹⁹] but edited down (and sometimes out) Cook’s vigorous assertion in his own preceding paragraphs that – by dint of the direct and supporting empirical evidence – no Continent exists in the regions he has been exploring.⁵⁰⁰ What the journalist presents is a much less definitive version, thereby leaving more room for the putative Continent to the South of 40° - and in readers’ minds.

The revised plan hinted here of a further voyage to explore the remaining “small space” has the dual purpose of garnering any geographical knowledge arising from the discovery of the Continent or tropical islands – and the (implied) exploitation of those new-found lands valued even more highly than the new geographical knowledge per se. Once again, then, it is possible to observe in contemporary coverage of the Cook voyages Gascoigne’s theory of “science in the service of Empire”⁵⁰¹ underlining the importance of perceived economic utility in eighteenth century knowledge acquisition.

⁴⁹⁹ Cook, James: *The Voyages of Captain James Cook, round the world*, Vol. II, (Sherwood, Neely & Jones; London) 1813, p63. Accessed via Googlebooks, 29/9/2016, 10:44.

⁵⁰⁰ Of course, Cook’s words were being mediated here by Hawkesworth.

⁵⁰¹ See Gascoigne, 1998.

A feature typifying many of the press ‘stories’, “concise Recitals”⁵⁰² and serialised adaptations about the emerging South is a focus on the shocking or spectacular. In contrast with the detailed and chronological first person accounts in the Parkinson and Hawkesworth volumes, knowledge presented via the newspapers necessarily needs to be extracted, edited and – generally – sensationalised for impact. There are stories about Tahitian customs and behaviours (namely: thieving, singing, dancing, weeping – very little on everyday life), their perpetual mispronunciation of English names and words, the “dreadful testimony” of curious and fatal cold climate in Patagonia that killed Banks’s African servants, and even a story about Banks and Solander’s discovery of a new species of bioluminescent marine life when ‘Crossing the Line’. While this might set up a simplistic narrative of the South in the public sphere, it does not follow that the effort to make sense of the voyage findings was in any way shallow or simple-minded. A much deeper and more nuanced public debate is evidenced through the published ‘Letters to the Editor’: here one gets the clearest sense of a genuine and on-going public discussion about the ‘new’ emerging geographies and their ramifications within British society – even when that public discussion is very pointedly between two highly ‘embedded’ participants involved in the wider southern ‘project’.

In a letter to the *Public Advertiser* in July 1773, the “constant reader, D” writes a letter of support to the paper in order to counter negative comments by a previous “Correspondent”. He argues that non-discovery is still geographical progress in terms of knowledge about the world:

Though they found no Land in all those vast Southern Regions, they have ascertained the Fact, that a vast Space of the Globe is really Water, much more than many of the Learned thought possible, and their Survey of New Zealand, of which we had before so imperfect an Account, is so compleat a Performance, that it will ever remain a Model for future Navigators.⁵⁰³

⁵⁰² For example, see *St James’s Chronicle or the British Evening Post*, London, 24/6/1773-25/6/1773, Issue No 1929: News

⁵⁰³ *Public Advertiser*, London, 1/7/1773, Issue No 11926: News

However, while certain knowledge is the goal, ‘discovery’ has a perceived utility beyond the mere intellectual:

Pity it is that any just Reason should have prevented the Captain from putting his own Scheme in Execution, and returning by Cape Horn, by which he had either entirely proved the Non-existence of a Southern Continent, or made some valuable Discovery.

“D”’s twin themes of intellectual and economic utility have echoes in a scathing open letter from Dalrymple to Hawkesworth, printed in the *Morning Chronicle and London Advertiser* in July 1773. While using most of his column inches to roundly criticise Hawkesworth for “inexcusable” errors, “ignorance and inconsistency”, he also attacks “the great neglect on board the Endeavour” in not drawing a map using the information gleaned from Tupaia, the Polynesian priestly navigator. His geographical knowledge covered almost one third of the Pacific – and his (lost) chart was copied by Cook⁵⁰⁴; Hawkesworth and through him, Cook, are accused of using new westernised names for places already known by their indigenous name, considered a “ridiculous affectation” that only adds “perplexity and confusion instead of elucidating the Geography of those parts”. These failings are regarded by Dalrymple as a gross derogation of duty – and misjudgements he would not have made had he been given command of the voyage.⁵⁰⁵ Instead, he argues that he was “prevented, by the secondary influence of narrow-minded men, from completing

⁵⁰⁴ According to Cook’s journal, Tupaia drew “a Chart of the Islands drawn by Tupia’s own hands” but it seems not to have survived. A copy, attributed to Cook, has survived and is now in the British Museum. See Beaglehole/Cook: *Journals*, Volume 1, 1955: p293-4, and fn 1. di Paizza and Pearthree assert ‘Tupaia’s chart’ (as it is known) “embodies two different ways to order space, One Polynesian, one European” and the conflicting cosmologies are extremely hard to disentangle. The chart appears incorrect to western eyes, although it would make sense to a Polynesian navigator skilled in using multiple star compasses. For their summary of their extensive work, see <http://www.captaincooksociety.com/home/detail/history-of-an-idea-about-tupaia-s-chart#18>, accessed online 13/9/2016, 11:10.

⁵⁰⁵ Cook discusses at length the difficulties in using indigenous names, especially in terms of the reliability of knowledge when being transmitted from native speaker to westerner, and between westerners. Beaglehole/Cook: *Journals*, Volume 1, 1955: p291-294.

the discovery of, and establishing an amicable intercourse with, a southern Continent” even though it is “not yet determined” whether one exists, “although four voyages have been made under their auspices”. Dalrymple ends his letter by wryly suggesting that – had he won command of the voyage instead of Cook, he “would not have come back in ignorance”.

However disingenuous, this final statement seems to represent at least one section of the public’s mood. Five days after the publication of Dalrymple’s letter to Hawkesworth, “ANTI-QUACK” picks up the theme in a letter “To the Printer of the Morning Chronicle”, alleging that in terms of utility, the *Endeavour* voyage has fallen well short:

It appears very clearly from Mr. Dalrymple's letter to Dr. Hawkesworth, that the voyages undertaken under the auspices of Lord Sandwich and Majesty, have produced hardly any other effect but expence to the nation. Otahitee and most of the other islands mentioned as new discoveries by Hawkesworth, were not only seen but landed upon by Dutch and other navigators. The great object of all the voyages, the discovery of the Southern continent, has not been compassed, though it be certain that according to the laws of nature there [m]ust be such a continent. The same principles which led Columbus to the discovery of an American continent, or at least of its islands, ought to have led Captain Cook from Otahitee to the discovery of the Southern continent, which in fact has been seen by former navigators; but the misfortune is that a man now presides at the head of the Admiralty who is more influenced by private than by public motives in the choice of officers; by a man who considers parliamentary interest as a more powerful recommendation than knowledge, and the spirit of adventure and discovery. Were not this the case, so many useless and uninteresting voyages would not have been undertaken; not would his Majesty's reign have been disgraced by such awkward and unsatisfactory cruises, for they deserve no better name. That a man should, like Cook, see manifest signs of the vicinity of land in a litude (sic) and longitude where part of the Southern continent is placed by former navigators, and yet forget the end of his voyage so far as not to make for that land, because he was not sure to find it, marks strongly how ill

calculated he was for such an expedition, and what little care and discernment Lord Sandwich possesses where any thing but his own interest is concerned. As to the blunders, absurdities, and tediousness of Hawkesworth's (sic) three volumes I need say nothing. The public, that has slept over those pages of them which they have not skipt, are sufficient judges. Dr. Forthergill may now lay aside his opiates, and prescribe his friend's South-Sea Voyages. They will prove more powerful soporific than his own speeches at the meeting in Gracechurch st[r]eet. (sic!)⁵⁰⁶

There are several points of interest in the letter worth exploring. Firstly, the correspondent appears to be basing his views on what has been published in the press, rather than any detailed reading Hawkesworth's account of Cook's voyage. This supports the contention that the press was highly significant in helping to construct both knowledge and opinions in the public sphere of the mid to late eighteenth century. In this context, "Mr. Dalrymple" is credited with a superior authority in knowledge and wisdom that can challenge that of not only that of Hawkesworth but – by inference – the First Lord of the Admiralty and the King who have given the "useless and uninteresting" voyages - their approval and support.

"ANTI-QUACK" goes further, alleging the King's reign has been "disgraced by such awkward and unsatisfactory cruises". This unrestrained ire against the discovering passions of the King suggests that even an elevated position in society is not enough to confer credibility on one's judgement and ideas if one is deemed intellectually unqualified; the ideas themselves have to be reasoned and reasonable in the way the Southern Continent - the "great object" of eighteenth century exploration – is clearly still held to be. The Continent "must" exist "according to the laws of Nature" therefore its non-discovery is a glaring welt on the abilities and efforts of Cook and his backers. "[F]ormer navigators" have seen the Continent, yet apparently Cook has not much bothered to look, let alone actively explore. In other words, he is being accused of a lack of intellectual curiosity – the complete opposite of Dalrymple's relentless and visible scholarly endeavours to reason-

⁵⁰⁶ *Morning Chronicle and London Advertiser*, London, 20/7/1773, Issue No 1297: Business.

ably locate the Continent on the map of the world but also in the contested arena of public scrutiny of ideas in the press.

The idea that public scrutiny is fundamental to knowledge creation is raised again in the attack on Lord Sandwich and his dubious morals – a man “more influenced by private than public motives”, who regards elitist privilege (his “parliamentary interests”) as “a more powerful recommendation than knowledge, and the spirit of adventure and discovery”.

What this reveals, then, is a textual representation of the eighteenth-century battle between speculative geography (derived from classical literature and ideas, explored on the page or through reasoned public debate) and the scientific method that relies on empirical, observable and repeatable experimentation (derived from the field). But more than that, it is also a battle between public and private space as the rightful locus for the production of knowledge. At first glance, it seems “ANTI-QUACK” is arguing that credible knowledge comes not from behind the closed doors of parliament, or the whims of the Royal Court, or the elitist realms of the Admiralty but from “public motives”. However, his pseudonym begs a more nuanced interrogation of his message. In his study of the religious, moral and ethical conflict between medical ‘professionals’ and so-called ‘quack’ doctors in early Stuart England, Dandridge argues that ‘Anti-Quack literature’:

combined general attacks on the moral, educational and religious failings of irregular practitioners with discussions, based on learned medical theory, of the sharp limitations of uroscopy and other diagnostic methods favoured by empirics.⁵⁰⁷

Dandridge’s work has stark parallels with the tensions clearly visible in knowledge production a century and a half later: “anti-quack” literature was the scholarly traditionalists’ attempt to mitigate the rise of the “empiric” practitioners – the “illegitimate

⁵⁰⁷ Dandridge, Ross: *Anti-Quack Literature in Early Stuart England*, Ph.D. thesis, Queen Mary, University of London, 2012: p132.

<https://qmro.qmul.ac.uk/xmlui/bitstream/handle/123456789/31112/DANDRIDGEAnti-Quack2012.pdf?sequence=1> Accessed online 13/9/2016, 15:00

usurpers of an established godly order”⁵⁰⁸ who were led “primarily by observation and experience”.⁵⁰⁹ Here, only the context has changed: those tensions, still played out frequently in religious and moral terms, are now less about how best to understand the human *medical* condition and more about understanding the nature of the world, specifically about how best to understand (and utilise) the geography of the austral hemisphere. The “empirics” are practitioners like Cook (mediated through Hawkesworth), Banks and Sandwich – even the King – whereas the “anti-quacks” are Dalrymple and the self-styled correspondent, and the battleground is not the private body but the public sphere.

The role of the press therefore becomes even more critical in the Continental context, providing the public space – and quick responsive time frame - for the real war of ideas about the production of geographical knowledge. The anti-quacks cannot attack the empirics in the sites where their knowledge is being made (in this case, the emerging South) so the locus of attack has to be ‘at home’ through the traditional medium of print – but whereas books are slow to produce and respond to ‘new’ information and discoveries, in an era where ‘gossip’, comment and public discussion are bedrocks of polite society, the eighteenth century press offers the perfect medium for a war of words and beliefs. Ironically, of course, this feeds public interest yet further, prolonging the public debate and doubtless selling more newspapers, making the editors even more inclined to publish letters on the subject. Indeed, scroll forward another two hundred and fifty years and Dandridge – in the context of the competing paradigm of [conventional vs alternative] medicine - argues the very same tensions are still played out in multiple arenas today:⁵¹⁰

Much as circumstances and the outlooks and beliefs they give rise to may change, the need for proponents of orthodoxy to define themselves in opposition to an all-consuming, and to some extent undifferentiated mass of usurpers is unlikely ever to disappear.

⁵⁰⁸ Dandridge, 2012, *ibid*, p155.

⁵⁰⁹ Dandridge, 2012, *ibid*, p224-225.

⁵¹⁰ Dandridge, 2012, *ibid*, p225.

In the case of the putative South, however, it seems that “ANTI-QUACK” represents more a reactionary old guard than the mainstream public mood. The classified sections of the press continue to boast up-coming and already published treatises on Geography gleaned from empirical evidence, along with publications of travelogues, charts and voyage accounts from the South Seas – not least those of Hawkesworth and Parkinson. These are clearly directed at a broad and eager audience: not only are the adverts continually repeated, the publications themselves are broken down into more readily affordable sections to be released on a weekly basis, or – in the case of Newbery’s collection of English voyages – forty-eight parts “sold by all the booksellers and news carriers in this Kingdom” for just sixpence each, designed to be compiled by the purchaser into “four handsome volumes”.⁵¹¹

One explanation for this voracious public appetite appears in the same newspaper as “ANTI-QUACK”’s open letter. Alongside an advertisement for a collection of voyage and travel accounts from Columbus to Dampier and Anson, lies another for a “Faithful account...by an officer on board” the *Dolphin*, to which the publisher has added a postscript:

To the PUBLIC.

Curiosity is seldom so powerfully excited, or so amply gratified, as by faithful relations of voyages; and travels. The different appearances of nature, and the various customs of men, the gradual discovery of the world, and the accidents and hardships of a naval life, all concur to fill the mind with expectation and with wonder; and as science, when it can be connected with events, is always more easily learned, and more certainly remembered, the history of a voyage may be considered as the most useful treatise on geography; since the student follows the traveller, from

⁵¹¹ ‘An Historical Account of all the Voyages round the world, performed by English Navigators...Printed for F. Newberry’, *Daily Advertiser*, London, 29/7/1773, Issue No 13292: Classified Ads.

country to country, and retains the situation of places, by [recounting] his adventures.⁵¹²

Here, the “PUBLIC” is being both reminded and schooled in the ways of building knowledge *and* the ways of polite society. “Curiosity” and “wonder” are merely the more respectable representations of the culture of gossip and speculation rife in the eighteenth century (evidenced by the letters denouncing Hawkesworth and speculating over the true author(s) of Parkinson’s voyage journal⁵¹³). But the attributes also have an educational value as they not only passively ‘gratify’ but powerfully ‘excite’ further knowledge. This, the publisher claims, is being achieved by reading ‘science’ as though it were literature - that is, using voyage journals’ literary style of the first-person narrative.

Lamb attributes this device to *Histoire* author, de Brosse, though it has a long history in travelogue fiction dating back in terms of the putative South at least to Hall’s *Mundus Alter et Idem* of 1605⁵¹⁴. Lamb argues de Brosse’s intention was to remove excessive professional detail from actual journals while keeping the narrative ‘voice’. For him, this transfers to the reader “the immediacy of the eye witness”⁵¹⁵ – shrinking the distance between ‘here’ and ‘there’, normalising and internalising within the reader the ‘experience’ of strange and unseen geographies.

The device was popular: throughout the summer and autumn of 1773, a barrage of advertisements appears across the press - not only for first person narrative voyage journals

⁵¹² *Morning Chronicle and London Advertiser*, London, 20/7/1773, Issue No 1297: Classified Ads.

⁵¹³ Viz., Letter from “Christianus” and trail for “A Christian Letter VII to DR Hawkesworth tomorrow”: *Public Advertiser*, London, 30/7/1773, Issue No 11947: Classified Ads.

⁵¹⁴ Hall’s 1605 Menippean satire *Mundus Alter et Idem*, reveals not only a fictionalised geography but an allegorical moral and religious landscape of *Terra Australis*. It describes Mercurius Britannicus’s voyage to and experiences in Terra Australis Incognita - the locus for Hall’s unfolding nightmare: a landscape that is both familiar and ‘Other’, where exotic but sufficiently recognisable races have made the moral failings of early modern England a way of life. See Collingridge, 2015:163-179.

⁵¹⁵ Lamb, cited in Ryan, 2002:163.

themselves but also for extracts and *précises* appearing in other periodicals. From June to August, there are some two dozen advertisements each month for narrative South Sea voyage accounts, often with competing versions positioned [provocatively] besides one another, and each professing to be more authentic, honest and reliable than the next.

The battle to have a ‘voice’ and the control of information continues unabated throughout this period. In contrast to Hawkesworth’s heavily-illustrated 60-part volumes of “Genuine” voyages selling at one shilling each (as opposed to the three-guinea price for the volume in boards), [David Henry’s] compilation of voyages from Drake to Cook (published by Newbery) is advertised as selling in 48 weekly parts at sixpence each, again “[e]mbellished with...very curious” prints and maps.

The advert for Parkinson’s volume goes further still, condemning Hawkesworth and his publishers (Strahan & Cadell) for overcharging the public as well as impugning Parkinson’s sources and authenticity:

The Proprietors of Dr Hawkesworth's Compilation of Voyages having taken upon them to assert that all other Publications are spurious and calculated to impose on the Public, the Editor of the above journal thinks it incumbent on him to re-assure the Public, that it is faithfully compiled from the Manuscript and Drawings of his Brother, the only Draughtsman on board the Endeavour, during the greatest Part of the Voyages; and that so far from being calculated to impose on the Public, it is sold at a Price still lower than that Print alone, being Twenty-eight in Number, would sell at in the Print Shops.

The fruitless Attempt of Dr Hawkesworth to suppress this Publication, and the Price that is set upon his own, may serve to shew which is most calculated to impose on the Public.⁵¹⁶

⁵¹⁶ See, for example, *Public Advertiser*, London, 19/8/1773, Issue No 11962: Classified Ads.

Aside from the sparring, it is worth noting that here is the account of an artist competing with other ‘expert’ eye-witness views of the South. The graphic materials accompanying all the journals (maps, charts and prints) are trumpeted loudly in the text of their advertisements and articles – though never reproduced in the newspapers themselves. However, this supports the idea of a (carto)graphically literate public and an increasingly sophisticated geographic imaginary of the South, ranging from lush tropical paradises to fearsome forests of human cannibals, and onwards to the “Giants of Patagonia”⁵¹⁷. When added to the letters and ‘news’ articles in circulation, this constant market penetration supports the argument that the putative South was not only embedded but writ – and sketched - large in the public imagination during the mid-1770s, both as a material (and marketable) ‘product’ and as a concept and debate.

Meanwhile, the accusations and boasts of competing booksellers are as nothing when pitched against the reactions from some of the more vocal readers. If anti-quack literature of Stuart England attacked the “ungodly” empirics in the medical world, that was merely a warm up exercise for what explodes onto the letters pages a century and a half later. Seen in this light, the moral and religious opprobrium heaped on Hawkesworth in the Letters Pages begins to make even more sense: as abuse from reactionaries fearing a threat to traditional Christian values and the breakdown of society.

Hawkesworth’s inflammatory views about the non-existence of Providence - and his sexualised representation of South Sea islanders - outrage the morality of fervent Christians such as “A DISSENTER”. His letter to the *Public Advertiser*⁵¹⁸ launches into a two-column stream of invective accusing the King, Hawkesworth and the publishing world at large of debasing society and communing with the Devil. For [him], papers filled with

⁵¹⁷ See advertisement for ‘The World Displayed; or a Curious collection of Voyages and Travels’, *Public Advertiser*, London, 3/8/1773, Issue No 11949: Classified Ads.

