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The Pioneer

This month marks two Cook anniversaries. On 4 August 1770 HMB *Endeavour* finally sailed from the Endeavour River, where it had been beached for six weeks for repairs after inadvertently ‘discovering’ the Great Barrier Reef in June. Then, on 22 August 1770 at Possession Island in the Torres Strait, Cook reputedly took possession of the east coast for Britain, (a claim challenged by Margaret Cameron-Ash, guest speaker at the 2019 Dunbar Lunch).¹

These events took place 250 years ago, as did Lieutenant James Cook’s earlier landing at Botany Bay on 29 April 1770, and there were big plans for a commemorative circumnavigation of the continent by the *Endeavour* replica, until they were scuttled by Covid-19. Just in time to beat the coronavirus curfew, the Club marked the Cook Sestercentennial with a magnificent dinner and memorabilia exhibition in March, as reported upon in this issue. Less laudably, but probably inevitably, several clusters of the dispossession pandemic have since infected a lot of air time and column inches, questioning the appropriateness of Eurocentric monuments, arguing about the continent’s being “settled” as opposed to “conquered” and revisiting the semantic debate about whether Cook “discovered” its east coast.

He certainly discovered it if the events of 1770 are seen in the context of European exploration infused with its scientific perspective. Cook’s foray into the South Pacific was an extension of a Royal Society expedition to Tahiti to observe the once-in-120-years transit of the planet Venus across the face of the sun. The size of the solar system was one of the puzzles of the 18th century and Edmund Halley (of Comet fame) had reasoned that, by noting the start and stop times of the transit from widely spaced locations on Earth, astronomers could calculate the distance to

Venus. So Cook was on a mission, first of *scientific* discovery, but with instructions thereafter to “search between Tahiti and New Zealand”... a part of the globe so poorly explored that mapmakers could not agree if there was a giant continent there or not ... “for a Continent or Land of great extent.” Thus Cook’s quest for *terra australis incognita*, the “*unknown* southern land,” was in order that its existence (or not) would be no longer “unknown.” To deny this is to deny that the era of discovery, which grew out of the Age of Enlightenment, made colonisation of the Australian land mass inevitable, and not necessarily by the British for, as Margaret Cameron-Ash reminded us, French explorer Louis Bougainville had crossed the Pacific a year before Cook, and La Pérouse arrived in Botany Bay within days of the First Fleet.

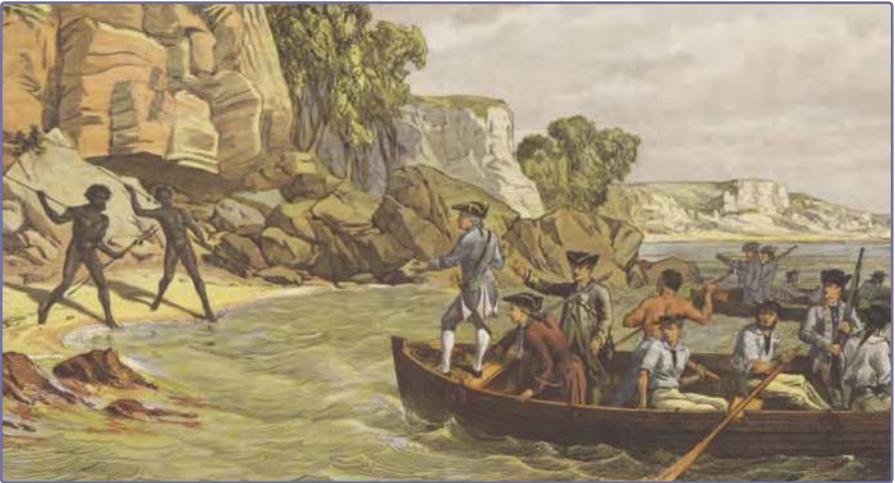
Yet pushing back against the aura around Cook have been the culture warriors who would have him reviled as a racist rather than revered as a navigator and cartographer. In a tendentious talk to commemorate the International Day for Monuments and Sites in 2018, City of Sydney historian Dr Lisa Murray implied that graffiti denouncing “genocide” which had been sprayed on Cook’s statue in Hyde Park should have been left in place to symbolise “the changing meaning of the statue [as a] symbol [of] colonisation and dispossession ... *more so than [by] Arthur Phillip and the First Fleet*” [emphasis added].² This last assertion is difficult to follow. It *was* the First Fleet which launched European settlement of the east coast of the continent and, as Professor Bain Attwood of Monash University points out, “if the British government had not planted a colony in New South Wales relatively soon after Cook’s claiming of possession, its claim could have been overridden by another imperial power.”³