⁵¹⁸ Letter from “A DISSENTER”, *Public Advertiser*, London, 4/9/1773, Issue No 11976: News.

“the Horrid doctrine of Jeremy Twitcher and Hawkesworth’s” “Stuff” are only fit for use by “Grocers and Bog-Houses”, while:

None but a sad Devil could think that the People of this Nation, famous for good Sense and Religion, could relish stupid Profaneness and low Ba----dy from Hawkesworth...

The Town is not as absurd as the Bookseller, who paid Thousands for such an Emetic Bolus as Hawkesworth’s Voyage to Terra Incognita; they know they can have Ba----dy cheaper in Drury-lane, and Blasphemy in Duck-lane, where Bolingbroke and Toland’s Works are sold by the Pound.⁵¹⁹

Hawkesworth’s *Voyages* clearly foreground a major schism in polite society between god-fearing traditionalists whose system of beliefs is predicated around Divine Providence - and the free-thinking Enlightened intellectuals who look more to Man and rational science to resolve the great questions of the world.

The furious correspondent finds support a fortnight later from “WILL RAMBLE” who develops a more sophisticated polemic. Urging Hawkesworth to ignore the “many ill-natured Cavila and Censures cast daily upon your late Compilation”, “RAMBLE” constructs a hyper-reasoned ‘defence’ that hoists Hawkesworth on his own petard:

⁵¹⁹ Bolingbroke and Toland were members of radical bloc of intellectual and cosmopolitan lay republicans who – like Hawkesworth – also opposed divine Providence. See Israel, Jonathan: *Enlightenment Contested: Philosophy, Modernity, and the Emancipation of Man 1670-1752*, (OUP, Oxford): 2006, p346. Accessed online via googlebooks 15/9/2016, 12:36.

How admirable and ingenious is your general introduction! What a charming Specimen of Reasoning! What no Providence interposing in the Management of the World! This was the superstitious Notion of Priests and old Women - but a Concatenation of Causes decreed at the Creation. If all Things are decreed, whether we pray or forebear, whether we are good or bad, these Causes will have the same Effects; therefore all Worship is vain; all Thanksgiving is idle; all Honesty is Folly;

Io Bacche! Viva la Liberta.

All Virtue is Nonsense, Religion's a Jest,
and none but Fools and Madmen embrace them...

What a Parcel of Ninnies were Captain Cook and his Company to name the Passage on the Coast of New South Wales, the Providential Channel. Had you, Dr. Hawkesworth, been with them, you would have nobly taught them, that Providence was out of the Question.⁵²⁰

Here, then, are the moral and religious conflicts of the time being re-located and re-constructed in the emerging geographical imaginary of the South: "WILL RAMBLE" successfully manages to distil the key components of contemporary unease in the face of the shifting geographical, emotional, moral and epistemological boundaries between the known and unknown in the minds of the late eighteenth century public sphere. Meanwhile, the editors – adept at operating in the complex *contredances* between politics and the draconian seditious libel laws - knew that correspondents like "RAMBLE" helped to ruffle feathers, entertain readers and unwittingly sell the very newspapers that gave the godless journalist a voice...

5. 1774-1777: reconstructing a Southern imaginary

Despite the opposition to Hawkesworth's *Voyages* and doubtless aided by the heat of press publicity, by the middle of the 1770s knowledge of the discoveries in - and geography of - the South Seas is positioned in the press as essential for inclusion in polite society. Early in

⁵²⁰ See Letter from "WILL RAMBLE": *Public Advertiser*, London, 20/9/1773, Issue No 11988: News.

1774, *The Town and Country Magazine* – using its additional title of the “Universal Repository of Knowledge, Instruction and Entertainment” - sets out its stall as a ‘respectable’ organ of the press.⁵²¹ Highlighted within its advertised list of contents is a feature on “Captain Carteret’s, Voyage to the Southern Hemisphere, in search of new Discoveries”, continuing the interest the magazine has already shown in publishing epitomes of the various Hawkesworth’s *Voyages*. The mix of leads is fascinating: amidst the “elegant” and “beautiful” illustrations, the advertisement also boasts of “The Adventures of a Lady of Fashion, written by herself” and “Many original Letters on interesting subjects, along with “Memoirs” and “Histories” of famous men and women. The range of subjects covered – and their prominence in the advert - is further evidence that the emerging South was viewed by readers as central to the ‘essential’ cultural and news agenda in the mid to late eighteenth century, while the decidedly female tone to parts of the magazine suggest that women in polite society were also expected to keep up with the major geographical developments of the day (as long as that ‘knowledge’ was edited for respectability).

More evidence for the essential nature of news about the South comes in another advertisement in the *General Evening Post* for “THE BEAUTIES of NATURE and ART DISPLAYED”.⁵²² This important work, first published in fourteen volumes over 1763-4⁵²³, takes the reader through many of the curiosities of the modern and ancient world and proclaims in the advertisement that “no pains have been spared to correct and improve it”, giving “faithful and accurate descriptions” and “blending pleasure with instruction, and improvement with delight” (today’s ‘edutainment’). However, one factor alone is singled out for public attention:

⁵²¹ *London Chronicle or Universal Evening Post*, 1/2/1774-3/2/1774, Issue No 2676: Classified Ads.

⁵²² *General Evening Post*, London, 12/4/1774-14/4/1774, Issue No 6316: Classified Ads.

⁵²³ Lowndes, W.T.: *The Bibliographer's Manual of English Literature...*, Vol. 1, (W. Pickering, 1834): p135. Accessed via Googlebooks, 16/9/2016, 15:40.

It is, in particular, enlarged with an accurate account of the late voyages to the Southern Hemisphere, performed by Commodore Byron, Captain Wallis, Captain Carteret, and Captain Cook; containing all the discoveries they respectively made in these circumnavigations; with the manners and customs of the inhabitants, the climate, soil, and productions of these different countries.

In order to complete our design, we have...presented to the Reader, in a few volumes, that learning which either lay concealed in foreign tongues, or dispersed in books of literature, to which the generality of readers have as little access as to the countries they describe.

This, then, is tacit confirmation not just of the central position of the Southern Continent meme in the eighteenth century geographical imagination but of the public's perception that this is core knowledge that both men *and women* need in order to participate in polite society. Just as important, however, is the implicit statement in the final paragraph that this 'knowledge' needs to be broadcast through the wider media of the press as the 'knowledge'— and indeed the “countries” themselves - are rightfully now public property, and not the domain of a privileged few (whether sailors, the islanders themselves or those rich enough to buy the journals). In this light, *The Beauties of Nature and Art* is collapsing the imaginative and physical distance between Britain and the South Seas, enticing the reader with the lure of (once privileged) access, and appropriating the region for its audience, locating it firmly (and rightfully) within the public sphere.

Getting “faithful and accurate” news is far from easy when it is knowledge at a distance. This is evidenced in June, 1774, when two reports appear in the press proclaiming the arrival at home of Cook after his second voyage...and the discovery of the Great Southern Continent with “prodigious Mines of Gold and Diamonds”! Both of these stories turn out to be either “premature” in the first case⁵²⁴, or “mere *Humbug* calculated for the Meridian

⁵²⁴ *Lloyd's Evening Post*, London, 28/6/1774-30/6/1774, Issue No 2809: News.

of Change Alley”⁵²⁵ in the second⁵²⁶ (Figure 31). Critically, though, while the first was partly true in that letters had reached London from on board the *Resolution* (announcing arrival at the Cape of Good Hope, not England), the second error was apparently based on just verbal information – but that information was taken as believable enough to be printed as fact.

After fictitious reports about the fictitious Continent, at last, on July 16th, 1774, the Admiralty Office issued a notice that was picked up across the press and published over the course of a week⁵²⁷:

Captain Furneaux, of his Majesty's sloop the *Adventure*, who sailed from Plymouth the 13th of July, 1772, in company with Captain Cook, in his Majesty's sloop the *Resolution*, upon a voyage to make discoveries in the Southern Hemisphere, arrived at Spithead the 14th instant, having penetrated as far towards the South Pole as the latitudes of 67.10 and circumnavigated the globe chiefly between the latitudes of 55 and 60, in which tract he met with much ice, but no land. The *Adventure* parted company with the *Resolution* on the 29th November last, off the coast of New Zealand, and Captain Furneaux does not expect the latter will return to England this year.

The brevity of the notice belies its significance: *Resolution* and *Adventure* had put a girdle round the earth in the high latitudes and found...nothing but ice. This, then, sounds the death knell for the Great Southern Continent - and the Continentalists who have dreamed of mines of gold and diamonds, of fifty million population, and of untapped potential for an expanding British empire: two millennia of imaginings dismissed in a paragraph in a newspaper; Dalrymple’s speculative project effectively dead in the water. The reports’

⁵²⁵ *Public Advertiser*, London, 30/6/1774, Issue No 13063: News. “Change Alley”

⁵²⁶ “Change Alley” [“Exchange Alley] is the passageway in the City of London that would have connected the Lombard Street Post Office with the Royal Exchange. Famous for its coffee houses and gossip, it was synonymous with cheating and gullibility.

⁵²⁷ *London Evening Post*, 16/7/1774-19/7/1774, Issue No 8161: Classified Ads.

trustworthiness could not be doubted: writ large across the top of every one are the words, “The following Notice has been given from the Admiralty-Office”, conferring a weight of authority that assured the reader that what they were about to read was indisputable, empirically verified fact. In terms of the control of knowledge, its credibility, and the knowledge *per se*, this was effectively a triple-lock.

The press reaction to this news is significant: there is no comment, reflection or apparent reaction to the non-discovery of the Continent at all. In fact, in a remarkable display of epistemological resilience, or perhaps more likely avoidance of an unsettling, uncomfortable truth, the newspapers immediately segue instead to what *has* been ‘found’: not land but man - the Polynesian brought back to Britain with Captain Furneaux. Initially, he is not given a name, just an (incorrect) origin⁵²⁸, although he would soon become famous throughout the West as “Omiah” or “Omai”, a corruption of Mai.

⁵²⁸ Mai was actually a Raiatean living in Tahiti at the time of Cook’s visit.

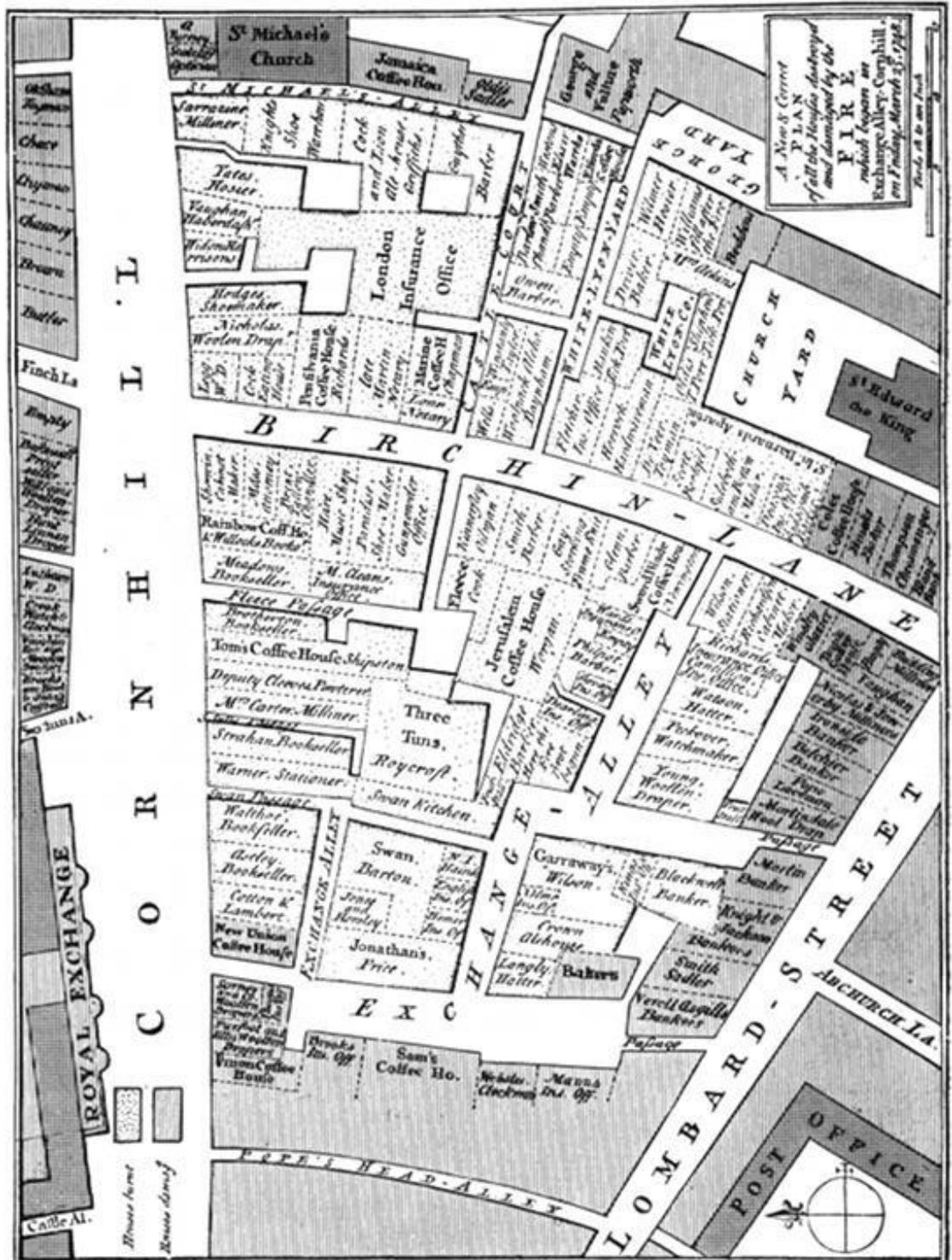


Figure 31. Map of Exchange Alley pre-1748 (1922) famous for its coffeehouses including Garraway's and Jonathan's, and infamous for its gossip and financial skulduggery. Map reproduced in William H. Uckers: 'All About Coffee'

The ‘London’ section of the *Craftsman* for July 23, 1774 carries the news of his arrival immediately adjacent to the Admiralty Office announcement, with the “native of Otaheite” positioned first⁵²⁹:

The native of Otaheite, who voluntarily came over with Capt. Furneaux, was presented to his Majesty on Sunday last, and is now with Mr. Banks, the gentleman who first projected the voyages to the South Seas for discoveries, and who had made himself so much master of the language of the inhabitants of that island as to be able to converse with him in his native language. He is a tall, genteel, well-made man, and having seen Mr. Banks when in that island, upon seeing him in England, he immediately accosted him with the greatest seeming pleasure.

Mai has become the discovery that helps to fill the void in the Western geographical imagination. His public ‘presence’, as mediated through the column inches, is reassuring, not threatening: he came “voluntarily”, engaged with the King, and with apparent ease has entered seamlessly into the very highest stratum of polite society – or, more accurately, that society (in the shape of Joseph Banks) has come to him, having learned his language and even welcomed him into their home. As the embodiment of the emerging South, Mai is exactly what had been hoped for: exotic and erotic enough to excite while being culturally malleable enough to “master”, and representing in the flesh “the greatest seeming pleasure”. It is certainly enough to take the sting out of news of the failure of the voyage to discover the putative Continent, especially in light of the post script that announces New Zealand’s Bay of Plenty has been found “exceeding fertile, and the climate uncommonly healthy” – all news that “should surely make this spot an object of consideration, with respect to settlement, to the British administration”. In terms of land to colonise, then, the Lord [Sandwich] giveth, as well as taketh away.

⁵²⁹ *Craftsman or Say’s Weekly Journal*, London, 23/7/1774, Issue N0 833: Classified Ads.

As demonstrated in Chapter 4, in an era of burgeoning interest in both news and celebrity, Mai becomes an object of fascination for the British press, aided by continued advertisements nationwide for Hawkesworth's journals that keep the South in the public sphere.⁵³⁰ Along with the articles already analysed in the Gentleman's Magazine, his actions and experiences in Britain are now deemed newsworthy enough in their own right to appear in the papers - not only in the Craftsman or Say's Weekly Journal but also in the London Chronicle, Public Ledger and the British Chronicle or Pugh's Hereford Journal, along with the London Evening Post, all of which help shape him into a figure of considerable interest in the public imagination.⁵³¹ Evidence for this growing media and public presence lies in the evolving way he is introduced in articles over a six month period, firstly, nameless but fully described as "The native of Otaheite"⁵³², progressing to his named persona "OMIA" along with the descriptor "who was lately brought from the South Seas, in the Adventure"⁵³³ and finally to just "Omiah" without any descriptor by January 1775.⁵³⁴ This last reference also refers to him being taken by Cook "to Otaheite" - again without explanation - underlying that not only would he have a strong recognition factor per se in the eighteenth century press, the public would know without the need for a reminder that he had come from Tahiti and that he was now returning to his adoptive home.

According to the *London Evening Post*, after returning Mai to Tahiti, the focus of Cook's third voyage is then to "proceed upon the discovery of the North-West Passage to the Northwards of California". This appears to demonstrate a blatant shift in official gaze away from the Continent-less South and northwards to "discover the passage" and "approach within one degree of the Pole". The highly utilitarian aim of easing trade and

⁵³⁰ Viz., *Adam's Weekly courant*, Chester, 1/11/1774, Issue No 2060: Classified Ads, and again on 8/11/1774, Issue No 2060: Classified Ads.

⁵³¹ See, for example, his 'biography' in the *London Chronicle*, London, 9/8/1774, Issue No 2757: News; replicated in the *Public Ledger*, London, 11/8/1774, Issue No 4566: News; also in *Craftsman or Say's Weekly Journal*, London, 13/8/1774, Issue No 836: News; and in the *British Chronicle or Pugh's Hereford Journal*, Hereford, 18/8/1774, Issue No 211: News.

⁵³² *Craftsman or Say's Weekly Journal*, London, 23/7/1774, Issue N0 833: Classified Ads.

⁵³³ *London Chronicle*, London, 9/8/1774, Issue No 2757: News

⁵³⁴ *London Evening Post*, London, 23/1/1775-25/1/1775

transport to the East is underlined by the final sentence in the report, laying bare that the time of voyaging for the pursuit of knowledge is over: “there are to be no men of science, such as botanists, designers, &c. to accompany them”.

The timing of this report is fascinating: news of the third voyage appears in print a full six months before the return of Cook from his second voyage around the world. Indeed, the first half of 1775 is marked by relatively sparse mention of the emerging South beyond a recycled report of “letters from the Hague” announcing that the “English have lately made some interesting discoveries towards the Southern Continent”.⁵³⁵ The book advertisements and epitomes continue, however, including one for Dalrymple’s *A Collection of Voyages in the South Atlantick Ocean*⁵³⁶ - containing some of the most up-to-date up to date thinking on the existence the Continent, about to be turned on its head by Cook’s return. It is noteworthy that this speculative geographer feels the need to puff his work’s credibility, asserting that the voyage accounts are “published from the original Manuscripts” and are accompanied by a chart showing the tracks of Halley and Bouvet, underscoring the importance of scribing cartographic sources in the geographical imaginary, and the importance of empirical testimony in stamping a western presence on the Southern Ocean.

With news filtering into the press of Cook’s imminent return from a “prosperous voyage”, including several “premature” reports of his arrival⁵³⁷, press interest once again turns to discoveries in the South. From the *Morning Post and Daily Advertiser*:

Captain Cook has discovered large tracts of land between Terra del Fuego and the Cape of Good Hope, but the weather was so intensely cold that he could not determine whether it was an Island or part of a Continent.⁵³⁸

⁵³⁵ *Gazetteer and New Daily Advertiser*, London, 16/3/1775, Issue No 14370: News

⁵³⁶ *Public Advertiser*, London, 23/6/1775, Issue No 14268: News

⁵³⁷ See retraction in the *Morning Chronicle and London Advertiser*, 29/6/1775, Issue No 1904: News.

⁵³⁸ *Morning Post and Daily Advertiser*, London, 3/7/1775, Issue 837: News.