So is this elevation of Cook to the front line of the history wars reasonable? It is not unreasonable that in the light of reappraisal of the historical record in recent decades we should revise the one-time primary school perception that the starting point for Australian history is Cook’s arrival, as depicted in John Gilfillan’s 1857 fanciful imagining of the taking possession of the land: looking more like a ridiculous re-enactment it incorporates uninterested picnickers, disinterested indigenes and a bare footed native drinks waiter! Cook himself is about to plant a flag which did not exist in 1770 (not until 1801 did the diagonal red bars of the saltire of St Patrick become part of the Union Flag).



J A Gilfillan: *Cook Taking Possession of the Australian Continent, 1770*
[National Library of Australia]

Closer to historical truth, as recorded by Sir Joseph Banks in his contemporaneous journal, this lithograph suggests the landing was no picnic for Cook and his crew.



Captain Cook's Landing at Botany Bay, 1770, Town & Country Journal,
21 December 1872 [National Library of Australia]

However, defacing (let alone demolishing) statues of historical figures makes no serious contribution to scholarship; it just supplants substance with Dr Murray's symbolism and does nothing to develop the former. Writing recently in *The Sydney Morning Herald*,⁴ Chip Le Grand points to the 1881 inscription on the statue of John Batman at Melbourne's Queen Victoria Markets, which referred to his founding of a settlement "on the site of Melbourne, *then unoccupied*" [emphasis added], as reflecting the then legal fiction that *terra nullius*, (land deemed to be uninhabited), applied to Australia. (The same can be said to explain the APC's adopting as its motto in 1910 *Primi in Terras Australes* or 'First into the South Lands.')

Inscriptions can be changed and the Batman monument's claim could not credibly co-exist with the High Court's *Mabo* judgment, which nullified "terra nullius" by recognizing that a system of law existed within an indigenous population which occupied the land before the arrival of British settlers. A 1992 rewording beneath Batman no longer denied prior inhabitancy of the land, but did so without disputing his role as settler, just as *Mabo* did not displace the traditional assumption that the Australian land mass was "settled" by Europeans.

Cook knew the continent was not uninhabited; he had noted seeing aboriginal fires as he sailed along the east coast⁵ and recorded in his journal that "the natives often reconnoitred us." He also knew that "on the western side I can make no new discovery, the honour of which belongs to Dutch navigators." It was his encounter with the eastern seaboard, which he was "confident was never seen or visited by an European before us," that put its perimeter on the map. To the pioneers, "remembered" in the recitation of the Pioneers' Grace at the Mullen Dinner and at every formal Pioneers' function, would fall the toil of filling in the map by unlocking what lay beyond that boundary.

John Lanser

- 1 *The Pioneer*, April 2020, pages 14-15
- 2 *Monuments and Memories: re-assessing colonial imperialism*, Jim Kerr Address to commemorate the International Day for Monuments and Sites, delivered at the launch of the Australian Heritage Festival, 2018.
- 3 Attwood, Bain: *On Possession Island*, 4 August 2020, <https://insidestory.org.au/on-possession-island/>
- 4 13-14 June 2020, at page 26.
- 5 *The Pioneer*, April 2020, page 4.

Captain Cook 250th Anniversary Dinner with John Mullen, AM

On 12 March 2020 the Pioneers' Room in the Royal Automobile Club of Australia housed a remarkable collection of items related to Captain James Cook. The occasion, the last APC function before the coronavirus shutdown, was a dinner to commemorate the 250th anniversary of Cook's voyage on HMB *Endeavour* which led to the British discovery and mapping of Australia's east coast. Addressing an audience of forty APC members and their guests, including former APC speakers Margaret Cameron-Ash (author of *Lying for the Admiralty*) and Warren Reed (author and former Australian Secret Intelligence Service agent), was John Mullen, AM, chairman of the Australian National Maritime Museum [ANMM] and ASX listed companies Telstra and Brambles Limited. With his wife Jacqui (also present at the dinner) John established the Silentworld Foundation and has been behind many recent discoveries of Australia's colonial era maritime heritage.



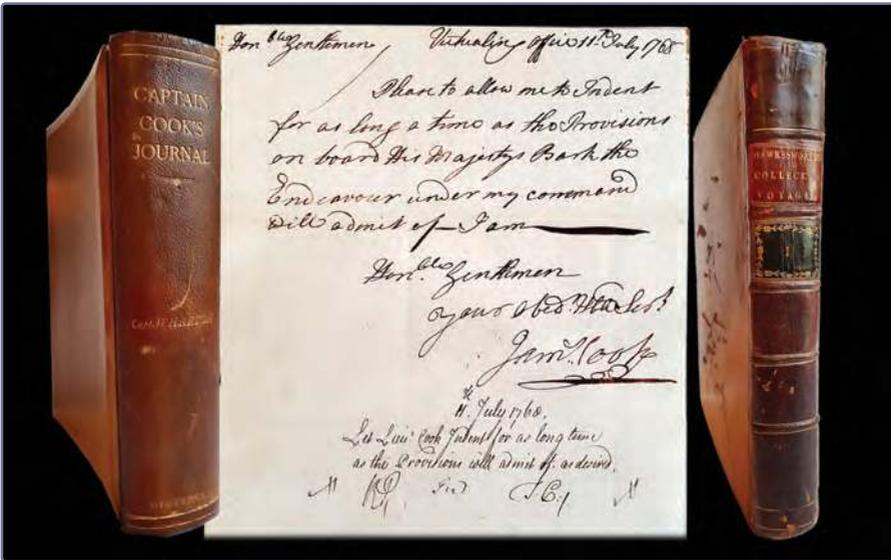
John Mullen, AM, addressing APC members and guests in the Pioneers' Room.

The Foundation

With Silentworld Foundation, John has put together one of Australia's foremost private collections of artefacts, artworks and historical documents of the period 'Cook to Macquarie'. Many of the Cook items were on display in the presence of our own original shipwright's plans of HMB *Endeavour*.

John spoke of the philanthropic work of his Foundation and entertained the audience with many adventures, including expeditions to find Philip Parker King's HMCS *Mermaid* and the twin wrecks of *Cato* and HMS *Porpoise* which (with Matthew Flinders aboard) foundered on uncharted reefs in 1803 in the south part of the Coral Sea. John described the exhilaration of diving on a wreck site, the fastidious planning required for a successful discovery and the many unsuccessful attempts. Needles and haystacks were mentioned.

The Foundation's interests are academic and its work is carried out to internationally recognised professional standards. Partnering and collaborating with institutions like the ANMM, universities and research institutes around the world has led to a number of noted successes. Finding the World War I Australian



Captain Cook's Journal; Cook's handwritten victualling letter dated 1768 requesting provisions for HMB *Endeavour*; and Hawkesworth's Collection of Voyages Vol 1.

submarine *AEI*, which was lost off the Duke of York Islands near Rabaul in October 1914, was amongst them. (This was the subject of our 2019 ANZAC day address by Renee Malliaros, a maritime archaeologist who is part of the Silentworld Foundation team.)

John's and Jacqui's love for colonial era maritime heritage is not limited to the underwater, as their purchase and restoration of the steam yacht *Ena* witnesses. Finding her in derelict condition tucked away in a forgotten part of Sydney Harbour, the Mullens' journey of enthusiastic restoration with an eye to exquisite historical detail has brought this beautiful piece of Sydney's maritime history back to life. John narrated the extraordinary adventures of SY *Ena*, generating a new found respect for the integral part she has played in Sydney's and Australia's maritime heritage. Initially a pleasure boat on Sydney Harbour and Pittwater for the upper class, she became the Royal Australian Navy auxiliary patrol vessel HMAS *Sleuth* in World War 1 in the waters around Torres Strait and Thursday Island, then a training ship tender based in Sydney. After disposal by the Navy she returned to private use as a Tasmanian trader, then a trawling and scallop fishing vessel based out of Hobart. Having sunk in the D'Entrecasteau Channel in 1981, the yacht (then known as *Aurore*) was re-floated and restored for the first time by a syndicate which included flamboyant stockbroker Rene Rivkin. As SY *Ena*, she circumnavigated Australia as part of the 1987 America's Cup campaign in Western Australia before becoming a private charter vessel and again slowly falling into disrepair. Now restored to her previous glory, SY *Ena* was gifted by the Mullens and their Silentworld Foundation to the ANMM to protect her for future generations and for the public to see and experience.