And then the more credible-sounding news in *Lloyd's Evening Post*, if one ignores the slip in the ship's name:

This morning an Express arrived at the Admiralty-office, with an account of the Endeavour bark, Captain Cook, being safe arrived off Portsmouth, from the South Seas, after a short passage from St Helena.

Among Captain Cook's discoveries, it is said, he has found an island in the South Seas, that is 160 miles long, and 146 broad, the climate delightful, and the soil of the most luxuriant fertility, Sugar-canes, cocoa-trees, cinnamon, and nutmegs, among the spontaneous growth. The Natives are not numerous, but of a mild and civilised disposition. From the Captain's account of it, it is thought the most eligible place for establishing a settlement, of any yet discovered.⁵³⁹

This news is extracted verbatim in the *Chester Chronicle or Commercial Intelligencer* and the (London) *Gazetteer and Daily Advertiser*⁵⁴⁰ augmenting the meme of the tropical paradise and raising press and public expectations from the expedition in spite for the previous news that no Continent had been discovered. As for the King, he is far from disappointed when presented with “Drawings, *taken on the spot*, of all the natural curiosities (including a description of the natives in their dresses) of the several countries visited in the South Seas by Captain Cook” [emphasis added]⁵⁴¹: once again, their billing as first-hand, ‘located’ records confer on them greater credibility and authority as South Sea testimonies, while the reference to native dress adds to the erotic imaginative potential of Hawkesworth’s already sexualised South Seas.

Interestingly, the material forms of this knowledge-at-a-distance are widely reported in the press over the days and weeks following Cook’s return to England. Three days after the

⁵³⁹ *Lloyd's Evening Post*, London, 28/7/1775-31/7/1775, Issue No 2822: News

⁵⁴⁰ *Chester Chronicle or Commercial Intelligencer*, Chester, 31/7/1775, Issue No14: News; *Gazetteer and Daily Advertiser*, London, 31/7/1775, Issue No 14487: News.

⁵⁴¹ *Morning Chronicle and London Advertiser*, London, 12/8/1775, Issue No 1942: News.

report of drawings being shown to the King, the *Morning Chronicle and London Advertiser* publishes another story announcing that:

Captain Cook, from his late voyage round the World, brought home with him many maps, charts, and plans, from the South Seas. Yesterday those designed for the Admiralty were inspected into and found to be all damaged and almost imperfect, although carefully packaged up in very good boxes, owing to the salt water or spreath [sic] getting at them.

The maps, charts, plans, and some pictures, lately brought from the South Seas, and presented to Lord Sandwich, are said to be worth one thousand guineas, had they not been damaged.⁵⁴²

Again, the artefacts have their origins meaningfully located in the South Seas as textual or graphic evidence of first-hand, empirical knowledge; however, the reports of damage - despite the best efforts of the practitioners to carefully package them up - underlines the difficulties of getting knowledge from ‘there’ to ‘here’ over long distances. What is interesting here is that these material repositories-cum-conveyances of knowledge were even in the South Seas deemed worthy of great respect by the practitioners who knew and valued their importance, and they have an immense professional and public value back in the UK, both financially and in terms of their geographical and cultural significance to make sense of a changing world. Moreover, they also have huge value in the public sphere as newsworthy stories-cum-commodities in their own right.

The *Resolution*’s return in July 1775 is marked by numerous snatches of ‘news’ about the voyage and crew but perhaps the major feature of the aftermath is the Admiralty communiqué dated September 12 and printed in newspapers nationwide. This gives advance notice that the “AUTHENTIC ACCOUNT” of the voyage is being prepared and “will be soon be published”. Having lost control of the public reaction to Hawkesworth’s

⁵⁴² *Morning Chronicle and London Advertiser*, London, 15/8/1775, Issue No 1944: News.

Voyages, this is evidence for a wiser Admiralty taking control of not only the information but the manner in which it is broadcast. That reassertion of control starts with the advertisement itself:

Admiralty-office, Sept. 12, 1775

Preparing for the Press, and soon will be published,

AN AUTHENTIC ACCOUNT of the late Ships RESOLUTION and ADVENTURE.

Containing an exact detail of occurrences in the course of the voyage, a description of the newly discovered countries, and a relation of the forms, manners, and state of civilisation of their inhabitants. To which will be added some observations on objects of Natural History and Natural Philosophy, and large vocabularies of the several languages; illustrated by a great number of accurate Maps and Charts of the new discoveries, and upwards of fifty plates, representing the views of the countries, and customs of the natives, engraved by the most eminent artists, from the drawings made on the spot, by Mr W. Hodges.

Though the number of Charts and Plates will naturally delay the immediate publication of this Work, yet care shall be taken, that it may appear within the space of twelvemonth.

JAMES COOK

JOHN REINOLD FORSTER.⁵⁴³

There are several points worth noting here: firstly, the puffed language is designed to underscore the credibility of the information being relayed (viz., “authentic”, “exact detail”, “Accurate Maps and Charts”, “eminent artists”); this is further reinforced by the assertion of empirical authority, in terms of Hodges’s drawings being made “on the spot”, and not least by Cook and Forster putting their own names to the advert itself as the ‘faces’ (and – for the time being – a united ‘voice’) of the Admiralty. Significantly, both men are conferring their professional authority to the forthcoming work, being unequivocally expert, first-hand witnesses to the austral project and, by now, sufficiently well known that

⁵⁴³ *Gazetteer and New Daily Advertiser*, London, 22/9/1775, Issue No 14533: Classified Ads.

their names need no explanation or job title. Finally, the postscript concerning the “number of Charts and Plates” underscores the perceived importance of graphic materials in constructing and communicating the geographical imaginary of the emerging South. The eager public now has a plan and a time frame – and also a sense that, unlike under Hawkesworth, such a weight of knowledge will this time be handled with care as it makes its way into the public sphere.

Cook’s self-conscious authority is supported by the evidence in his journals. In his lifetime corpus of work on the navigator, Beaglehole notes how Cook’s *Resolution* journal marks the change from using the traditional “ship’s time” (running from midday to midday) to civil time (running from midnight to midnight, as used on land). This transition is key, representing a shift in focus from writing for the Admiralty to writing (even subconsciously) for a land-based audience back home, evidenced by insertions such as the words “which I shall endeavour to convey to the reader”.⁵⁴⁴ Cook, then, has already written this work in his mind, and in his journal: he is the self-affirmed author of the publication project.⁵⁴⁵ Unfortunately, Forster laboured under the belief that *he* had been granted permission to write the work and receive all profits, triggering a second tranche of battles – played out in private conversations and letters and in public in the press - over publication rights, versions and timings, akin to the friction after the first voyage⁵⁴⁶ and demonstrating the value set on conquering the public sphere at home, as much as the ‘privileged’ space of the South Seas.

That intellectual and commercial value was, meantime, being exploited by another volume heralded in a series of advertisements that starts to appear from November 1775 onwards – less than four months after the return of *Resolution*. *Captains Cook and Furneaux’s Last*

⁵⁴⁴ Beaglehole, 1974:459-461; 462-463.

⁵⁴⁵ That is not to say that Cook spurned an editor: John Douglas, Canon of Windsor, ably and respectfully fulfilled this role, the two men working together although Beaglehole concludes that the work itself is certainly authored by Cook: see his textual introduction to Cook’s *Resolution Journal*, Vol. II, ppclxliii-cxlvi

⁵⁴⁶ Beaglehole, 1974:461-471.

Voyages round the World was rushed into print by an anonymous author, widely believed to be a gunner's mate, John Marra, with David Henry of *The Gentleman's Magazine* the leading contender for editor, and sold to printer Francis Newbery.⁵⁴⁷ The adverts are illuminating for trumpeting the voyage in bald terms:

A JOURNAL of Captain COOK's VOYAGE in the Resolution, in the Years 1772, 3, 4, and 5, on Discovery to the Southern Hemisphere, by which the non Existence of an undiscovered Continent between the Equator and the 50th Degree of Southern Latitude, is demonstratively proved.⁵⁴⁸

Here, then, the prime purpose of the voyage is made clear – along with its failure: there is no putative Continent, and this is no mere rumour or speculation; that knowledge has been “demonstratively proved” by empirical research conducted by credible men of authority in the Southern Hemisphere, then brought back to Britain in definitive textual and graphic form, with the weight of western elite experience.

The advertisements for the anonymous volume bombard the press throughout the end of 1775 and into 1776, with reviews advertised in *The London Review of English and Foreign Literature*⁵⁴⁹ and an epitome in *The Gentleman's Magazine*⁵⁵⁰, which also trumpets the publication of the “Map of the South Pole” complete with *Resolution's* track and all signs of land discovered “accurately laid down”, graphic forms of evidence adding the weight of testimony to the published account.

⁵⁴⁷ Beaglehole, 1974:456-457, and Captain Cook Society pages: <http://www.captaincooksociety.com/home/collectables/books/eighteenth-century-books>, accessed 19/9/2016, 15:04.

⁵⁴⁸ *Public Advertiser*, London, 2/11/1775, Issue No 14380: Classified Ads.

⁵⁴⁹ Advert for ‘The London Review of English and Foreign Literature’, *London Chronicle*, 7/12/1775-9/12/1775, Issue No 2965: Classified Ads.

⁵⁵⁰ Advert for ‘*The Gentleman's Magazine*’, *Lloyd's Evening Post*, London, 26/1/1776-29/1/1776, Issue No 2900: Classified Ads.

A smattering of (curiously similar) anonymous and signed letters on the subject of the emerging South also appears across the press over this period. Set in the context of “the losses we are suffering in America”, the correspondents assert in the most exalted terms the “honour” that the “noble and liberal plan” of southern voyages brings to the King, and urge his government to “colonize some of the new discovered islands in the South Seas”.⁵⁵¹ The picture painted follows a familiar *donnée*: “There are islands found in the richest latitudes, and abounding with the most valuable commodities in the world” – but this time there is a novel attribution: in his letter to the *Middlesex Journal and Evening Advertiser*, ‘TITUS’ suggests that alongside “sending ships on scientific discoveries”, Britain should have “the commercial plan of establishing a Colony in New Zealand” populated essentially by the “transported felons who are now sent to North America, where they probably become soldiers against us”.

While the idea of South Sea colonies is nothing new, this letter is remarkable for the qualities ascribed to this austral landscape - with the discussion progressing not just in terms of available space but the very nature of the space itself:

We ought not to think that such refuse of mankind could never be made the means of good...The establishment of a government, the residence of a Company of Invalids, and a small colony of indigent persons carried out to make a beginning, would in that fine and healthy climate, upon so fertile a soil, presently form a basis whereon to build the future superstructure, which could not fail, in a distant period, of adding greatly to the wealth, navigation, and power of this empire...New Zealand would supply every article valuable in the support of a flourishing people, and might cultivate the famous flax as a staple to be sent home in exchange for British manufactures; a commodity which would prove more valuable than any staple at

⁵⁵¹ Letter (anonymous), *Morning Post and Daily Advertiser*, London, 22/9/1775, Issue No 907: News; Letter from ‘TITUS’, *Middlesex Journal and Evening Advertiser*, London, 23/1/1776-25/1/1776, Issue No 1066: News.

present produced by our American colonies. The expence [sic] of this scheme, when an expedition is going on, would be but small, and the benefit great.⁵⁵²

Here, then, is a landscape of benign transformation, powerful enough even to re-form the most “contemptible” “refuse of mankind”. The “fine and healthy climate” combined with “so fertile a soil” could revive not only the good character of felons, converting them into worthy future citizens, but it could also revive the damaged strength and glory of the British Empire. Of course, in “TITUS”’s New Zealand, there are no ‘natives’ already living and working the land, there are no tattooed warriors or ‘savage’ cannibals lying ready to ambush starry-eyed settlers; instead, culturally New Zealand is portrayed as a *tabula rasa*, lying in eager readiness for ‘civilised’ western governance to unlock its potential.

In terms of transformational spaces, the austral land-, ice- and seascapes have also impacted on James Cook. His time and experiences in the South have seen him metamorphose from being included in “WILL RAMBLES”’s “parcel of ninnies” to becoming “TITUS”’s “able navigator” and a respected – even venerated - public figure, at least in the eyes of polite British society. By the start of 1776, barely a week passes without some mention of the explorer or his discoveries in the press: the man of the moment, his name alone is now enough to be used to sell everything from January’s *Gentleman’s Magazine*⁵⁵³ to Whitby ‘Cat’ ships⁵⁵⁴, books of Maps⁵⁵⁵ and plantations of breadfruit trees⁵⁵⁶ - and, along with these, the very idea of a Southern Hemisphere full of potential for imperial, economic, scientific, cultural and sexual gratification.

⁵⁵² Letter from ‘TITUS’, *ibid.*

⁵⁵³ See advert for ‘*The Gentleman’s Magazine*’, *Daily Advertiser*, London, 3/2/1776, Issue No 14080: News. Previous adverts for *The Gentleman’s Magazine* had listed a variety of contents, of which Cook was just one.

⁵⁵⁴ See advert for Whitby Colliers, or ‘Cats’, *Public Advertiser*, London, 17/4/1776. Interestingly enough, “Omiah”’s name is also used in the advert, similarly without any descriptor, signifying an extremely high degree of public recognition has already been achieved.

⁵⁵⁵ Advert for the ‘North American Pilot’, with maps by James Cook, *Public Advertiser*, London, 6/6/1776, Issue No 1454: News.

⁵⁵⁶ ‘A proposal to introduce the Breadfruit Tree to the West Indies’, *Gazetteer and New Daily Advertiser*,

Interestingly, the transformation seemingly works both ways. In March 1776, the *Morning Post and Daily Advertiser* carries a report about the fate of “Omiah” on his return to Tahiti:

Omiah is not to be left at Otaheite, if he wishes to return with Captain Cook to Europe: he will have three months to consider of it. This is Lord Sandwich's arrangement, and a very just one it is, for after he has received all the indulgence and attention here, he may probably find his countrymen not ready to pay him the respect which he will demand, and in that case, his return will be no more to him than common humanity. But no other native is to be brought away on any account.⁵⁵⁷

Conveyed in this passage is the conviction that contact with the West has ‘civilised’ him to the point that he may no longer ‘fit’ in his former [uncivilised] South Sea world; in other words, he has potentially become more ‘us’ than ‘them’, at least in his own eyes and those of his former countrymen and women. The irony is that in the West (whether on the ship or on land), even with his extravagant apparel and elevated manners, he will always be a curious ‘other’.

A strange, *non-sequitur* follows the above news item as a bizarre postscript:

In Captain Cook's next voyage, there are not going to be any naturalists, painters, designers, &c. to be sent out, the inconvenience has been found too great.

Given the exceptional market (and intellectual) value of the journals and associated maps and images of the emerging South, this must be a side swipe at Stanfield Parkinson’s battle for intellectual and economic control of his “painter” brother’s *Endeavour* journal – and

London, 8/5/1776, Issue No 14738: News.

⁵⁵⁷ *Morning Post and Daily Advertiser*, London, 25/3/1776, Issue No 1065: News.

the equally vitriolic battle between the *Resolution* naturalist John Reinhold Forster and the Admiralty over who gets to write the authorised account of the second voyage. However, it may also indicate that the gaze is turning north as American independence forces a hardening of attitudes and resources. In all probability, it combines elements of all these, along with the sense that the South has now been ‘done’ and it is time to move on. Certainly, press coverage appears to document a shift away from science of the South as a worthwhile venture *per se* towards more pragmatic goals of colonisation for economic gain.

The suggestion of a shift in gaze and priorities is supported by a dwindling of press interest in covering stories relating to the South in the second half of 1776. Some of this is a natural reflection of the lack of ‘new’ news while Cook is away in the Pacific, returning Mai home and heading north in his pursuit of the fabled Northwest Passage. There is the occasional advertisement or letter referring to the published voyage accounts but essentially the press is silent on the matter of the South Seas and what might lie there in terms of economic, geographic or imaginative potential. In fact, it is only at the very end of the year that the Southern Hemisphere makes a strong appearance once more, in the form of a flood of reports across the press that the Royal Society has awarded Cook the Copley Gold Medal for “his *useful* discoveries in the South Seas” [emphasis added], and that its President, Sir John Pringle, delivered “an elegant discourse on the means of preserving the health of Mariners, in consequence of Capt. Cook’s paper on that subject”.⁵⁵⁸ Once again, the public utility of the new knowledge – rather than the knowledge *per se* - is the aspect that appears most highly prized.

The New Year continues the paucity of austral news and information in the press. Indeed, it is only in March 1777 that the public sphere appears to regain its former interest in the emerging geography of the South with adverts for the forthcoming publication of *VOYAGE*

⁵⁵⁸ “News from December 2, from the LONDON GAZETTE”, *Lloyd’s Evening Post*, 29/11/1776-2/12/1776, Issue No 3032: News.

ROUND THE WORLD by John Reinhold Forster's son George. These, however, trigger a quick response: in an echo of the battle over the first voyage account, Forster's advertisement is almost immediately followed by a counterblast from Cook's printers, Strahan and Cadell.

Lurking behind the barrage of press advertisements for forthcoming works is yet another power struggle over who controls the new knowledge of the South, with the concomitant and extremely valuable right to publish the official account: J.R. Forster believed passionately that it was his; the Admiralty begged to differ.⁵⁵⁹ The only way to guarantee a Forster claim on both the intellectual property and the cash was to keep it in the family and publish through his son, George, instead. The show-down that follows is reflected in the press with a torrent of more than three dozen advertisements, often positioned head to head, in March 1777 alone.

It is worth pausing to examine the language and sentiments embodied in the advertisements. Once again, along with the voyage accounts themselves, both parties make great play of the charts – and in Cook's case, the maps, portraits and views - included with the accounts. Forster's chart is billed as "very large and accurate" while Cook's advert puts more store by the images being "drawn *during the Voyage* by Mr. Hodges, and engraved by *the most eminent Masters*" [emphasis added]. Clearly, in their own ways, both authors are asserting the credibility of their 'knowledge'. Once again, Forster's reference to "shewing the tracks of the Resolution and Adventure", locates this as empirical knowledge accrued in the field: his chart, therefore, has the added authority of personal testimony and experience, which the reader can buy for just two guineas in boards; but more than that, this is the expert personal experience of someone who is not only a Fellow of the [British] Royal Society but also a Member of the Royal Academy of Madrid, and of the Society for Promoting Natural Knowledge at Berlin. George Forster's advertisement therefore leaves

⁵⁵⁹ For a full account of the battle between the Forsters and the Admiralty, see Beaglehole, 1974:461-462; see also Beaglehole/Cook: *Journals II*, Hakluyt Society, 1969, reprinted by Boydell Press, 1999, cxliii-cliii.

little doubt over his credentials in veracity and expertise, credentials that - he hopes - extend to his account.

His rival's work, on the other hand, is accredited by the Admiralty – the highest Naval office in the land with its own implicit authority in all matters marine. The layout of Cook's description assures that this is writ large in the advert's iconography: it is literally the first thing the reader sees. Here the buyer is purchasing 'official' knowledge, "elegantly" presented in both rich textual and graphic formats, at an unspecified price. In many ways, however, the price (eventually advertised at 2l 2s) is immaterial: published in May 1777, it would sell out before the end of the year; when the second edition also sells out, a third would be published in 1779.⁵⁶⁰

Cook is at pains in his title to locate his work "towards the SOUTH POLE", thereby connecting his work with the sublime and fantastic imaginative potential of this particular *terra incognita* – and himself with the hardships and drive of extreme navigation in uncharted waters. Having already gone "round the World", he focuses on the more ambitious and dramatic aim of his voyage for the greatest title impact. Furthermore, his authorship is asserted in a clear statement: "Written by JAMES COOK, Commander of the Resolution." He might not have the scientific accolades of his naturalists, but he has his elevated position of being in charge not only of both ships but of the official version of the voyage. Captain Furneaux's contribution, appended, is a mere "Narrative" by contrast.

By the summer of 1777, Cook and Forster's titles are being digested by polite society, in book form for the wealthy or for the greater part of the public (and considerably less money) as extracts in the newspapers and magazines of the day.⁵⁶¹ One such extract is

⁵⁶⁰ Beaglehole, *Journals*, Vol. II, cxlviii

⁵⁶¹ See, for example, the advert for 'The English Magazine' (sixpence) containing an 'Account of Captain Cook's Voyage, written by himself', *General Evening Post*, London, 29/5/1777-31/5/1777, Issue No 6774: Classified Ads.

notable for the editor's choice of subjects, ranging from the shocking to the enlightening. In its News section, the *London Chronicle* recounts (edited) scenes from Cook's Journal, focusing on the officers' visit in New Zealand's Queen Charlotte Sound to the houses of the "Cannibals" where they saw "some human thigh bones from which the flesh had been but lately picked" and later other human body parts, including the "mangled head" of a youth. Rather uncomfortably, the reader then jumps to a section entitled "OPINION ABOUT A SOUTHERN CONTINENT" that is worth reproducing in full:

OPINION ABOUT A SOUTHERN CONTINENT

I will not say it was impossible any where to get farther to the South; but attempting it would have been a dangerous and rash enterprise, and what, I believe, no man in my situation would have thought of. It was indeed my opinion, as well as the opinion of most on board, that this ice extended quite to the pole, or perhaps joined to some land, to which it had been fixed from the earliest time; and that it is here, that is to the south of this parallel, where all the ice we find scattered up and down to the north is first formed, and afterwards broken off by gales of wind, or other causes, and brought to the north by the currents, which we always found to set in that direction in the high latitudes. As we drew near this ice some penguins were heard, but none seen; and but few other birds, or any other thing that could induce us to think any land was near. And yet I think there must be some to the south behind this ice; but if there is, it can afford no better retreat for birds or any other animals, than the ice itself, with which it must be wholly covered. I, who had ambition not only to go further than any one had been before, but as far as it was possible for man to go, was not sorry at meeting with this interruption, as it in some measure relieved us, at least shortened the dangers and hardships inseparable from the navigation of southern polar regions. Since, therefore, we could not proceed one inch farther to the south, no other reason need be assigned for my tacking, and standing back to the north; being at this time in the latitude of 71 deg. 16 min.[sic] south, longitude 100[sic] deg. 54 min. west.⁵⁶²

⁵⁶² *London Chronicle*, London, 17/6/1777-19/6/1777, Issue No 3204: News.

In terms of the production of a public imaginary for the Southern Continent, this is perhaps the most significant offering in the press throughout the seventeen-year time frame under consideration, for here is [an edited] personal testimony from an expert witness *in situ*, laid bare in rational and yet inherently graphic terms. In contrast with the historical and theoretical speculations of Dalrymple, made from the relative comfort of Britain, this stark, first-hand description of a terrifying and almost gothic ice-scape is, quite literally, chilling: in this monochrome world, there is no room for fantasy, only life or death. But even that simple dualism turns out to be unreal. By asserting that the ice stretched to the Pole or was fixed to land “from the earliest time”, Cook then begins to play with the very notions of time and space: the realm he has entered elides the ‘deep past’ with the present, near with far, while the elements shift from liquid water to solid ice and then, perhaps, to land; things move by wind or ocean currents or “other causes” unspecified: nothing is as it seems – even the penguins are nothing but ghostly sounds in this terrifying, taunting tableau.

In a metaphysical journey, akin to Scipio’s *Dream*, Cook and his viewpoint are also transformed by their experience towards the Pole. Along with the landscape, he elides from almost mystical speculation about what lies beyond back to his present self, (re)locating himself in his human body for his explication of his driving ambitions and his welcome relief at achieving his goal. Finally, his tone shifts once again to that of the professional navigator, and the reflection is over: the extract ends with nothing but hard geographical fact, mirroring the journey of the Continental meme itself.⁵⁶³

In June 1777, “By order of the COMMISSIONERS of LONGITUDE”, William Wales and William Bayley publish their astronomical observations “made in the south” as part of that voyage round the world⁵⁶⁴, adding yet another expert volume into the South Sea canon. Typically, the advertisement garners the work with inferred credibility, citing the

⁵⁶³ In reality, the *London Chronicle* gets its facts wrong here: his journals report his ultimate southerly position as Latitude 71 degrees 10’ South and Longitude 106 degrees 54’ West. (See Beaglehole, *Journals*, Vol. II, p322.)

⁵⁶⁴ *Gazetteer and New Daily Advertiser*, London, 21/6/1777, Issue No 15078: Classified Ads.

Commissioners not once but twice, at the beginning and end of the listing, and the wording is repeated verbatim across the press throughout the rest of the month. Perhaps it is the perceived competition for ‘control’ of the expert South that prompts first George Forster’s publishers and then Cook’s to start another publicity campaign. Certainly, the Forsters are now sufficiently well known in the public sphere that John Reinhold has the theft of his wines reported in the *St James’s Chronicle or British Evening Post*.⁵⁶⁵

Meanwhile, the ramifications of the new geographical knowledge of the South arising from Cook’s discoveries send ripples through the more thoughtful parts of polite society – ripples that ultimately ricochet back into the mainstream press through letters and extracts. In August 1777, the *Public Advertiser* carries an extract from “Dr Robertson’s History of America” in which he tries to make sense of the new scientific world order:

The Maxims which are founded upon Observation of our Hemisphere will not apply to the other. There, Cold predominates. The Rigour of the Frigid Zone extends over half of that which should be temperate by its Position. Countries where the Grape and the Fig should ripen, are buried under Snow one half of the Year; and Lands situated in the same Parallel with the most fertile and best cultivated Provinces in Europe, are chilled with perpetual Frosts, which almost destroy the Power of Vegetation. Causes of the extraordinary Cold towards the Southern Limits of America, and in the Seas beyond it, cannot be ascertained in a Manner equally satisfying. It was long supposed that a vast Continent, distinguished by Name of *Terra Australis Incognita*, lay between the Southern Extremity of America and the Antarctic Pole. The same Principles which account for the extraordinary Degree of Cold in the Northern Regions of America were employed in order to explain that which is felt at Cape Horn and the adjacent Countries. The immense Extent of the Southern Continent, and the large Rivers which it poured into the Ocean, were mentioned and admitted by Philosophers as Causes sufficient to occasion the unusual Sensation of Cold, and the still more uncommon Appearances of frozen Seas in that

⁵⁶⁵ *St James’s Chronicle or the British Evening Post*, London, 2/8/1777-5/8/1777, Issue No 2559: News.

Region of the Globe. But the imaginary Continent to which such Influence was ascribed having been searched for in vain, and the Space which it was supposed to occupy having been found to be an open Sea, new Conjectures must be formed with respect to the Causes of a Temperature of Climate, so extremely different from that which we experience in Counties removed at the same Distance from the opposite Pole.⁵⁶⁶

Here, then, is the admission that the old ways of thinking, predicated on the existence of a Great Southern Continent, have been forcibly undone: what is needed now is a new system of beliefs, based on new ways of thinking that are not yet in place, and facts that are hard to find from so far away. Science may have triumphed over the “imaginary Continent” but, as yet, it cannot provide the answers that the natural philosophers need to make sense of the brave new world.

This mood of reflection is summed up by “NUMA” in two identical letters summarising the benefits to the nation of exploring the “unknown recesses of the Great South Sea”, one in the *London Chronicle* and the other in the *Morning Post and Daily Advertiser* in August 1777.⁵⁶⁷ Unlike the views of Dr. Robertson, while generally positive about what has been achieved, “NUMA” gives no hint that Britain should stay exploring in the South, even in the name of science; instead, it is to the “northern regions of the South Sea”, along with the “north-east, and north-west passages” which should now occupy the discovering talents of Britain’s maritime nation.

It seems, therefore, that by the last quarter of the eighteenth century, the public gaze has indeed shifted its focus away from speculative Continents and austral riches. As the year draws to a close, there is one telling advertisement in the press that suggests that at

⁵⁶⁶ *Public Advertiser*, London, 7/8/1777, Issue No 13363: News.

⁵⁶⁷ Letter from ‘NUMA’, *London Chronicle*, London, 12/8/1777-14/8/1777, Issue No 3228: News; and *Morning Post and Daily Advertiser*, London, 11/8/1777, Issue No 1501: News.

least some members of polite society have had their fill of fruitless searches to the South: the *Morning Post and Daily Advertiser* advises that “Tomorrow and the following evening at six”, “Mr Hitchins” will be selling his “collection of Prints, books of prints, &c.”, among which is a set of pricked proofs of “Captain Cook’s voyages”....⁵⁶⁸ After two thousand years of speculation, the putative Continent is now yesterday’s news.

However, it is the final mention of the Captain in the seventeen-year date range that perhaps most tellingly sums up the public journey from speculation to empiricism, and lays bare how science is nothing without utility for the late eighteenth century public:

Portable soups, or solid broths, made and sold as usual, at the Original Warehouse, directly opposite Water-lane, Fleet-street. Captain James Cook, Commander of the Resolution, in his voyage round the world, and to the South Pole, says they proved exceedingly beneficial, and need no encomiums; and since the American war, the principal officers have given great accounts of its utility. The public are desired to take notice it is no pastry-cook's shop, but a private warehouse. A golden head over the door.⁵⁶⁹

In the absence of a Great Southern Continent being offered up to the public, Captain James Cook is reduced instead to selling soup.

Summary

Unlike Chapter 4 that interrogated the archive of a single periodical - *The Gentleman’s Magazine* - over the seventeen-year period, Chapter 5’s analysis and summary covers twenty-four separate titles over the same timeframe, including newspapers from Ireland (Dublin), Northern England (Chester), Central England (Hereford) and the London area -

⁵⁶⁸ *Morning Post and Daily Advertiser*, London, 17/11/1777, Issue No 1583: Classified Ads; and again on 19/11/1777, Issue No 1585: Classified Ads.

⁵⁶⁹ *Gazetteer and New Daily Advertiser*, London, 19/12/1777, Issue No 15242: Classified Ads.

which, although metropolitan in origin were franked for distribution nationwide, penetrating as far afield as Scotland.⁵⁷⁰

As with *The Gentleman's Magazine*, the analysis here was conducted according to the Research Aims and Objectives laid out in Chapter 1, in combination with the six cross-cutting themes that were striped across the interrogation of the archives with specific attention focused on the **control** of knowledge about the emerging South, the **credibility** of knowledge about the emerging South, the **knowledge *per se***, its perceived **utility** for the eighteenth century audience and society, the **(re)making sense of the world** in the light of new knowledge, and the **transformational power** of the South in its 'Continental' and Antarctic formulation.

This summary will firstly review the three specific Research Objectives to assess how far they have been achieved.

Objective 1: Representation and understanding of the Continent in British newspapers, 1760-1777

Using daily and weekly British newspapers as an analogue for the public sphere, the first objective was to construct and interrogate an archive of the popular press - along with any map and graphic correlates - from 1760-1777 to track how the Great Southern Continent was variously represented and understood by differing parties within the public sphere. This was successfully achieved for textual materials, including articles, features, news reports, letters to the editor and classified advertisements; however, not a single newspaper in the sub-archive featured a map or graphic correlate. This is not surprising: unlike *The Gentleman's Magazine* that could devote the necessary time, money and resources to

⁵⁷⁰ Suarez, 2015:BODcast

producing maps, charts and ‘views’/illustrations – and which used such graphic resources to establish its identity as the premier periodical for representing and understanding the world – in contrast, daily, tri-weekly or weekly periodicals focused more strictly on the rapid and affordable textual (re)production of ‘news’ for its readers. Furthermore, whereas the editors of *The Gentleman’s Magazine* invested in a periodical with the intention that it could be built up and re-formed as a (single) bound annual collection that gave the resources a more durable ‘second life’ as a work of reference, the newspapers had built-in obsolescence – they were intended to be read, perhaps shared or passed on, but ultimately disposed of once their moment of relevance had passed or been superseded by the next print run (Figure 32).

While the resulting newspaper archive lacks graphic resources and longer-term relevance for the contemporary reading public, it does, however, offer the researcher a greater diversity of voice from different parties involved in public production of knowledge, that is, from different regions of Great Britain and Ireland, along with different political, gender, social or professional viewpoints, as laid out in Chapter 3. This breadth is particularly valuable to explore and if necessary counter any editorial bias in a single periodical; for example, as previously discussed, *The Gentleman’s Magazine’s* personal and professional investment in knowledge production about the putative South could have made it less representative of the broader range of views and interests in mid to late eighteenth century society – a possibility disproved by the equally engaged and widespread coverage of Southern stories in the newspapers under review.

As demonstrated in the analysis above, the archive of newspapers has the advantage of much greater sensitivity and responsiveness to current events and themes developing in the public sphere, offering both a snapshot of opinion across the press at any one time but also the insight of a longitudinal study – something that is constrained in the production schedule of a monthly magazine. This is especially evident in letters to the editor that can quickly build into a running conversation or debate or – as witnessed above – the more subtle running battles between rival publications played out in the microgeographies of the page in the ‘Classified Ads’.



Figure 32. Edward Ward: 'The Coffeehouse Mob' frontispiece of *Vulgus Britannicus* (1710).

This angry scene shows men in a heated debate over the newspapers in a coffee house in the Capital, underscoring the central role of the news in eighteenth century society. Although the men depicted are of the middling sort, newspapers had a broad social reach. "In London, there are a great number of coffeehouses", wrote the Swiss noble Cesar de Saussure in 1726, 'workmen habitually begin the day by going to the coffee-rooms to read the latest news.' Nothing was funnier, he smirked, that seeing shoeblacks and other riffraff poring over papers and discussing the latest political affairs." Dr. Matthew Green, 'The Lost World of the London Coffeehouse', PublicDomainReview.org.

Using the press as an analogue for the public sphere, the examination of the archive data broken down by theme suggests that the Continent in all its representative forms on the page is indeed a constant and universal meme in public life in the mid to late eighteenth century – one in which the reading public is actively engaged through purchasing (or borrowing) and reading the newspapers, writing to the editor, and potentially purchasing (or borrowing) many of the advertised and reviewed works featured on the page. In terms of timing of press coverage over the seventeen-year period, the data suggests a strong correlation with the preparation, execution and aftermath Cook's two voyages in search of the Continent, with particular 'spikes' in interest in 1773 and 1777 – the years after Cook's return from the South Seas. This underscores the assertion made here of a reading public with an active interest in ideas about what lies to the South. Furthermore, far from the putative nature of the South just being reported as 'news', the meme is explored in a variety of sophisticated contexts in the contemporary press. Across the 24 titles in the sub-archive relating to geographical ideas about the putative South in the timeframe 1760-1777, 206 items concern the *control* of knowledge, 243 items relate to the *credibility* of knowledge, 299 items discuss austral *knowledge per se*, 99 items raise the issue of the *utility* of land or discoveries in the South, 58 items involve an attempt to *make sense* of the new world order in relation to emerging news of the South, while 6 items are concerned with the *transformational power* of the South.

From the analysis above, it is apparent that ideas about the putative nature of the South form a significant public offering within the mainstream diet of news and information in the mid to late eighteenth century. Broadly speaking, these ideas take two forms: the early Continental and the later Antarctic conceptualisation, roughly but not hermetically divided around the 1775/6 threshold that pinpoints the return home of Captains Furneaux then Cook with their 'new' austral knowledge and experience. However, within these two broad conceptualisations there are multiple variants in how the putative South is portrayed, although it could be argued that the geographical imagination of the South comes almost full circle from the sublime magical (sur)realism of Paltock's *Peter Wilkins* advertised in 1760-1762 to the malevolent supra-natural icescapes of Cook's final forays beyond the

Antarctic convergence, reported in the press from 1775 onwards. Both these representations are written in the narrative style by the authors (following in the tradition of de Brosses and certainly Shelvocke's adventurous *Voyage* account) with the public mindfully as the audience; as 'performances' in the press, both Paltock and the reports of Cook cast the South in the role of an ethereal and powerful inverted space where normality is suspended and nothing is quite as it seems. Both depictions of the South are equally 'accessed' by the trope of a long journey imbued with mortal fear and hardship. However, whereas Paltock's depiction draws heavily on the utopic and heavenly, Cook's ice-white South is paradoxically summoned from the darkness of the dystopian gothic grotesque.

Between the bookends of these two modes of representation lie other forms of public geographical imagining, not least Callander's "Terra Australis" of 1766-1768 which helps to establish the trope of a landscape of utility, ripe for colonisation. The basis of Continental desire is writ large in the advertisements for volume one which lays down the "Methods of establishing Colonies there to the Advantage of Great Britain" with all the attendant benefits for trade, commerce and strategic control of the South Seas.⁵⁷¹ In this conception, few if any barriers stand in the way of the rich prize of the Continent: while it has not yet been physically located, by 1768, this landscape is not only 'known'⁵⁷² but must surely soon be found as growing 'familiarity' with the South Seas erodes the friction of distance to the point that voyaging there is "no more dreaded than a common Voyage to the East-Indies".⁵⁷³

Here, then, is a thoroughly positive representation of the Southern Continent – Callander's Continent of mercantile and imperial opportunity lying await in Shelvocke's seas of adventure for Captain Wallis or a young Lieutenant Cook to discover it. However, the positive spin to investing in the South does not give *carte blanche* to those in power: "X"'s

⁵⁷¹ *London Chronicle*, London, 3/2/1767-5/2/1767, Issue 1581: Classified Ads

⁵⁷² *Public Advertiser*, London, 8/4/1768, issue No 10434: News.

⁵⁷³ *St James's Chronicle or the British Evening Post*, London, 16/6/1768-18/6/1768, Issue No 1139: News; *Gazetteer and New Daily Advertiser*, London, 20/6/1768, Issue No 12261: News; *Westminster Journal and London Political Miscellany*, London, 25/6/1768: News.

open letter - addressed to “To the GREAT SCHEMERS, for settling FALKLAND ISLAND”⁵⁷⁴ foregrounds the public’s growing claim to have a say in any so-called utility ascribed to the putative austral landscape. Calling the “schemers”, “abettors” and “contrivers” to account, “X” summons up a landscape not of desire but of disgust. Rejecting the vision of the political elite, “X” demands more control for the public in national decision-making – a claim that supports Habermas’s assertion that the public sphere –represented here by the press - grew in confidence, voice and power throughout the eighteenth century until it “began to function as a check on the legitimacy of the powers of unrepresentative and closed government”.⁵⁷⁵

Against this angry, acerbic demand for greater public control over - and influence in - the nature of emerging South, the contrasting representation of a landscape of speculative science is even more stark. Debates in the press over the role of the South and the nature and origins of the Aurora Borealis and Australis are kept strictly erudite⁵⁷⁶: there is no talk of economic or geopolitical utility and certainly no talk of indigenous inhabitants; the land is just occupied by competing scientific theories that are trying to make sense of the world, including Halley’s ideas on “Magnetic Effluvia” that incorporate his concept of a hollow earth. The ensuing discussion appears firmly rooted in the armchair theories of the pre-empirical age, providing evidence within the newspaper archive that competing ways of knowing the world not only existed in the public sphere of the mid to late eighteenth century but were operating side by side - in this case, the scholarly model of reasoned theoretical speculation versus the empirical model arising from the utilitarian bent of “science in the service of Empire”, both giving rise to very different depictions of what lies to the South.

Amidst the rapidly changing – and frequently brutally oppositional - versions of the South imagined by different parties in the eighteenth-century press, the depiction of an almost

⁵⁷⁴ *Public Advertiser*, London, 1/10/1770, Issue No 11140: News.

⁵⁷⁵ Finlayson, James Gordon: *Habermas: A Very Short Introduction*, Oxford: OUP, 2005, pp10-11.

⁵⁷⁶ *St James’s Chronicle or the British Evening Post*, London, 4/11/1769-7/11/1769, Issue No 1357: News; *Bingley’s Journal*, London, 22/8/1772-29/8/1772, Issue No 117: News.