Of topical importance for the evening was Silentworld Foundation's involvement in the search for (and highly anticipated confirmation of) the final resting place of *Lord Sandwich* (formerly HMB *Endeavour*) which is amongst a cluster of vessels deliberately sunk by the British in Narragansett Bay, Rhode Island, in the defence of Newport during the American War of Independence in 1778.

John Mullen's presentation

Skipping through the better known elements of Cook's early life before being commissioned in 1766 as commander of *Endeavour*, John noted his work on trading ships in the Baltic Sea as a merchant navy apprentice, where he applied himself to the study of algebra, geometry, trigonometry, navigation and astronomy,

in New York for the Battle of Brooklyn (aka Battle of Long Island) in 1776, the biggest battle of the Revolutionary War. Finally moved to Newport, Rhode Island, for use as a prison ship, she was scuttled by the British in August 1778 in an effort to create a blockade when an attack by the French Fleet on Newport was imminent.

Entertaining the audience with his own adventures retracing the paths of Cook and *Endeavour*, John recounted flying by RAF transport plane carrying cargo to the remote Falkland Islands and his trips to Hawaii to visit the rocky beach where Cook died. Focussing on Cook's death, he noted that the official version, written by the surviving commanders, Clerke and King, showed Cook dying tragically despite the best efforts of the sailors and marines overwhelmed by the vastly superior numbers of warriors on the beach. However Clerke, commander of *Discovery* and of the expedition following Cook's death, destroyed virtually all other accounts after writing his own, and as all diaries were collected by the Navy upon return to England it is later written documents which have been relied upon to provide colour to the situation. The only eye-witness deposition to have survived, albeit with two missing pages, is an account likely written on board *Resolution* by midshipman Trevenen who was present in the ship's cutter only metres away from Cook. That manuscript, and later accounts such as by *Discovery's* surgeon, Samwell, provide compelling evidence of what is believed to be the full story of Cook's death. John canvassed a belief that Cook might well have been saved were it not for the indecision (or cowardice?) of Lieutenant Williamson, who was in command of the ship's launch which remained offshore with only the pinnace and a small cutter attempting to assist Cook and the marines on the beach. Many observers at the time apparently felt that the boats' covering fire had driven the Hawaiians back far enough for Cook to have been rescued if the launch had also pressed home the advantage. Williamson, it is said, claimed to have misunderstood his orders but his inaction, and the fact that he did not later rescue Cook's body from subsequent dismemberment, was considered culpable and his career faded away quickly after return to England. Pointing to the physical nature of the beach itself, which is quite rocky and would have made movement for Cook and his entourage difficult and dangerous, John theorised that Cook may actually have fallen and sustained a head injury, possibly fatal or at least contributing to his death. (There was comment from one or more present to the effect that death by savages "read" much better than a stumble on rocks!)

On display

As an avid collector, John's private museum includes an enormous array of Cook artefacts. On show that night were many original manuscripts, letters and memorabilia relating to Cook and we were treated to John's enthusiastic account of their acquisition and historical significance.

- An iron block of kentledge (ballast) and lead sheathing from the surrounds of the armament from HMB *Endeavour*. This weight was discarded from *Endeavour* when it ran aground on a reef near Cooktown on June 11th, 1770.
- The 12 page manuscript eye-witness account of Captain Cook's death, written by midshipman Trevenen, probably on board *Resolution*.
- An original letter - from the First Voyage of *Endeavour* - to Commissioner Rogers from Navy Board Officials dated 4th August, 1768. The letter dealt with two month's advance wages for *Endeavour's* crew, signed by Navy Board Officials Williams and Mason. Of particular note is that Cook is



The 12 page eyewitness account of Cook's death by midshipman Trevenen, 14 February 1779.

explicitly named in this letter: “desire you will send to her Commander, Lieutenant Cook, on his arrival at your Port, to make out and deliver to you proper Pay Lists ...”