Paltock-esque landscape of magical transformation offers the reading public a moment of escapist fantasy and childish comfort in what are clearly troubling times. This is the world of the “very celebrated Doctor Puf Stuf Shim Sham Quirko TOANGFU, Physician...to the Emperor of China”⁵⁷⁷, of “Captain Exotic”’s “Dancing Bear from Terra Incognita”⁵⁷⁸ and of “Astley the horse rider” on his pole-to-pole world tour⁵⁷⁹ – characters too fantastic for the rational, known world and therefore imaginatively relocated into the ‘edgy’ liminal zone where anything is possible, just as they are on the medieval cosmology of the Hereford Mappa Mundi.⁵⁸⁰

Just as fantasies are re-located to build up the emerging South in the public imaginary, so too is sexual desire. The report in *Hoey’s Dublin Mercury* “from a gentleman on board the Endeavour”⁵⁸¹ deftly links the opportunities for trade with the sexual availability of women in the South Seas. Hawkesworth’s equally sexualised (re)construction of the South and his denial of divine Providence provokes one of the fiercest battles over its representation in the seventeen-year archive. Vehemently rejected by the more reactionary readers and writers within the eighteenth century public sphere, the range of response is given a voice by “A DISSENTER”⁵⁸² and also by “WILL RAMBLE”⁵⁸³ who pour scorn on not just Hawkesworth but all who side with him.

However, in terms of the more extreme representations of the utopian Continental fantasy, it is not until June 1774 that the death knell is finally sounded when the *Public Advertiser* announces that its report of the discovery of a Continent filled with “prodigious Mines of Gold and Diamonds” is nothing but “mere *Humbug*”.⁵⁸⁴ This publicly acknowledges the

⁵⁷⁷ *General Evening Post*, London, 2/5/1771-4/5/1771, Issue No 5859: News.

⁵⁷⁸ *Daily Advertiser*, London, 28/5/1772, No Issue No. cited: News.

⁵⁷⁹ *Middlesex Journal or Universal Evening Post*, London, 30/7/1772-1/8/1772, Issue No 521: News

⁵⁸⁰ See Barber, 2005:60.

⁵⁸¹ *Hoey’s Dublin Mercury*, Dublin, 3/9/1771-5/9/1771, Issue No 760: News.

⁵⁸² Letter from “A DISSENTER”, *Public Advertiser*, London, 4/9/1773, Issue No 11976: News.

⁵⁸³ See Letter from “WILL RAMBLE”: *Public Advertiser*, London, 20/9/1773, Issue No 11988: News.

⁵⁸⁴ *Lloyd’s Evening Post*, London, 28/6/1774-30/6/1774, Issue No 2809: News; *Public Advertiser*, London, 30/6/1774, Issue No 13063: News.

sense of shame and embarrassment in having been duped – not just by whoever gave the paper the incorrect information but it seems for the paper’s more general support for the idea of a Southern Continent. A fortnight later, news of Furneaux’s return shocks the public into confronting the radical new imaginary of a Southern Ocean filled not with the longed-for Continent but, instead, with endless sea and ice; from hereon, while some vestiges of the old exotic, austral dream linger on in the stories of Mai and advertisements for Dalrymple’s *Collection of Voyages in the South Atlantick Ocean*⁵⁸⁵, the public geographical imagination is metaphorically on ice, with talk of the Continent largely absent from the press while the public waits for hard news of Cook’s return and the official findings from the voyage.

It is no surprise that in the gap between old dreams and ‘new’ news – the liminal zone between fantasy and empirical fact about what lies to the South - the idea of a transformative austral landscape reasserts itself: “TITUS”’s depiction of New Zealand not only has the power to revive British colonial fortunes but its “fine and healthy climate” and “so fertile a soil” can transmute criminals into colonists.⁵⁸⁶ This, then, embodies both the positive, utilitarian conceptualisation of the former Continent alongside the magical landscape of TOANFANGU, with Cook himself re-cast from lazy, incurious failure to venerated “able navigator”. However, as first-hand reports from those returning to Britain on *Resolution* and *Adventure* begin to filter through the press, the benign fantasies about the nature of the South are stopped in their tracks for here is ‘proof’ that the Continent does not exist.

It is fitting that after the death of a ruling geographical idea comes its ghostly apparition: this has its expression in the “OPINION ABOUT A SOUTHERN CONTINENT”⁵⁸⁷ reproduced from Cook’s words in the summer of 1776 which lays bare the ‘real’ frozen, fatal nature of the South, evoking both the gothic and the grotesque in its eerie sounds and

⁵⁸⁵ *Public Advertiser*, London, 23/6/1775, Issue No 14268: News

⁵⁸⁶ Letter from ‘TITUS’, *Middlesex Journal and Evening Advertiser*, London, 23/1/1776-25/1/1776, Issue No 1066: News.

⁵⁸⁷ *London Chronicle*, London, 17/6/1777-19/6/1777, Issue No 3204: News.

oppressive ‘emptiness’. But if the benign transformative landscape of the South was the product of geographical imagination *without* empirical experience, this ‘new’ transformative south is born of empirical experience without the geographical imagination to make sense of it: the first recorded people to cross the convergence, Cook and his men come to this scene - quite literally – cold. The men in the field must contextually process and understand this strange, eerie, ominous landscape without any prior contact and via an emotional map from speculative and imaginative literature that bears no relation to the scene now in front of their eyes. This makes their experience of the Antarctic doubly removed from the reader’s back home who ‘enters’ the Antarctic from the safety and warmth of Britain with first-hand accounts, maps, charts and views to warn and guide them.

The final representation in the press of the emerging South in the timeframe under interrogation is defined almost entirely by ‘absence’, both of the long wished-for Continent *per se* but also of its utility to Britain as an imperial power. What was once an imagined landscape of unassailable importance is now a landscape of utter irrelevance. Once the empirical fact of the icy wilderness has been established, there is no point in lingering here physically or intellectually and the public’s gaze shifts inexorably Northwards to America and the Northern reaches of the Pacific. This shift in focus is evidenced by “NUMA”’s letter⁵⁸⁸ which acts as a post-script to the Continental story: to pervert the classic mantra, the dream is dead; long live the dream...elsewhere.

Objective 2: Mechanisms of Continental knowledge (re)production, 1760-1777

While the above analysis demonstrates the range and relevance of the austral landscapes that were variously represented and understood by differing parties within the public sphere in the mid to late eighteenth century, the second research objective demands a detailed investigation of the actual *mechanisms* of that knowledge (re)production by – and

⁵⁸⁸ Letter from ‘NUMA’, London Chronicle, London, 12/8/1777-14/8/1777, Issue No 3228: News; and *Morning Post and Daily Advertiser*, London, 113/8/1777, Issue No 1501: News.

within – the press over the same period. This has been achieved by a close reading and analysis of the archive in all the textual forms laid out above, interrogating it with the six cross-cutting themes to track the changing nature and power of knowledge about the Continent over the timeframe. As in Chapter 4, the most pertinent consideration here is not simply how the mechanisms of knowledge (re)production segue from theory to experience, but how that ‘slippery’ knowledge-at-a-distance is stabilised, controlled and made credible on its journey from the mind or the field, into the public sphere.

Many of the methods detailed in the analysis of *The Gentleman’s Magazine* are replicated in the broader press archive under consideration here so do not require a lengthy re-telling. As a result, only key mechanisms – and moments – from the research above will be selected and interrogated to avoid unnecessary repetition.

One of the most important devices used by writers and publishers to stabilise ‘slippery’ knowledge is the use of the first-person narrative style. As previously discussed, this shrinks the distance between ‘here’ and ‘there’, aiding the ‘mapping’, absorption and appropriation of ‘new’ landscapes within the reader’s geographical imagination, therefore promoting territoriality – an imaginative precondition for imperialism. The narrative style is clearly visible in both Shelvocke and Paltock’s voyage accounts and is also an increasing feature in the writings of Cook. Indeed, Paltock deliberately and overtly uses the device to shore up the credibility of his hero Peter Wilkins’s account of his journey to the South Pole and the winged creatures he meets and indeed marries there. The reader is assured in the advertisements that his account is “Taken from his own Mouth, in his Passage to England, from off Cape Horn in America, in the Ship Hector”⁵⁸⁹, conferring enhanced authority onto the traveller’s tale. This ‘other way of seeing the world’ has novelty and the appearance of an internalised, embodied ‘truth’ – as long as the observer is credible in themselves. The power of the narrative style - with its implied ‘witnessing’ and

⁵⁸⁹ Whitehall Evening Post or London Intelligencer, London, 15-17 April, 1760, Issue 2197: Classified Ad: “Life and Adventures of Peter Wilkins, a Cornish Man, relating particularly to his Shipwreck near the South Pole...”.

empirical observation – contrasts sharply with both the theoretical speculation that typified knowledge production leading up to the Enlightenment and also with the impersonal reportage that underpins the house style of newspapers in the eighteenth century.

If the narrative style adds authority to first person testimony in a far-off place, the location of that place itself is also pertinent to shore up credibility for the reader. Paltock carefully locates his story in the liminal zone of the farthest reaches of the South - the edges of the known world and the traditional zone where fact fuses with fantasy. From the discussions on the *Aurora Australis* in the archive, it is clear that the idea of the South Pole has strong currency in the geographical imagination of the mid to late eighteenth century, thus the reader would know that a South Pole exists on earth but its exact nature is as yet undetermined. For Paltock and other writers about the South, this opens up a slipstream of possibility – one that was even more potent in the context of a time when the public geographical imagination was being continually contested and (re)formed in the light of ‘new’ information, and the highest intellectual network in the land – the Royal Society - was including in its *Philosophical Transactions* observation and discussions on the so-called Giants of Patagonia.⁵⁹⁰

Of course, as well as the ‘witnesses’ returning with their embodied observations, another mechanism of knowledge (re)production are the material forms of knowledge from the far South brought back by Cook, the ‘Gentlemen Philosophers’ and the crew - not least maps, artefacts and natural history specimens. Foremost among these ‘specimens’ is the Polynesian, Mai, who finds fame, notoriety and a new persona in both the press and polite society as a living ‘curiosity’ from the floating *wunderkabinett* of the *Adventure*. The archive under analysis clearly shows the intense and evolving media and social interest in Mai as a representative of the South, along with the societal attitudes towards him and other indigenous peoples of the South Seas. As demonstrated, Mai becomes an object of fascination for the British press – becoming part of the media’s austral obsession that

⁵⁹⁰ See discussion in Lamb, Jonathan: *Preserving the Self in the South Seas, 1680-1840*, Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2001, p93-97.

keeps the South in the public sphere⁵⁹¹ and is soon deemed newsworthy enough to ‘exist’ in his own right across the press, helping to shape him into a figure of considerable interest in the public imagination.⁵⁹² His evolution as a sensational character is tracked in articles over a six month period, from nameless Tahitian⁵⁹³, to his named persona “OMIA” along with the descriptor “who was lately brought from the South Seas, in the Adventure”⁵⁹⁴ and finally by January 1775 to just “Omiah” (without any descriptor) who is being returned by Cook “to Otaheite”, embodying the assumption that the reading public knows this is his home.⁵⁹⁵

Given that an extensive body of work by scholars including Salmond and Thomas already exists on the (re)creation of ‘Mai’ and his relationship as a Polynesian with contemporary British culture and society⁵⁹⁶, it is more valuable to focus here on the documentary forms of material knowledge brought back from the field and reported in the contemporary press. Despite the fact that only textual knowledge is represented directly in the archive under analysis, there is significant mention of all the types of graphic materials made in the field and brought back to Britain. Not only are these ‘material’ forms of knowledge deemed valuable as sources of ‘new’ information in the public sphere and are therefore treated with especial care and control, they are also regarded as inherently valuable *per se*, as evidenced by the report of the salt water-damaged maps, charts, drawings and ‘views’ reportedly worth “one thousand guineas” in pristine state but now rendered worthless.⁵⁹⁷ Much play is made in articles and advertisements of such items being created *in situ*, flagging up their value as material repositories of empirical credibility - for example, in the Admiralty

⁵⁹¹ Viz., *Adam’s Weekly courant*, Chester, 1/11/1774, Issue No 2060: Classified Ads, and again on 8/11/1774, Issue No 2060: Classified Ads.

⁵⁹² See, for example, his ‘biography’ in the *London Chronicle*, London, 9/8/1774, Issue No 2757: News; replicated in the *Public Ledger*, London, 11/8/1774, Issue No 4566: News; also in *Craftsman or Say’s Weekly Journal*, London, 13/8/1774, Issue No 836: News; and in the *British Chronicle or Pugh’s Hereford Journal*, Hereford, 18/8/1774, Issue No 211: News.

⁵⁹³ *Craftsman or Say’s Weekly Journal*, London, 23/7/1774, Issue N0 833: Classified Ads.

⁵⁹⁴ *London Chronicle*, London, 9/8/1774, Issue No 2757: News

⁵⁹⁵ *London Evening Post*, London, 23/1/1775-25/1/1775

⁵⁹⁶ Salmond, Anne: *The Trial of the Cannibal Dog: The Remarkable Story of Captain Cook’s Encounters in the South Seas*, Yale University Press, 2004; Thomas, Nicholas: *Discoveries: the voyages of Captain Cook*, London: Penguin, 2004.

⁵⁹⁷ *Morning Chronicle and London Advertiser*, London, 15/8/1775, Issue No 1944: News.

Office's official announcement of its "authentic account" of Cook's second voyage asserts that the illustrations are made "from the drawings made on the spot, by Mr W. Hodges".⁵⁹⁸

Other mechanisms within and by the press for conferring credibility on knowledge-at-a-distance include highlighting a source of the information that already has the trust of the reader. Thus the *London Evening Post* reports that "We learn from the Endeavour, from the South Seas, that they discovered a Southern Continent"⁵⁹⁹, linking the putative discovery with an actual, named ship - known through previous reports to be active in a region that is already a known geographical fact ; similarly, the aforementioned post from the "Admiralty-office, Sept. 23, 1775" employs the mechanism of a high-status 'known' office with the addition of the specific date adding to its apparent authenticity. This contrasts with the more usual and non-specific "It is said, that..."⁶⁰⁰ or "We are informed..."⁶⁰¹ which refer to less credible and unattributed hearsay reported as fact. The device of linking an un- or less known fact with an already established 'truth' is used frequently in the archive – from Stanfield Parkinson's assertions of a relationship with Banks in his advertisements⁶⁰² to the juxtaposing of the report of a mystery, giant bird's nest with mention of an "eagle".⁶⁰³

The analysis of *The Gentleman's Magazine* in Chapter 4 explored the deliberate creation by the press of a community or 'fellowship' of readers who became bound to the magazine through their interactive relationships as reader-contributors but also by the use of linguistic devices, such as the journalist appealing to "the intelligent reader".⁶⁰⁴ The analysis above clearly shows this to be a mechanism widely used across the eighteenth century press in the period under consideration, with similar examples of puffery and

⁵⁹⁸ *Gazetteer and New Daily Advertiser*, London, 22/9/1775, Issue No 14533: Classified Ads.

⁵⁹⁹ *London Evening Post*, London, 20/1/1771-23/1/1771, Issue No 6803: News

⁶⁰⁰ *Public Advertiser*, London, 13/6/1768, Issue No 10431: News.

⁶⁰¹ *St James's Chronicle or the British Evening Post*, London, 16/6/1768-18/6/1768, Issue No 1139: News.

⁶⁰² *General Evening Post*, London, 1/6/1771-3/6/1773, Issue No 6184: News.

⁶⁰³ *Middlesex Journal or Universal Evening Post*, London, 22/6/1773-26/6/1773, Issue No 662: News.

⁶⁰⁴ Postscript to 'Journal of the Resolution's Voyage on Discovery to the Southern Hemisphere, &c. concluded from p.70', *The Gentlemen's Magazine*, 46, March 1776, p122

presumed inclusion in a superior cultural group. Comments such as “*there has generally been supposed a Continent*” [emphasis added] alert readers to codes of acceptable and even required belief, while reports about “the island”⁶⁰⁵ visited by Wallis – presuming the reader knows the reference is to ‘Tahiti’ – reinforce the feeling of being ‘in the know’. These linguistic devices create the impression that the reader is part of a privileged cohort with their superior knowledge as a badge of their elevated social and cultural capital. Other methods of community-building in the press are less overt, such as the gentle schooling of readers in the cultural expectations of polite society which requires having an active sense of “curiosity” and “wonder” about the world – attributes that can be fulfilled by buying/reading the ‘right’ type of periodicals and books.⁶⁰⁶

Another mechanism for credible knowledge production is the relationship between the periodical and the reader. This is both fluid and symbiotic, and this means that the bond of trust is essential in holding the two parties together. The strength of that bond is highlighted with the apology in print when reports turns out to have been based on misinformation, for example, the [premature] arrival at home of Cook after his second voyage⁶⁰⁷ and the [totally fictitious] discovery of the Great Southern Continent with “prodigious Mines of Gold and Diamonds”.⁶⁰⁸ In the latter example, the vehemence with which the journalist pours scorn on those who have deceived [him] cleverly distances the paper from its own deception, positioning it as having been wronged, not as ‘doing’ the wrong to its readers by failing to check rigorously its sources before going to print.

Alongside the battle for the credibility of ‘new’ geographical knowledge, the analysis above demonstrates that control of information from its source and through the press to the public is also more complex than it might at first seem. An example of this can be found in

⁶⁰⁵ *Lloyd’s Evening Post*, London, 16/6/1766, issue 1395: News.

⁶⁰⁶ ‘An Historical Account of all the Voyages round the world, performed by English Navigators....Printed for F. Newberry’, *Daily Advertiser*, London, 29/7/1773, Issue No 13292: Classified Ads.

⁶⁰⁷ *Lloyd’s Evening Post*, London, 28/6/1774-30/6/1774, Issue No 2809: News.

⁶⁰⁸ *Public Advertiser*, London, 30/6/1774, Issue No 13063: News.

the advertisement for *Wheble's Lady's Magazine* for November, 1771⁶⁰⁹ that offers its readers “an Extract from the Account of Dr. Solander's Voyage in his Majesty's Ship Endeavour.” While this confirms that the value of knowledge about the emerging South reaches deep into polite society, that knowledge is editorially controlled for its female readers and restricted to the South's portrayal in strictly scientific terms with no mention of Hawkesworth/“WILL RAMBLE”'s sexualised landscape.⁶¹⁰ It therefore seems that a very different South was served up on the basis of gender, an area of research that would benefit from deeper probing in future scholarship on the production of knowledge by the contemporary press.

As well as selecting/editing/controlling what information is being (re)produced, the newspaper editors demonstrate a large degree of control over where - and how - that information appears in print. As a mechanism for stabilising knowledge at distance, the very act of publishing information within the public sphere confers enhanced authority both on the ‘knowledge’ and the periodical; in the case of some of the unauthorised voyage accounts, these are consciously anonymised and *de facto* ‘legitimised’ by their appearance in print, especially in the context of a public sphere anxious for news from the South. More generally, editorial decisions over the location and form of the material within the periodical – even its position on the page – clearly sets the emotional as well as the intellectual context for the reader as well as responding to it: if a piece is located amidst the diet of general news, then this locates the matter of the Continent firmly within the mainstream of popular interest, marking (and marketing) it as essential knowledge that everyone in polite society ‘needs’ to know.

However, as well as offering ‘knowledge’ *per se*, the item's appearance in print helps to bind the reader into a community of periodical readership (with the *Quidnunc* as the most extreme participant), reinforcing the press's agency in cohering the public sphere (at least

⁶⁰⁹*Public Advertiser*, London, 2/11/1771, Issue No 11548: Classified Ads

⁶¹⁰See Letter from “WILL RAMBLE”: *Public Advertiser*, London, 20/9/1773, Issue No 11988: News.

into groups of common interest), as well as being embedded within and dependent upon it. In this regard, the power of the editor can be seen to be acute: the allocation of a few scant lines denotes that the editor perceives only cursory public interest in the story, with greater interest (for example, voyage epitomes) generating more column inches – and a greater public awareness and interest in the ‘story’ as it unfolds. This is evidenced in the archive by the battle between Stanfield Parkinson and Hawkesworth over who has the right to publish knowledge about the emerging South from the *Endeavour* voyage. While, ostensibly, this is a legal case between two individuals, its broader significance is a battle over who controls – and benefits – from new knowledge which is clearly perceived by all parties to be extremely valuable: here, both the Establishment and a ‘public’ made up of middling sorts are asserting their right to have a voice – not just in the courtroom but in the wider public sphere.