- Original requisition letters - to the Lords of the Admiralty – in James Cook’s hand to draw the stores for *Endeavour* and for James Cook to draw the wages for *Adventure* and *Resolution*.
- Original autographed letters, signed by James Cook as master of *Earl of Pembroke*, by John Webber (artist on Cook’s third voyage), by midshipman Phillips (who shot Nuu’a who stabbed James Cook), William Ellis (surgeon on Cook’s third voyage), and Isaac Smith (Elizabeth Cook’s cousin and the first European person to step ashore at Botany Bay).
- First edition books of James Cook’s voyages by Hawkesworth, his third voyage by Lieutenant King and the Samwell account of his death.
- The Royal Society Medal in commemoration of Captain Cook.



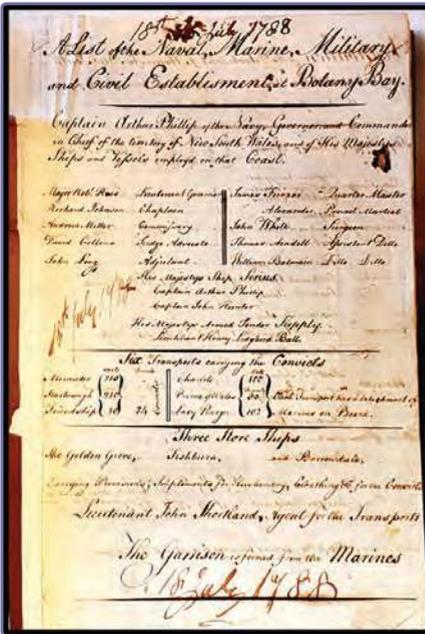
The Hawkesworth Collection of Voyages, Volume 3, features a fold-out page showing HMB *Endeavour* beached for repairs at Endeavour River, Far North Queensland, in 1770.



Commemorative medallions of Captain James Cook.



Commemorative porcelain busts of Captain James Cook and Sir Joseph Banks, produced by Wedgwood.



Handwritten documents from The First Fleet, dated 18 July, 1788.

- Commemorative porcelain busts of Captain James Cook and Sir Joseph Banks, produced by Wedgwood.
- Prints of engravings by George Carter and paintings by John Webber on the Death of James Cook. The 1784 George Carter engraving depicting the “Death of Captain James Cook, by the Indians of O’Why’ee, one of the Sandwich Islands,” is an alternative image to the famous painting by John Webber, an English artist who accompanied Cook on his third and final Pacific expedition. (see image above)
- Portraits of Sir Joseph Banks.
- A number of maps and charts providing examples of Cook’s cartographic skills.



Packing up after the triumph: L-R: Jenny Pratt, Jacqui Mullen, Jonathan Hancock, Shaun Kalms, John Mullen, AM, and APC President Grahame Pratt.

Also on display were handwritten documents from the First Fleet, being *A List of the Naval, Marine, Military and Civil Establishment at Botany Bay and Distribution of the Detachment of Marines for New South Wales*, inscribed three times by George Laphorne with the date “18 July 1788”. Although tables based on this information were printed in contemporary accounts of the colony, this is the only known extant manuscript original and John took us through his detective work in proving its provenance by investigating with specialists in London the paper used in the document.

Cook’s life, death and ultimate contribution to history were debated, but what could not be disputed were his superior skills as a navigator and cartographer, as the contemporary maps on display evidenced.

A warm vote of thanks to John and Jacqui Mullen was moved by Australasian Pioneers’ Club President, Grahame Pratt, all present agreeing they had shared a very special night in the Club’s history.

Text by **Jonathan Hancock**, *Convenor*

Images by **David Miller**

Rhode Island Revisited

*“What happened to Cook’s ship, Endeavour?” was the question **Dr Nigel Erskine**, Head of Research at the Australian National Maritime Museum [ANMM], addressed at our 2017 Dunbar Lunch. For a comprehensive answer see his “The Endeavour after James Cook” in The Great Circle, volume 39, number 1, 2017, and for a less detailed narrative (which nonetheless draws heavily on Dr Erskine’s research) see Bruce Stannard’s “Endeavour’s Watery Grave” in Afloat, number 349, November 2018.*