The active (if symbiotic) role of the press in facilitating and exacerbating these social tensions is clearly demonstrated in the archive by the editorial decisions to give space to the arguments – some of which are expressed in the most scathing, sensationalist and satirical manner - thus creating and perpetuating the parallel ‘story’ of the battle between two opposing points of view – a polarising discourse that encourages readers to weigh in with support for one side or the other. In this way, the wider societal debate over who controls knowledge is played out in the microgeographies of the page with the reports, letters to the editor, and even the jostling of rival advertisements located cheek-by-jowl in the Classified section. While beyond the scope of the current research, a fruitful area for further study would be to track the circulation figures of individual periodicals in relation to the development of such ‘stories’ in order to assess the commercial success of differing editorial strategies, as well as their impact on public knowledge.

Objective 3: The memetic power of the Continental trope, 1760-1777

The final research objective of the chapter was to “identify, map and analyse the complex and dynamic relationship between the Continent and wider society through the prism of the eighteenth century press over the final years of its ‘life’, ‘death’ and ‘re-birth’ as the Antarctic in the popular imagination”. This relationship – assisted by the six cross-cutting themes - has been a primary focus of the analysis of the newspaper archive and affords intriguing insights into the utility and memetic power of the Continental trope as a contested geographical idea for making sense of the world - particularly as a ‘fantastic’ idea with no basis in geographical fact.

As in Chapter 4, the changing function of the Continent in wider society is perhaps best tracked and interrogated by the way it is used in the newspapers to make sense of the (interior and exterior) worlds of the mid to late eighteenth century. The early years of the archive reveal that – already by the 1760s - the South has been drawn into the public geographical imagination and ‘experience’ of the world: it has been highlighted as a non-threatening – in fact, highly desirable - geographical goal for exploration, with *Dolphin* heading there “with all possible expedition”.⁶¹¹ In terms of its cultural meaning, therefore, the Continental South - “which a few Years ago was looked upon as a forlorn Hope, and the very mention of which, was enough to frighten our stoutest Seamen” - is now positioned as a benign space, attractive enough for a “Tour of Pleasure”, and well within the physical and emotional grasp of Britain’s growing empire; indeed, sailing there is “no more dreaded than a common Voyage to the East-Indies” – connecting the routine easy access with another region conceptualised as a colonial treasure-trove. In this way, even without the benefit of graphic representations in the form of maps, charts and illustrations to aid territoriality, the archive demonstrates that the emerging South is already textually imagined, ‘possessed’ and firmly embedded within Britain’s global imperial ambitions.

⁶¹¹ *Lloyd's Evening Post*, London, 16/6/1766, issue 1395: News.

Although the basis of its role in the British public imagination appears to be as a benign landscape of utility, this is not unproblematic when challenged by the pragmatic reality of prolonged contact and experience. “X”’s torrent of invective against “Falkland Island” and the “GREAT SCHEMERS” who pushed to have it settled by Britain can be seen as representing the first existential crisis of the fallout when austral fact meets austral fantasy – and a precursor of the imaginative future to come. Although dealing specifically with the Falklands, “X” invokes the age-old trope of the South as a chimera, holding its promised ‘utility’ to account before dismissing it as “this nothing of a Place”, fit only as “the Residence for Gulls”. The language clearly expresses the correspondent’s belief that the Falklands not only represent a landscape that is economically worthless but also one that is morally debased: the public has been tricked by the “schemers”, “contrivers” and “abettors” offering false promises in their words. “X” argues instead for hard, reasoned, empirical fact to replace speculation. This letter – particularly when taken alongside the *anti*-empirical outpourings of “ANTI-QUACK” - evidences in microcosm the conflicts within wider British society as it shifts from scholarly speculation to empirical methods of knowledge production. But more than just reflecting changes in the ways of thinking about the geographical world, this also reflects a concomitant shift from accepting the word of those in authority to a very public challenge of authority itself. This shift is textually and emotionally mapped in terms of the heightened religious and moral debates over Hawkesworth’s apparent denial of divine Providence – debates that preoccupy much of the coverage of the *Endeavour* voyage in the archive. However, henceforth - at least for the growing number of empiricists - authority should be earned by actions and demonstrably proven to the people, not assumed by mere thoughtless tradition.

By extending [his] questioning of geographical utility of the Falklands to the fitness-for-purpose of the government itself, “X” argues for a greater public role in conversations about the South and, by inference, in national and imperial governance *per se*. This shift is similarly embodied in Stanfield Parkinson’s bitter challenge to the traditional structures of knowledge production in society over who has the right to control ‘new’ knowledge, a challenge played out both in the conventional, Establishment space of the British legal

system and the evolving public space of the eighteenth century press where Hawkesworth has to endure yet more vitriol and a parallel trial by newspaper.

The conscious use of the Continental South as a cultural meme is given both witness and a sardonic twist in the *Public Advertiser*'s 'reported' discussion between "Jeremy Twitcher" [Lord Sandwich] and "Sancho Panca". As discussed above, the construct of "the Terra incognita beyond the Moon" is here subverted to besmirch both Sandwich and the idealism of imagining a putative Great Southern Continent far away that will revive Britain's imperial and economic fortunes. It is worth pausing here to observe how the idea of the Continent was presumed by the journalist to be familiar enough - and powerful enough - in mainstream society to become the vehicle for mocking someone as eminent as Sandwich. More than that, its representation here "beyond the Moon" also sardonically positions it as out-of-this-world, far-fetched, and ultimately unattainable, resonating with the undercurrent in "X"'s letter to the editor that imagined the South might just prove hollow, full of nothing but empty promises.

However, just as the dream of a Continent has managed to exist for millennia on the basis of belief instead of empirical proof, the archive also bears witness to the resilience and durability of the meme in the popular imagination in the face of mounting empirical evidence to the contrary—a situation for which it is worth pausing in an effort to understand. Alongside the likes of "X"'s scathing parallel construction of the Continent as a worthless landscape for fools, the putative South is also portrayed in the archive as a slipstream in the public imagination where anything might happen. This latter construction picks up on the discussions above and in Chapter 4 about liminal zones as sites of magical transformation and is, perhaps, best evidenced by its association with TOANGFU, physician to the Emperor of China, who works his transformative magic that can grow new sets of teeth instantly and painlessly. Together with Astley the globe-trotting horse-rider and the "Dancing Bear from Terra Incognita", TOANGFU's magic provides evidence that that there is still a significant desire within the public imagination to locate and accommodate a playful and innocent geography of promise within the south. In this

conceptualisation, the South functions as a utopian never-land – almost straight off the pages of Paltock – but underlying its various forms are the *optimistically positive* underlying themes of ‘potential’ and ‘possibility’.

A useful way of analysing the significance of these (dual) representations is to examine what was being projected from the inner self of British public society onto the external, unknown landscape of the South – that is, the ‘here’ to the Continent’s ‘there’, where the ‘there’ is about as far away from Britain’s North “as it’s possible for a man to go”. If this projection of desires is in reaction to political and societal concerns back home, it is necessary to identify and explore those concerns. The period from 1760-1777 is a time of profound and frequently uncomfortable change: Britain is in the throes of both the Agricultural and Industrial Revolutions, it is in and out of wars with France, Spain and latterly America, and its government changes on a regular and often acrimonious basis. The resulting pressures on the ‘traditional’ ways of being and thinking leave a society struggling to make sense of the world – a world that is equally turbulent and to which Britain is politically and imaginatively connected through its expanding empire. Expressions of the resulting unease in the press include deep concerns over the moral and political state of Britain and its place in the world evidenced by “X”, also the letters from “Will RAMBLE” and “Anti- Quack”; other running themes in the contemporary press include the loosening of political control over North America (expressed in direct relation to the South by “ATLAS”), and the economic and geopolitical power of Great Britain in relation to its imperial rivals. While outwith the scope of the current research, it would be a fruitful area for further study to map and analyse more closely the range of general concerns raised in the newspapers an analogue for wider social and political issues in the public sphere in the mid to late eighteenth century.

The idea of the Continent as an [optimistic] enduring and resistant meme within eighteenth century society is borne witness by the fact that Cook’s second voyage is cast somewhat pleonastically as seeking “*more perfect* Discovery of those Lands towards the South Pole” [emphasis added]. Once again, this gives a strong flavour of the public’s

obsession with both empirical discovery *per se* as a way of knowing the world, and discoveries in the far South in particular. However, the topic of discovery increasingly appears in the press alongside questions about the national and personal motives driving this obsession. In particular, Lord Sandwich is singled out – by name and by pejorative euphemism - as the embodiment of vested self-interest among the ruling elites, with the austral explorations cast as no more than his vanity projects. Ironically, it is an indication of just how strong the bonds are between exploration and perceived utility of the South that these opposing voices largely hurl abuse from the wings of the letters pages; centre stage in the press is most firmly taken by the voyages themselves as they re-enact the drama unfolding beyond the Antarctic Circle, and the death of the Continental dream.

The non-discovery of the Continent by Cook is a fascinating exercise in exploring how eighteenth century British society deals with a shift in knowledge and imagination. As discussed above, at first there is curiously little reaction in the press to the shocking news that the Continent - as imagined for centuries -does not exist; the pregnant pause is filled instead by the arrival of Mai on board *Adventure*. This appears to satisfy – or at least displace - the press and public’s thirst for news and novelty from the South as the Polynesian makes his transformation into a westernised, English-speaking macaroni in coverage that builds both up - and on - his celebrity.⁶¹²

However, in terms of the memetic power of the Continental trope in society, Cook’s observations from the ice fields of the Antarctic published in 1777 re-locate the public’s attention back to the emerging South that is, itself, now forcibly re-imagined as a terrifying, spectral, gothic icescape⁶¹³ – a place where existing language and ideas are inadequate to convey the experience from the field via the page to the reader back home. Despite being empirically ‘witnessed’ and observed, this sublime South is therefore still caught in the liminal zone between fact and fantasy: the empirical observers are not imaginatively or even linguistically equipped to fully process and express the enormity of

⁶¹² Collingridge, 2002:267-268.

⁶¹³ *London Chronicle*, London, 17/6/1777-19/6/1777, Issue No 3204: News.

this shock of the new. Try as he might, Cook's words are not the product of a reasoned framework of enlightenment science; instead, they slip-slide between reason and grotesque, monstrous realism. The reports of Cook and his men's experiences beyond the Antarctic Circle therefore form a moment in our geographical and epistemological history when words cannot bridge the gap between "here" and "there" – a moment of crisis anticipated in the conversation between Gulliver and his Houyhnhnm master over "the thing which was not", extracted at the very start of this chapter.⁶¹⁴

If the men in the field struggle to make sense of what they are experiencing, so does the editor selecting and adapting the lines, along with the reading public. The shifting point of view, the time-travelling, even the ghostly penguins who are seen but not heard in Cook's "OPINION" about an austral Continent – these all seem to support a new public imaginary for the emerging ice-filled South but one that is uncomfortably unresolved: instead of a landscape of utility, Cook and his men have revealed an epistemological purgatory that words cannot explain or possess, in the liminal zone between life, death and afterlife. However, by locating the new South as a 'magical', supra-human and supra-natural space, this offers a mechanism not only for making some sense of the scene in front of them, but the fact that it is so far beyond the human world also importantly absolves the [human] experts of their complicity in getting it so badly wrong, thus helping to manage the shock of the new without challenging the existing power structures into which both Cook and crew – and the newspapers – are firmly embedded.

The analysis above therefore demonstrates how the austral landscape – in its varied Continental and icy formulations - has a memetic power in the public imagination that is not only profound but a power that operates within the dual ways of thinking about the world in the mid to late eighteenth century, viz., the traditional mode theoretical scholarship and the evolving empiricism that underpins the enquiries of the Enlightenment.

⁶¹⁴ Swift, Jonathan: *Gulliver's Travels*, Part IV "A Voyage to the Country of the Houyhnhnms": Chapter III, para 4. E-Book: <http://www.gutenberg.org/files/829/829-h/829-h.htm> accessed online 12:07, 10th August, 2016.

However, more than that, the analysis above raises the assertion that - along with debates over utility and expanding empire - the emerging South is, in fact, a key space in which these wider cultural modes are played out, one that ultimately forces the public to the very edges of its imagination – and finds both ‘reason’ and language itself wanting.

These arguments will be revisited in the Conclusion that follows.

Chapter 6. Conclusion

No words of mine can convey the impressiveness of this wonderful panorama displayed to our eyes⁶¹⁵

Robert Falcon Scott: Cape Evans, Antarctica, January 4th, 1911.

Introduction

This chapter draws together the questions, research and ideas arising from the project's explorations into the fantastic Continent and the British press and reading public of the mid to late eighteenth century. It begins by reviewing - in turn - the three aims laid out in Chapters 1 and 3, and assessing how successfully these have been answered. Challenges and limitations identified by the thesis will also be discussed with suggestions for how these could be addressed in future research. An assessment is made of how the findings of this thesis might inform an understanding of knowledge production, exploration and travel writing, and the geographical imagination.

Assessment of Research Aims

The starting point for this thesis was the limited scholarly attention that had hitherto been paid to how geographical knowledge about the Great Southern Continent was produced *per se*, its relationship with the public sphere and, in particular, the causes and impact of its 'death' as an idea in the mid to late eighteenth century. The Continent's position as one of the most enduring geographical myths of all time makes it an important touchstone in our imaginative history and ways of seeing the world. The race to discover it and possess it – or at least trade with it – offered the winner the potential to become the richest and most powerful nation on earth. The ultimate revelation that this *provincia aurea* was just a

⁶¹⁵ Quoted in Dodds, Klaus: Reviews: 'I may be some time: ice and the English Imagination', *The Polar Record*, Vol. 33, Issue 185, April 1997, p156.

barren wilderness of sea and ice triggered arguably one the most important shifts in the Western geographical and imperial imagination since the discovery of the Americas. Moreover, its value to modern scholars extends well beyond the realms of geography and history: in her study of what she terms literary “atopias” - or contested geo-imaginary spaces – Carroll regards the “pioneering work” in “Arctic and Antarctic myth making [as] essential starting places for any analysis in polar literature”.⁶¹⁶

The press was chosen as the prism through which to interrogate public geographical knowledge and imagination, not least because what little scholarship there has been has focused on more formal published ‘histories’, novels, biographies and voyage journals, leaving the more ephemeral periodicals – and the voices of their diverse range of readers - less studied. The growing importance of the popular press throughout the eighteenth century – and the “news craze” evidenced not least by the rise of the *Quidnunc*⁶¹⁷ - makes this a key omission in the scholarly canon, one acknowledged by Withers who calls for researchers to “move beyond the academic spaces of knowledge to consider the popular and public engagement with geography and geographers”.⁶¹⁸ Although this thesis takes as its focus the geographical imagination rather than memory, Withers’s statement remains true: that we must give “[m]ore attention...to how the popular press represented geographical discovery and discoverers”.⁶¹⁹ This desire to bring geographical knowledge out from privileged, rarefied spaces into the ‘messiness’ of mainstream life has been the guiding hand behind this thesis.

Of themselves, a focus on periodicals rather than books offers some distinct advantages to research into the public sphere: the shorter production lead-time for periodicals allows a more rapid and spontaneous response to events as they are unfolding, with the advantage that both newspapers and magazines open up spaces not just for (almost) rolling news but

⁶¹⁶ Carroll, 2015:22.

⁶¹⁷ Heyd, 2015:59-84.

⁶¹⁸ Withers, Charles W.J., ‘Memory and the history of geographical knowledge: the commemoration of Mungo Park, African explorer’, *Journal of Historical Geography*, 30, 2004: p333.

⁶¹⁹ Withers, 2004:332.

also for the public to engage in what frequently becomes intense, inflamed and often unguarded dialogue between readers and editors in the letters pages – passionate discourses that lay bare thoughts, emotions and prejudices that provide the researcher with valuable cultural insight. Although a wider reception study of the readers of periodicals was beyond the scope of this enquiry, the archive of newspapers and magazines afforded a less travelled road into the minds, words and ideas of eighteenth century public.

However, using the popular press as an analogue for the public sphere is not without its complexities. Particular attention has to be paid to the competing business agendas, editorial priorities and production schedules that also play their part in determining what material is selected for publication and how it is displayed on the page – a fact bluntly summarised in Kotler’s review of the press’s relationship with the Victorian motif of global exploration:⁶²⁰

“News is what sells. News is what people want to read. But mostly, news is what the people in charge of the news business say it is. And the wisest of these knew in the nineteenth century, just as they know now, that without an audience to buy the news, there is no news, or, at least, no commercially viable news industry.”

The basis for different (and often competing) editorial and publication perspectives - laid out in Chapter 3 - underpinned the analyses of *The Gentleman’s Magazine* and newspapers in Chapters 4 and 5. However, while a reasonable corpus of work has added production context to *The Gentleman’s Magazine*, as Suarez contends, the bibliographical study of individual newspapers is woefully inadequate,⁶²¹ affecting understanding of the editorial and production decisions from content to circulation.

⁶²⁰ Kotler, Jonathan: ‘Reviews: the Myth of the Explorer: the press, sensationalism, and geographical discovery’, *Polar Record* 29, 170, pp247-248.

⁶²¹ Suarez, 2015: BODcast

Notwithstanding these limitations, revisiting the three original aims allows an assessment of how successful this thesis has been in achieving them.

Aim 1: To critically examine the ways in which the fantastic landscape of the Great Southern Continent was variously imagined, represented and understood in the popular press in Britain from 1760-1777.

The detailed analyses in Chapters 4 and 5 foreground the varied and changing ways that the Continent – and far South – were brought into life through the medium of *The Gentleman's Magazine* and British newspapers from 1760-1777. Having already explored and summarised the chapter findings in depth, it is sensible now to compare the two sets of results to assess what they reveal about the imagination, representation and understanding of the far South, and to interrogate any congruencies or disparities.

As well as the lack of graphic ‘knowledge’ in the newspapers that has been previously discussed at length, several differences between the two archives are worth noting. The data from *The Gentleman's Magazine* is almost purely ‘factual’ in its intention; there are no poems, fictional stories or even fictional book reviews in the archive relating to the putative nature of the South. Instead, often extremely long ‘epitomes’ and reviews of actual voyage accounts take on the mantle of narrative stories, with continuations operating like serialisations throughout the magazine or even between editions. In contrast, the newspapers frequently advertise fictional books as part of their offering to readers, keen to ‘know’ the South, along with factual books containing maps, charts and ‘views’.

These differences become especially pertinent when looking at the forms of representation of the austral landscapes. As discussed in Chapters 4 and 5, these representations frequently and actively blur the line between fact and fiction, with fictional authors using a series of rhetorical strategies to enhance the credibility of their work, and factual writers and editors frequently employing literary or sensational strategies to enhance the impact

and readability of their work. As a result, while recognising their individual peculiarities, the focus of the research necessarily regarded both factual and fictional works together.

Broadly, across all the examined genres of fact and fiction, three types of representation of the putative South were identified over the seventeen-year timeframe. These are the **landscapes of desire**, the **landscapes of disillusionment**, and the **landscapes of transformation**.

The **landscapes of desire** can be characterised as the benign, speculative landscapes with a firmly utilitarian purpose, either imaginatively or rationally derived. Buache's theorised land of 1763, Callander's *Terra Australis* of 1766-68, Dalrymple's fantastic Continent and even "J.N."s logically conjectured aperture for the emanating Southern Lights all belong to this way of knowing the South. While their physical geographies might be sophisticatedly theorised, they promise a landscape that is emotionally uncomplicated, notable for what it has to offer in terms of resources, scientific learning or geostrategic power. Here, any 'natives' are friendly and welcoming, the land is fertile, and – most importantly – it is there for the taking by the imperial project of the British Enlightenment. These places are well-'known' through textual and sometimes graphic materials – but are, as yet, they are largely undiscovered. Interestingly, this disjuncture makes them more intriguing, these landscapes appearing to connect with the newly-legitimised eighteenth century rise in curiosity about the wider world discussed in Chapter 2 and the growth and popularity of contemporary press as part of a "News craze".⁶²²

However, if desire is based on unattained or incomplete knowledge, disillusionment is gained through experience. The **landscapes of disillusionment** date in the press from the 1770s and foreground the empirical geographies of expedition and colonial contact commanded by Cook and his predecessors. Represented on the page by a host of austral spaces including "X"'s "Falkland Island", South Georgia and South Sandwich Islands,

⁶²² Heyd, 2015:59

along with the sexualised South Seas of *Hoey's* "gentleman on board the Endeavour"⁶²³, what arises is the sense of disappointment or even disgust that an emotional contract made with the imagination is not being delivered in reality: the Antarctic islands turn out to be foggy crags of barren rock and ice where there is not even enough wood for a toothpick, the Falklands are a landscape of [Sandwich's] moral debasement and geopolitical strife into which a humiliated British public have been tricked into investing, and the South Seas are filled with islands of bellicose savage men and (some) bizarrely chaste women. However, even lands like Batavia that offer what the British crew of Endeavour apparently desire – sex and trade – are revealed as ultimately tarnished by contact with the West, the landscape of desire and utility soon revealing its true nature as a place of moral hazard, disease and death.

The third form of representation for austral landscapes is accurately more a subset of the two already discussed: the **landscapes of transformation** are either magically benign spaces of imagination without experience - or dreadful supra-natural spaces of experience without the imaginative capacity to make sense of it all. Emotionally, these fantastic land-, sea- and icescapes operate at the outermost edges of experience, located in the liminal space between the known and unknown where they might be visited, but never understood. These landscapes share the trope of requiring a long journey to get there, often characterised by hardship or fear which initiate the transformation; then, contact with the potent spaces themselves further unsettles the visitor's sense of self, meaning travellers never return home the same – like the sailors who return as wise heroes - or – like the ill-fated Peter Wilkins who changed too much - never return home at all. These transformative spaces, then, are the wondrous lands of Byron's giants, of Dancing Bears and Astley the globe-trotting Horse-rider; it is also the place where TOANGFU collects potions to grow new sets of teeth, or the heavenly land where Wilkins is reborn and marries a woman with wings. This is even the New Zealand where British felons can be rehabilitated by the nurturing climate and fertile soils to become founders of a new austral colony that revives the fortunes of the British Empire. And then there is the dark side: the

⁶²³ *Hoey's Dublin Mercury*, Dublin, 3/9/1771-5/9/1771, Issue No 760: News.

awful spaces of a supra-natural Otherworld, where time and space play tricks on Cook-the-rational-observer and his fellow travellers; where they hear the ghostly cries of spectral creatures nowhere to be seen, where human flesh turns to ice in an instant, where sea ice turns not to saltwater but fresh. These confounding, confusing grotesque distortions of the known world are so profoundly unsettling that they dis-locate the narrative self and leave what Pratt would call the observer's "imperial eyes" struggling to process - and *possess* - what they see.⁶²⁴

Applying the ideas of Pratt and fellow theorist Thompson to the press coverage of the South raises some interesting issues. Pratt's work is underpinned by her ideas of transculturation and the imperialising discourse between those 'doing' the seeing and those being seen. However, the polar landscapes explored here - in their imagined scientific or experienced grotesque form - are essentially uninhabited so there is no human Other to imaginatively or pragmatically colonise. While these lands can still be drawn into the imperial relations of what she calls "planetary consciousness" by their coverage in the press - and indeed the analyses in Chapters 4 and 5 shows this occurring - the fact that this barbarous imperial periphery cannot [yet] be controlled or owned either imaginatively or pragmatically renders her approach ultimately less useful to the study of polar writings in the pre-Commercial and Heroic Eras.

Thompson's development of Pratt's "monarch-of-all-I-survey" scene⁶²⁵ also explores the role of what he calls the "imperious 'I'" to the study of travel writing. His focus on the narrative self in "the Enlightenment or the Romantic paradigms" offers more practical insight to the analysis of press coverage of the imagined and emerging South in the mid to late eighteenth century - mainly in terms of the enhanced social status and reputation of those not only making the journeys but acquiring the resultant knowledge. In his discussion of what the sociologist Pierre Bourdieu calls "cultural capital", he locates travel and travelogues as "an important part of the traveller's larger bid for authority and social

⁶²⁴ Pratt, 2008:7.

⁶²⁵ Pratt, 2008:197-204.

advancement” allowing them to convince themselves of the coherence and integrity of their own identity.⁶²⁶

Thompson’s work offers much to those researching into the functioning of the press in the eighteenth century for the processes he describes above can be applied directly - not only to the travel writing being reproduced in the press – but to the press itself which, it can be argued, takes on the role of the “imperious ‘I’” as it seeks to assert its own identity in the messiness of a rapidly evolving eighteenth century public sphere. This moves the focus of the discussion onwards from *what* geographical knowledge is being imagined, represented and understood within the press, to *how* the press is achieving this, a theme explored in more detail below.

Aim 2: To analyse the role of the British press in the (re)production of knowledge about the putative Continent, and in the construction of a popular geographical imaginary for the far South.

From the frequent and detailed coverage of the putative - and latterly ‘known’ - South, it can be seen that the Continental meme forms a key area of varied, sustained and contested public interest in the press over the seventeen-year timeframe. As demonstrated in Chapters 4 and 5, across the press of the period, this geographical ‘knowledge’ – and the geographical imagination that accompanies it - is expressed both through textual and graphic, fictional and factual forms that provide the public with differing mechanisms for accessing, ‘knowing’ and imagining the South. Although expensive and time-consuming maps, engravings and other graphic illustrations are restricted to the better-resourced monthly schedule of *The Gentleman’s Magazine*, its heavy coverage of voyages in search of the Continent can - in part - be explained by the personal interests and social networks of editor David Henry who was actively engaged in knowledge production about the South. This was transacted both through his editorship of the magazine and personally through his social networks and [probable] publishing in book form – and most certainly

⁶²⁶ Thomson, 2011.

reproducing in his magazine – the ‘anonymous’ voyage account already discussed in Chapter 4.

As the most popular journal of the eighteenth century - and a much cheaper, more accessible method of sampling the key ideas and literatures of the period than buying the original books, *The Gentleman's Magazine* is acknowledged as having a profound impact on the public sphere.⁶²⁷ Through its articles, letters and the deliberate selection of books chosen for review, it helped to signal what a “gentleman” should (and should not) be reading, thinking and discussing to ensure his active inclusion in polite society. In this way, the magazine was able to shape the interests and concerns of its readers and, through them, to influence polite society at large.

Taking up Thompson’s ideas on the role of travelling and writing as a means of gaining cultural capital, it is worth looking more closely at Henry as a skilled and influential editor. It seems reasonable to suggest that through his own interest in travel and the resultant geographically-oriented nature of his publications – along with his journalistic ability to spot a gap in the market - Henry played a significant part in establishing both his magazine, and the travel genre, as a way of cohering the self in uncertain times. Moreover, for those readers who couldn’t travel themselves - they could ‘buy’ a large degree of inferred cultural capital by acquiring geographical knowledge through his magazine. In this light, the role of the British Press – especially Henry and his *Gentleman's Magazine* – are foregrounded as agents shaping not just a geographical imaginary for the South in the public sphere, but in shaping the very identity of the British public as ‘proud’, ‘brave’ and ‘pioneering’ maritime imperial nation in the mid to late eighteenth century.

Further evidence for the role of the press in shaping not only public knowledge about the South but also its own identity, and the identity of the British public sphere, can be seen in Heyd’s analysis of the eighteenth century *Quidnunc*, discussed at length in Chapter 3 – but

⁶²⁷ Reitan, 1985:54; Donoghue, 1996:2; Greene, 1977:89, cited in Reitan, 1985:54

it is also evidenced through contemporary sources. Garrick's theatrical portrayal in *The Gamesters* (1758) [extracted at the top of Chapter 4] shows the news-obsessed Wilding in his drawing room with his newspaper and nephew, calling for an audience and excitedly expounding on the latest news about the nature of *terra incognita*. This scene not only underscores the value of *terra incognita* as an embedded - and widely used and understood - cultural meme in eighteenth century society, it (literally) acts out in microcosm Thompson's argument that geographical knowledge of far-off places confers kudos to the one doing the 'telling' – whether that is the traveller him- or herself, the newspaper or magazine, or the reader re-producing that knowledge. The fact that Wilding becomes the butt of his nephew and friend's teasing derision for his over-excited flight of fancy merely adds further weight to the assertion that the desire to acquire – and re-transmit – geographical knowledge as a means of accruing cultural capital was regarded by the 'tellers' and their audiences as an important part of their personal and social identity.

The highly pro-active role of the press in the (re)production of geographical knowledge about the South has been revealed by the close reading of the archive using the six cross-cutting themes⁶²⁸ to expose the conscious and unconscious use of literary mechanisms for stabilising knowledge-at-a-distance and cohering a press and public 'identity'. As previously discussed at length in Chapters 4 and 5, these mechanisms include a number of strategies: the use of the first person narrative and graphic supporting materials to shrink the reader's perception of the distance between 'here' and 'there' and 'witness' and 'audience'; the creation of a community of readers through deliberately selective and targeted content [such as Solander's science for Wheble's female audience], plus inclusive linguistic devices, flattery and the encouragement of dialogue through the letters pages; the creation of a culture of urgency and imperative for knowledge through use of 'scoops', gossip, and sensationalised stories playing into existing tropes within society; the anchoring of slippery 'new' geographical knowledge to knowledge or 'experts' already established as credible and mainstream to confer derived authority; the deliberate stoking

⁶²⁸ These were: the control of information, the credibility of information, the information or knowledge *per se*, the utility of that knowledge, (re)making sense of the world in the light of new knowledge, and the transformative power of that knowledge.

of long-running heated exchanges and conflicts by publishing extreme, often oppositional views; and finally the use of the micro-geographies of the page to ‘position’ a selected story and signal its importance, either as essential, mainstream news or literally ‘at the margins’ of public relevance, or similarly establishing ideological and geographical tension by immediately juxtaposing rival points of view or advertisements side by side on the page.

The fact that these mechanisms were being employed across the breadth of the periodicals being analysed – and that they continued being used over the entire timeframe of the research – suggests that editors regarded them as successful strategies for maintaining or even growing an audience, and binding readers into a shared and interdependent identity. Although a detailed look at circulation patterns and numbers for the different periodicals concerned was beyond the scope of the study, in terms of the (re)production of geographical knowledge, the links between different periodicals, different editorial styles and competing circulation patterns would be an area worthy of further study to gauge which strategies were the most successful.

Also worthy of more research are the vehemently contested ideas and relationships that were vented in the press through articles, letters and even advertisements. It has already been discussed in Chapter 5 how the press in the mid to late eighteenth century operated in terms of a competitive knowledge economy – battling to establish both the credibility and control of information, as well as the information *per se*. One such battle over the representation of the world in general and the putative South in particular is exemplified by the rivalry between the empiricists and the speculative theorists. The more vocal contributors and readers of both *The Gentleman’s Magazine* and the newspapers appear to fall in to these two broad camps – the empiricists who have emotionally and intellectually adopted an ‘Enlightenment’ perspective, based on knowing the world through empirical research, viz., through travel and experience, and those who derive their knowledge through theoretical ‘reason’ through studying classical and core maps and texts.

As discussed, this latter group is typified by Dalrymple and also by “ANTI-QUACK” who stresses that the Continent, while not yet discovered, “must” exist “according to the laws of nature”.⁶²⁹ By self-identifying thus, “ANTI-QUACK” consciously connects himself with an intellectual trajectory that goes back at least a hundred years to Dandridge’s seventeenth century medical reactionaries fighting against the new breed of empirical doctors trying to access their profession. In many ways, this positions the *anti-quacks* and *Quidnuncs* as antitheses of one another, with *Quidnuncs* obsessively attracted to anything new(s) and the *anti-quacks* rejecting modernity. However, with the press necessarily embedded in ‘Enlightenment’ and its focus on ‘new’ empirical – and frequently sensational – information, all but the loudest (and most entertaining) *anti-quack* voices are drowned out in the flood of geographical knowledge about the South that arrives in Britain in the two ‘spikes’ of 1773 and 1775-7.

The relationship between the press and Enlightenment empiricism is thus mutually dependent and self-sustaining: the growing newspaper industry needs ‘news’ from an expanding world, and the empiricists working at a distance need a mechanism for ensuring their results have a legitimising and credible platform back home. In the same way that the modern media has changed the nature of warfare, the technology and communication networks of the eighteenth century press fundamentally affect the type of information entering the new knowledge economy – evidenced in microcosm by Cook’s very conscious writing for an audience in his *Resolution* journal after the bastardisation of his *Endeavour* journal. The clear focus of contemporary newspapers on ‘knowing the world’ helped to lock Britain into the centre of a global web of emotional and imaginative connections or Pratt’s “planetary consciousness” – a process that was textually and graphically assisted by the popular press. Building on the work of Reitan, it is possible to see the way that the maps, charts and ‘views’ published in *The Gentleman’s Magazine* – and the growing cartographic literacy evidenced by the importance of maps in books and

⁶²⁹ *Morning Chronicle and London Advertiser*, London, 20/7/1773, Issue No 1297: Business

magazines *per se* - helped develop Britain's territoriality, laying the imaginative ground work for the imperial projects to follow.

Of course, the irony is that in the fever for new information about the world and about the 'true' nature of the South in particular, the press played a fundamental role in the demise – not only of the idea of a Great Southern Continent – but 2000 years of interest in what lay beneath the convergence at all. This process of inevitable destruction will be addressed in the final assessment of the power and durability of the Continental myth that follows.

Aim 3: To assess why the Continental myth was so enduringly powerful - up to the point of its demolition - and the wider reasons for its ultimate demise following Cook's non-discovery.

The enduring power of the Continental myth makes it one of the greatest – and fascinating - geographical ideas in two thousand years of Western intellectual history, and one of the most high-prized landscapes since the discovery of the Americas opened up the geographical imagination into the possibilities for finding – and controlling – New Worlds. As discussed in Chapters 1 and 2, for most of its imaginative lifetime, ideas about the nature of the far south were carefully controlled by powerful elites within the academy, the Church, royal courts, the navy and the philosophical societies. Testament to the power of the idea that land existed, and most likely habitable land, too, an enormous Continent was logically reasoned to exist, fulfilling the demands of counterpoise theory – and equally importantly because people *wanted* it to exist – as another Asia or New World, for the purposes of trade, religious conquest or colonisation. From the sixteenth century onwards, the southern oceans were opened up by state-sponsored and – by the seventeenth century - privateering explorers - in pursuit of the Continental dream. It was only with the cultural and philosophical changes wrought by the escalating Enlightenment that the public had its first chance to engage actively in ideas about the Continent, either directly as part of a growing number of voyages to the South from the mid eighteenth century onwards, or vicariously through the increasingly curious outward gaze of the press.

To modern eyes, the mid eighteenth century belief in a land of great extent, of fifty million population, the discovery of which would make Britain the most powerful nation on earth, seems more like one of Don Quixote's phantasmagorical landscapes than anything rooted in possibility. At first glance, it certainly appears incompatible with the rational discipline of Enlightenment 'scientific' thinking. However, as the evidence in the newspapers and magazines from the mid to late eighteenth century clearly demonstrates, it was not only reasonable to consider a Continent might exist, the Continental meme had spilled out from the rarefied spaces of Establishment control to become firmly embedded in mainstream public conversation – in many regards, *increasing* its power at the very time it could, perhaps even should, have been treated with scientific scepticism.

Here, then, lies the key to understanding why the Continental myth was so enduringly powerful: it was – for a while at least - able to function in – and be fed by - both systems of knowledge operating in the mid to late eighteenth century, that is, traditional speculative logic, and the 'new' system of empiricism. The "certainty" of "ANTI-QUACK" and his fellow reactionaries that "*according to the laws of nature there [m]ust be such a continent*" [emphasis added] neatly sums up the speculative position: that the Continent exists because it is entirely reasonable for it to do so. What is more, the fact that it has not yet been discovered is due to a failure of the empirical scientists to do their job properly and rigorously compass the globe in search of it. This explains the vitriolic attack by Dalrymple that Cook had shirked his moral as well as professional duty by displaying a gross lack of curiosity about the South, leading to him coming back "in ignorance".⁶³⁰

For the empiricists, including the King, Lord Sandwich, the Royal Society, David Henry, Hawkesworth and Cook, it was only by experimentation – that is, exploration in the field – that the debate over the Continent's existence would be finally laid to rest. That is why they actively pursued the project to explore the South Seas. However, while it is easy to understand the desire of the speculative theorists to uncover the putative Continent with all

⁶³⁰ Review: 'Journal of the Resolution's Voyage on Discovery...', *The Gentlemen's Magazine*, 45, Dec 1775, p588.

its rich opportunities, it is worth pausing to consider what it represented to the empiricists. As discussed in Chapters 4 and 5, analysis of newspapers and *The Gentleman Magazine* reveals a visible and driving concern on behalf of both journalists and readers with the concept of ‘utility’. Indeed, this preoccupation was so stark during the initial scoping of the archive that it became one of the six cross-cutting themes for close-reading and research. The utility of the putative Continent for the empirically-minded in society is framed in the archive by what the explorers might find in the South: for the sailors, this boils down (at least in the published sources) to sex and worldly experience – the cultural capital that raises their status in society, often inscribed by tattoos, scars and sunburn⁶³¹; for the scientists, this utility is greater knowledge of the world and a context for understanding the its complex functioning as a global system; and, finally, for the State this is the twin imperatives of trade and empire.

While it is simple to understand the appeal of the Continental idea for those in power, the motivations for the public to join the philosophical debates over its existence are less transparent. Some of the reason might lie in “X”’s demand for greater public involvement in Government decision-making – especially decisions about the politics and peopling the emerging South that will cost the public dear; some of the motivation lies in the almost universal acknowledgement that curiosity about the world is not only acceptable in a way it had not been a century before, but that it is now considered a *moral necessity* within polite society. Further reasons include the fact that, of itself, a Continent is an attractive and easily-understandable idea which has value as the prism for indulging an interest in either science – such as “An Electrician”’s fascination with the Aurora Borealis and Australis – or the South Sea tropes of exotica and desire that supply the “gentleman from the Endeavour” – and his audience – with so much pleasure.

The analyses within Chapters 4 and 5 of the specific *mechanisms* by which the press (re)produced knowledge within the public sphere are also pertinent here: these serve to

⁶³¹ See Heffernan, D, cited in Withers, 2004:327.

embed and invest the public in the wider debate about the Continent – and thus contribute to its enduring memetic power. Furthermore, as well as the function of the press in knowledge (re)production and distribution *per se* – the press also plays an important cultural role as a facilitator and host for an increasing conversation within the public sphere about the shape, nature and workings of society, conversations that are also on-going between the public and the other pillars of the State.

This active engagement of the public at a variety of levels is an important point and one that has been all too frequently neglected in scholarly enquiries into the policies of Government, science and the navy's role in exploration. Dodds's contention that "Within polar studies, there has been a tendency to be remarkably uncritical of polar exploration in terms of thinking about its importance in shaping public culture, ideas about nature, and national identity"⁶³² is therefore not only valid but, it could be argued, does not go far enough: the relationship between the State, exploration and the public is a dialectical relationship, with the public voice growing in strength over the course of the century and the Continental South acting as a prism for wider debates about society and the public's role within it. Indeed, far from the new factual 'knowledge' in the public sphere being handed down *ex cathedra* from the field or 'armchair' to the printing press by the professional/intellectual elites most directly involved with its production, the active participation by readers in the letters pages and by crewmembers unofficially publishing their voyage accounts firmly supports the assertion that the putative South was a publicly constructed – and rigorously contested – cultural meme of far-reaching importance in eighteenth century society.