*The quest to confirm that an 18th century wreck on the floor of Rhode Island NY harbour is what remains of the renowned ship has progressively been reported in the ANMM journal Signals: see “Piecing Together a Puzzle” [issue 125, Summer 2018-19] and “Rhode Island Revisited” [issue 129, Summer 2019-20]. Here, with permission, the latter article is reproduced (with some minor detail omitted). In it, **Dr James Hunter**, **Kieran Hosty** and **Irini Malliaros** provide key insights from the latest fieldwork.*

Promising results ... with caveats

In August and September 2019 maritime archaeologists from the ANMM and its long-term research partner Silentworld Foundation joined members of the Rhode Island Marine Archaeology Project (RIMAP) to continue investigations of the 18th-century shipwreck in Newport Harbour, Rhode Island, which is a strong contender for *Lord Sandwich* (in a prior identity *HMB Endeavour*), one of 13 vessels intentionally scuttled by the British in Newport Harbour ahead of a combined land and naval assault on Rhode Island by Continental American and French forces in August 1778.

Archaeological investigations in September 2018 of the shipwreck collected scantling measurements from a variety of surviving hull components, sampled selected timbers for species identification and carried out a preliminary Photogrammetric 3D Reconstruction (P3DR) survey of the exposed site [see

Signals 125]. Officially known as RI 2394, the wreck site is largely buried beneath the seabed, but its visible features include stone ballast, four small 18th-century cannons, a lead scupper and a variety of partially exposed wooden hull components. Among the hull remains are a line of frames (the floor and first futtock timbers that formed the ‘ribs’ of the ship) as well as sections of hull (external) and ceiling (internal) planking.

Findings from the 2018 investigations suggested RI 2394 could be the remnants of *Lord Sandwich/Endeavour*. The scantling measurements of most frames matched (or at the very least closely approximated) those listed for *Earl of Pembroke* in a survey conducted by the Royal Navy in 1768 before the vessel was accepted into naval service and renamed *Endeavour*. Timber samples collected from a variety of architectural components throughout the hull were all generally identified as oak.

The 1768 Royal Navy survey notes that *Earl of Pembroke* was constructed with frames and planking hewn from ‘English’ or ‘European’ oak (*Quercus robur*), a common attribute among British-built ships during the 18th century. Several different species of oak exist, however, including some native to North America - such as Southern live oak (*Quercus virginiana*) - that were also commonly used in shipbuilding during the same period. At least one (and possibly two) of the four vessels scuttled in Newport Harbour alongside *Lord Sandwich* were American-built and almost certainly constructed from North American timber species.

Positive identification of the exact oak species used to construct RI 2394 is absolutely critical to determine whether it was constructed in Great Britain or North America. The prevalence of English oak in the surviving architecture, combined with the right scantlings, would make the wreck a strong contender for *Lord Sandwich/Endeavour*.

Unfortunately the wood samples collected during the 2018 fieldwork were in relatively poor condition, originating from portions of hull timbers that were exposed above the seabed and had suffered damage from marine organisms and other natural processes. Degradation of the cellular structure in each timber sample meant that only very general conclusions could be made regarding their collective identities (for example, each sample was classified as ‘oak’ instead of ‘English oak’). Natural processes also damaged the original surfaces of the exposed timber sections, calling into question the accuracy of their respective scantling measurements.



James Hunter illuminates part of RI 2394's excavated hull structure
[Image: Irimi Malliaros]

2019 archaeological investigations of RI 2394

Faced with these issues, the team decided to excavate a small portion of the shipwreck site, aiming to expose deeply-buried and better-preserved sections of hull structure for detailed documentation and timber sampling. We also wanted to determine whether it was outfitted with a ‘rider’ or ‘deadwood’ keelson, which formed part of the vessel’s backbone. The keel is the primary structural component of a wooden sailing ship and extends longitudinally along the bottom-centreline of the hull, while the keelson is a corresponding architectural component that lies atop the floor timbers and locks them against the keel, reinforcing the overall lower-hull structure.

Whitby shipbuilder Thomas Fishburn (who built *Earl of Pembroke*) was known for constructing sturdy, solid-floored colliers designed to ‘take the ground’ (be run ashore) in shallow tidal estuaries and harbours. To prevent the vessel from breaking its back when taking the ground, Fishburn incorporated a second rider or deadwood keelson into the hull design. This was installed atop the vessel’s regular keelson, substantially increasing its overall height. Unusual and very rare in 18th-century ships, it is known to have been fitted to *Earl of Pembroke*. As there is no evidence *Earl of Pembroke*’s additional keelson was altered or removed during its subsequent service as *Endeavour* and *Lord Sandwich* it was one of the hull features we sought during our investigations.