Signs of the public's growing self-confidence in connecting with worldly matters in general – and the nature of the South in particular - are clearly visible in the press through the increasing use (and trumpeting) of maps, charts and illustrations evidenced throughout the archive's timeframe. These materials privileged the public with the eye of the 'expert'

⁶³² Dodds, 1997:156.

witness, often literally and metaphorically inscribing austral space with British (and in the case of Buache, occasionally French) imperial ambition. As discussed earlier in the chapter, these materials therefore serve a triple function, providing not only the means of better knowing the world and the mechanism for territorially internalising unknown or hard-to-access places within an imperial imagination, but – in the knowledge economy of the mid to late eighteenth century - they also provide the readers and press with valuable cultural capital through which to elevate their own status and authority. In this regard, the public has a vested interest in engaging with the debate over the putative South: just like Garrick's *Quidnunc* and the reader who self-styles as "A PATAGONIAN", engaging with the meme helps the public to (re)construct a 'cultured', 'expert' and globalised identity.

The dialectic relationship between the public, the press and exploration therefore, played a significant role in sustaining the Continent as a powerful and ever-present mainstream idea in mid to late eighteenth century Britain. Sometimes, for the Establishment elites, this growing role of wider public engagement had positive benefits – such the son of a farm labourer leading one of the most successful Admiralty expeditions the world had ever seen; at other times, public engagement was less comfortable – for example, the battles between Stanfield Parkinson and Admiralty – then the Forsters and the Admiralty - over who controls 'new' knowledge. However, like the parent of a troublesome teenager, the Establishment ultimately had no option but to accept the fact their child was growing into an adult with a right to express an often loud and dissenting voice.

However, herein lay the seeds of the Continent's ultimate death: whereas the speculative knowledge system based itself on scholarly theories, as the eighteenth-century exploration project progressed, those theories were increasingly having to incorporate the findings of witnessed, empirical fact. As demonstrated by the sharp journalistic attacks on Cook's first voyage identified in Chapters 4 and 5, the struggling speculative belief system was at first shored up by assertions that the explorers had looked in the wrong place, or were not curious enough – assertions of an inherent moral/human fallibility in the empirical method. However, the allegations were proven untrue on Cook's second voyage into the South

Seas: the forensic exploration using Dalrymple's (and other) charts to hunt down the alleged sightings of land – and prove them fantasies or of worthless utility – propelled the speculative system of knowing the world towards inevitable collapse.

Of course, the simple answer to the question of what lay behind the demise of the Continental idea is that Cook proved it did not exist: his compassing of the globe in high latitudes proved the fantasy of a Continent was just that – a fantasy. But Dodds's acknowledgement of the ways geographical knowledge becomes enmeshed with in the public's imaginative and self-identifying structures underlines that, in practice, there is nothing simple about moving from one set of beliefs to another (that a Continent does, then does not, exist), let alone from one belief system to another (from speculative scholarship to empirical science); instead, there is the 'messiness' of different human beliefs and experience. Again, this is clearly demonstrated in the archive: Cook's non-discovery is eagerly covered by the press in two ways – both of which encapsulate the end of the Continental story: firstly, the sensational 'shock of the new' revealed in the field, and, secondly, the more rational response of the empirical project of exploration which urges imperial attention to shift northwards in order to gain the utility it seeks - and needs - to justify its expansion.

And yet, as discussed in Literature Review in Chapter 2 - and evidenced strongly in the analyses of Chapters 4 and 5, at the point of its victory over speculative knowledge production, empiricism revealed its inherent flaws – that even in supposedly 'rational' science, the *irrational* human self (and indeed, the audience) is ever-present. In the case of the ice-fields that terminated the Continental project, the sensational nature of reporting is evidence of a geographical imagination in existential crisis, unable to reconcile the scene with the idea of a Utopian New World waiting to be discovered, or even what was known from prior experience in the Arctic or Southern Ocean. The reports from the ice fields underline the struggle of the scientific observers to process what was around them – and bring to the fore the *emotional* engagement with 'land'-scape. This idea is supported by the Royal Museums Greenwich's 2004 discovery - by x-ray - of the oldest ever oil painting

of the Antarctic, executed by *Resolution* artist William Hodges but then overpainted by him with a view of Pickersgill Harbour in Dusky Sound, New Zealand.⁶³³ This evidence of Hodges actively ‘editing’ the geographic imaginary he was bringing home and deliberately transforming an uncomfortable, shocking scene into a more comfortable, comprehensible bucolic landscape – in every sense more saleable to the British public - underscores the Antarctic’s lack of contemporary value/utility as an imperial region. Meanwhile, as Thompson asserts, there are no hard boundaries between the discourses of ‘Enlightenment’ and the more sentimental ‘Romantic’ literatures – this was a period of flux as writers – and artists - straddled the liminal zone between old and the new ways of seeing, maintaining an agenda that is both scientific/intellectual *and* narrative/autobiographical.⁶³⁴

As discussed at length in Chapters 2 and 4, this concept of the liminal zone as a transformative space where strange things happen is clearly seen in Cook’s crossing of the Antarctic Circle. This crossing is the performance of a rite of passage, for the travellers themselves and for their audience back home. Just as Fumiko and Williams conceive the blind *itako* as mediating the liminal space between the earthly and godly realms of the sacred mountain at Ozorean⁶³⁵, – ‘crossing the Circle’ ushers not only Cook and his men but the Western imaginary into another world. This world is so entirely ‘other’ to the men’s geographical imagination that – despite inscribing their scientific cosmography on their maps, logs and journals - they struggle to find the words to make sense of what they find: far from the promised Continent, this is a gothic landscape of grotesque forms and spectral creatures that confounds the observers – and mesmerises audiences back home.

⁶³³ Royal Museums Greenwich website on Hodges:
<http://www.rmg.co.uk/researchers/collections/websites/hodges/william-hodges-1744-1797-the-art-of-exploration>, downloaded 21:40, 6/1/2015

⁶³⁴ Thomson, 2011:118.

⁶³⁵ Fumiko and Williams, 2001: 399–440.

But after that – nothing. The archive falls silent.

Despite being first across the line, this analysis underscores the fact that empirical science had won a pyrrhic victory: with no public perception of economic or geostrategic utility from the ice fields of the South, the public and imperial gaze - as mediated by the press - moved on, shifting to the northern reaches of the Pacific and the possibility of new discoveries of land and the ice-free Northwest Passage. The lack of further press interest in the ‘new’ South appears to corroborate Carroll’s contention that the Empire’s withdrawal from the physical Antarctic space – for the time being, at least - is an important stage in the control of polar landscapes, allowing them to be claimed imaginatively by the literatures of the Romantic period instead of tainted by commercial or corrupt imperial interests.⁶³⁶ Scientifically and geo-strategically, the new icy conception of the south had little to offer: far from it being a land of opportunity, it was now a landscape of irrelevance in everything other than books, poems and art.

The evidence from the analysis of the press in Chapters 4 and 5 therefore shows that ultimate demise of the Continent was not just the result of travels through the world’s oceans but of travels through the different systems of knowledge - and belief - at play in the British public sphere, manifested through the changing words, writings and ideas of the mid to late eighteenth century. Cook, the scientific navigator who was born and worked in the Age of Reason, was transformed by 1777 into a celebrity in the Age of Romance; as for the fantastic Great Southern Continent – the geographical idea that had endured for over two millennia - that was now nothing more than a footnote in Western intellectual history.

⁶³⁶ Carroll, 2015:37-40.

Research contribution and potential areas for further study

A key contribution of the research reported here is its focus on a previously poorly-studied area of geographical and intellectual history, offering a significant body of work in the geography and history of ideas. Within that, the work explores in detail a key moment when British society was abruptly transitioning from one set of geographical beliefs to another. As demonstrated in the Literature Review in Chapter 2, to date there has been a general paucity of work exploring in detail the intellectual life of the fantastic Great Southern Continent *per se*, or in its cartographic, textual or graphic form, along with its role and function in British society and culture. Even rarer is work that acknowledges the contemporary validity of belief in an austral continent in the eighteenth century or work that interrogates the nature, form and extent of those beliefs. These themes and ideas lie at the very heart of this thesis. While Hiatt's forensic study on mapping the antipodes stands largely alone in scholarship⁶³⁷, it focuses on the imaginative career of the Continent up to 1600 and thus limits any consideration of the 'end game' of the Continent into the eighteenth century. Similarly, works focusing on the polar imaginary and history by Balch⁶³⁸, Matheson⁶³⁹, Cameron⁶⁴⁰ and even more recent authors like Hansom and Gordon⁶⁴¹ tend to focus on the Heroic Era of the nineteenth century, touching only briefly - if at all - on the origins of the polar landscape in the Western imagination in Enlightenment and early Romantic eras. As a result, there is an acknowledged lack of attention on the Continent's twilight years in the Age of Empire, its ultimate death, and its transition in the geo-imaginary to the icy Antarctic. This thesis directly addresses these deficits additionally providing a detailed analysis of the role of the press in the production of knowledge about the putative and emerging South, an area that has been little covered in existing scholarship.

⁶³⁷ Hiatt, 2008; a more general history can be found in Stallard's *Antipodes* (Melbourne; Monash University Publishing), 2016.

⁶³⁸ Balch, 1902.

⁶³⁹ Matheson, 1932.

⁶⁴⁰ Cameron, 1974.

⁶⁴¹ Hansom and Gordon, 1998

Parker's recent work on Pacific geographic knowledge in Britain from 1669-1768 is an example of current academic interest in the creation of new geographies that integrate their physical, memetic, material and relational forms.⁶⁴² Drawing on portrayals of the Pacific prior to the voyages of Captain Cook, a transnational focus is adopted to interrogate how societies integrated new spaces into existing geographical imaginaries. Exploring the "informal, interdependent ties"⁶⁴³ between the Admiralty, Royal Society and the private map-making industry in the creation of the new geographic imaginary of the Pacific, Parker's primary focus is on the geographical imaginary of a 'real' geographic space. In contrast, a major contribution of this thesis is that it sets out to track the geographical imaginary *of* the imaginary – the fantastic Continent that never actually existed, other than in the mind, on maps or on sheets of paper.

This thesis also makes a novel contribution by moving away from 'official' or establishment knowledge and instead explores the diversity of actors involved in the production of *public* geographical knowledge – including newspaper and magazine editors, journalists, reader-contributors, expert-contributors, map-makers, printers, politicians and political parties, distribution networks, and even lawyers – and the ways they interacted on and off the page. By engaging with the role of Grub Street in the creation and negotiation of geographies through the example of the Southern Continent (in all its varied textual, map and letter/'conversational' forms), this thesis demonstrates how the mid-eighteenth century British press constituted a significant, dynamic and (re)active agent in the construction of eighteenth century 'geography' in its broadest sense, and, in particular, in the construction of the geography of the Great Southern Continent in all its shifting forms.

This exploration of the less formal sites where geography was being made in the eighteenth century and the processes by which geographical knowledge was being received, (re)produced and (re)transmitted – described by Keighren *et al* as knowledge's

⁶⁴² Parker, 2016.

⁶⁴³ Parker, 2016:iv.

“travels into print”⁶⁴⁴ - directly answers Withers’s clarion cry to “consider the popular and public engagement with geography and geographers”,⁶⁴⁵ and contributes to scholarship by culminating in a focussed interrogation of the role of the eighteenth century popular press in the (re)production of geographical knowledge.

This has been tackled for the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries by Riffenburgh’s study of exploration, the press and geographical discovery from 1860-1910⁶⁴⁶ but – until now - it has not been attempted in any substantive form for the eighteenth century. This thesis represents a first step in addressing this particular deficit and adds to the canon of existing work in the historical geographies of geography’s undertakings by scholars including Withers, Mayhew and Ogborn.⁶⁴⁷

The timeframe of this thesis also covers the infancy of the press and the burgeoning “news craze” (with the concomitant rise of the *Quidnunc*) as a significant new force within British society⁶⁴⁸ - a force that visibly experimented with the mechanisms of its power, as discussed in detail in Chapters 4 and 5. What emerges is a story of structural and strong editorial influence that actively shapes the narrative of exploration and ‘discovery’ in the contemporary public sphere, often mediated through the letters-to-the editor - a small but significant microcosm of the ‘Republic of Letters’ discussed in the scholarship detailed above by Ogborn, Withers and Mayhew. However, as discussed earlier in this chapter, this new force in British society also had the power to define what was, as was not, considered ‘news’. The detailed case studies in Chapters 4 and 5 of how the press dealt with the general themes *of*, and particular examples *in*, ‘discovery’ and exploration offer a significant contribution to scholarship in terms of practical examples and valuable insights into how the public sphere helped to define what was considered ‘geographical

⁶⁴⁴ Keighren *et al*, 2015.

⁶⁴⁵ Withers, 2004:332.

⁶⁴⁶ Riffenburgh, 1993.

⁶⁴⁷ See especially: Withers, 1995; Withers, 2004; Withers, 2006; Mayhew, 1998; Mayhew, 2000; Ogborn, 2002; Ogborn, 2004

⁶⁴⁸ Heyd, 2015:59-84.

knowledge' in the eighteenth century, and how this knowledge was then (re)constructed, (re)produced and used by society at large. Parallels also exist with Riffenburgh's analysis of the relationship between Heroic Era exploration and the press barons a century later, suggesting that his model could be extended back into the eighteenth century to further examine the personal influence of – and relationships between – influential figures such as Sandwich, Hawkesworth, Henry, Dalrymple and Stanfield Parkinson. For example, how did different editors, publishers, journalists and audiences affect the types of news that were being reported, and the *way* they were being reported? These key players straddled the eighteenth-century press, the public *and* the contemporary structures of political and geographical power. Therefore, there is much future scope for mapping the complex networks of influence linking the three. This would be particularly valuable for the more provocative, 'spikey' figures like Stanfield Parkinson and Hawkesworth whose intervention in the public sphere generated a violent reaction characterized by Parker as "the Pacific paper wars".⁶⁴⁹ While such a detailed focus is beyond the scope of this thesis, greater depth and understanding could be added to the production of geographical knowledge in the eighteenth century public sphere and the various transmission mechanisms operating within it.

One area only hinted at in the current archive and explored briefly in Chapter 5 is the issue of editorial and societal decisions over gendered, 'appropriate' knowledge. In the case of the advertised *Wheble's Lady's Magazine*⁶⁵⁰, the offering to its female readers from the *Endeavour* voyage was Dr Solander's natural history musings instead of Hawkesworth's sexualised South Sea 'travelogue'. Given the dearth of research on gendered responses to polar exploration in the eighteenth century⁶⁵¹, the selection by editors of material deemed suitable for their audience – and female audiences in particular – offers a fascinating prism through which to explore deep-set cultural ideas and prejudices, and would be a tantalizing focus for additional research. This issue also intersects with Parker's work on the different

⁶⁴⁹ Parker, 2016:320.

⁶⁵⁰ Public Advertiser, London, 2/11/1771, Issue No 11548: Classified Ads

⁶⁵¹ See the limited discussion in Bloom, Lisa: *Gender on Ice: American Ideologies of Polar Expeditions*, (Minneapolis; University of Minneapolis Press) 1993.

types of reader within the eighteenth century public sphere, including those reading for general interest and those reading to accrue specific factual detail. While it was never the intention of the current research to delve into a broad reception study of the eighteenth-century press, a deeper analysis would yield insights into the different groups within the reading public and the relationships they had with emerging geographical knowledge.

This thesis also contributes to an understanding of knowledge production in the eighteenth century in terms of its analysis and discussion of the role of maps. In his seminal paper of 1963⁶⁵², Tooley called for a more coherent cartobibliography to be constructed and analysed for maps of *Terra Australis* – a *cri de coeur* explored in Chapter 2. While not specifically focused on the Southern Continent *per se*, Parker’s study of the production of the Pacific from 1669-1768 highlights the importance of maps and charts in the voyage accounts of the period, and the critical role they play in the construction of a Pacific imaginary. Pedley’s work on eighteenth century map-making in Europe also underscores how maps were an essential component not only of statecraft in the eighteenth century but also of professional, commercial and public cultures, bringing the furthest reaches of the world into a European purview.⁶⁵³ Similarly, as discussed in Chapter 2 and 4, Reitan adds valuable context by locating maps and charts in *The Gentleman’s Magazine* as a crucial part of Britain’s territorial ambitions operating in the public sphere of the Enlightenment in the early to mid-eighteenth century. In turn, the thesis advanced here builds upon this work by examining the role played by maps and texts in the popular press of the later period of 1760-1777, and offers a detailed case study of their powerful influence in the public knowledge construction and the geographical imagination.

This thesis contributes enhanced geographical understanding to the area of critical literary theory and analysis. Pratt’s influential corpus of work examines the “possibilities and perils” of writing in what she calls “‘contact zones,’ social spaces where disparate cultures

⁶⁵² Tooley, 1963:1-10

⁶⁵³ Pedley (lecture) 2017, and introduction to the *History of Cartography* series, Vol. 4: *Cartography in the European Enlightenment*, Edney, Matthew & Pedley, Mary (eds) (forthcoming).

meet, clash, and grapple with each other, often in highly asymmetrical relations of domination and subordination”.⁶⁵⁴ However, in the case of the imagined South, the ‘peopling’ of the Continent is purely an extension of the fictive landscape: as discussed in the detailed analyses of Chapters 4 and 5, the locals *only* exist in their imaginative form as a projection of the South Sea trope of the ‘exotic’ (and for women, sexually available), trading ‘Other’. The study of the fantastic Continent’s fantastic *peoples* therefore adds a novel twist into an already complicated imperial discourse in the broader study of ‘travel literatures’ of the period, an area beyond the primary concern of this research but one ripe for future study.

Finally, a comment by Dodds in the context of Scott’s early twentieth century exploration has stark relevance for any study of British knowledge production about the polar regions. “Why”, he argues, “are the English, as opposed to the Scots, Irish or Welsh, so fascinated by things polar?”.⁶⁵⁵ As far as the archive allowed, this research has tried to take a *Britain-wide* view of the press’s relationship with geographical knowledge about the imagined South by examining the entire extent of Burney Collection periodicals for the period 1760-1777. While most of the resultant newspapers – and certainly *The Gentleman’s Magazine* – were London-focused, as discussed in Chapter 3, there were other regional voices represented including Dublin, Hereford, and Chester, along with the loud voice of Scotsman, Alexander Dalrymple. However, it would be a useful and fascinating area of future study to interrogate how far there were differing national, regional or local geographies of geographical knowledge within the catch-all term of the ‘British’ public – or even how and if the term ‘British’ could be broken down by social strata or other differentiations by self-identifying groups. Perhaps only by achieving this more nuanced study can the relationship between the press, the public and the wider relationship the world be truly understood.

⁶⁵⁴ Pratt, 2008:4.

⁶⁵⁵ Dodds, 1997:157.

This thesis underlines the complexity of how humans imaginatively intersect with known and unknown landscapes – and the transformative power of the liminal zone between the two. What becomes clear is that there is no such thing as an ‘empty’ landscape – or, at least, a landscape empty of meaning. The case of the Great Southern Continent shows how this putative land has been summoned up in many varied forms: as a monstrous ‘Other’-world, a land of great extent, of gold and diamond mines, of “Bastardy...and Blasphemy”⁶⁵⁶, of sexual pleasure and as a kind of hell frozen over. Geographers and historians have been slow to catch on to the imaginative potential of the traveller crossing from one world to another; critical literary theory has provided much of the theoretical rubric for making sense of new spaces in a move that focuses as much on ourselves as the ‘Other’ and much of the most exciting work now comes from travel writing studies. As the truism goes, “You travel to get away from it all but you forget that you take yourself there”. Whether the journey is inscribed in geographical space, in the imaginative recesses of the brain or the space on the page, we cannot prevent ourselves bleeding into our new environment, or inhaling its air deep into our lungs; and what we observe is not an ‘empirical truth’ but a Fata Morgana – a concept itself arising from myth and legend⁶⁵⁷, inverting the essence of ‘here’ and projecting it ‘there’ but always steeped in the sorceress’s enchanting brew of history, power and desire.

⁶⁵⁶ See Letter from “WILL RAMBLE”: *Public Advertiser*, London, 20/9/1773, Issue No 11988: News.

⁶⁵⁷ The term Fata Morgana derives from the Italian for “Fairy Morgan” – a reference to the sorceress, Morgan Le Fay – evil sister to the godly King Arthur.

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