An area encompassing three consecutive frames was chosen for excavation, as these timbers were the most exposed elements of hull structure observed and documented during the 2018 fieldwork. They were relocated at the beginning of 2019 and a steel excavation grid, three feet (0.91 metres) wide by nine feet (2.74 metres) long, was installed over them and oriented across the breadth of the hull. The grid was sub-divided into three separate three-foot-square sections (nicknamed ‘cells’) which were excavated individually. Alternating one-foot long yellow and black intervals were marked along the grid’s periphery and provided a visual reference during site mapping and other documentation tasks. Permission to excavate the site was granted by the Rhode Island Historical Preservation and Heritage Commission, the state agency responsible for the preservation and protection of Rhode Island’s archaeological sites.

Using a water-induction dredge, we essentially vacuumed sediment away from the wreck site to expose its hull remains, artefacts and other archaeological features.

A mesh bag was attached to the discharge end of the dredge to catch small artefacts, and a variety of artefacts was recovered, including glass bottle fragments, undecorated copper-alloy buttons, animal bones, wooden sheaves (pulleys for running rigging) and part of an articulated wooden barrel. The artefacts are currently undergoing detailed analysis and stabilisation at RIMAP's conservation facility in Bristol, Rhode Island, work which is partially funded by a museum grant.

A variety of techniques was used to document the site, including P3DR, hand-mapping, digital still photography and videography. P3DR was used during the 2018 fieldwork but had its limitations: it worked well for clearly-defined hull remains but was insufficient for portions of the wreck that were buried beneath sediment or relatively featureless, so that specific regions within the site were modelled effectively but the software was unable to generate a composite, high-resolution 3D model of the entire shipwreck.

In 2019 we used more powerful lights capable of cutting through the gloom of Newport Harbour and illuminating a greater area compared with 2018. Pre-programmed cameras captured one 12 megapixel image every two seconds, systematically photographing visible elements of the wreck site from multiple perspectives and ensuring no less than a 60 per cent overlap among captured images. This meant a greater area could be captured within a single photograph, but poor visibility still limited the area of coverage.

Excavation findings

Excavation revealed extensive articulated hull structure, including well-preserved floors and first futtocks, ceiling planking, both of the vessel's garboard stakes (large exterior hull planks positioned to either side of the keel) and the upper surface of the keel. A large, oval-shaped hole passes through the garboard stake that abuts one side of the keel, and its crude overall form with impact marks around its periphery are hallmarks of having been executed in haste with the intention of scuttling the vessel. This feature confirms RI 2394 is one of the British transports scuttled during the Battle of Rhode Island and supports the contention that it could be *Lord Sandwich/Endeavour*.

Unfortunately, the much sought-after keelson and rider keelson assembly was completely absent, although its outline could still be seen in the form of iron concretion staining on the upper surfaces of the exposed floors. It appears to have

fallen victim to biological action and/or other natural processes. The surfaces of the buried timbers are pristine, and provided the team with excellent scantling data which is now being compared with archival information related to the design, construction and refit/repair of *Earl of Pembroke*, *Endeavour* and *Lord Sandwich*.

Timber samples were collected from a variety of hull timbers, including floors and futtocks, ceiling planking, one of the garboard strakes, treenails (wooden fasteners used to affix planking to the vessel's frames) and the keel. Given the issues encountered with the samples collected in 2018, the team made sure to acquire the new batch from timbers that were deeply buried and very well preserved, and these have been sent to Australian and American specialists in wood species identification.

In the meantime, members of the team are analysing data retrieved during the 2019 field season, and comparing the information we've recovered so far with our historical knowledge of *Earl of Pembroke/Endeavour/Lord Sandwich*. We continue to scour archival sources for additional details about the vessel.

Further Reading

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*The Bark, Earl of Pembroke, later Endeavour, leaving Whitby Harbour in 1768 -
Thomas Luny, oil on canvas [National Library of Australia]*



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John Lanser

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