

# The Hawkesworth Copy



**An Investigation Into the Printer's Copy  
Used for the Preparation of the  
Second Edition of John Hawkesworth's  
Account of Captain Cook's First Voyage**

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October 13, 2004

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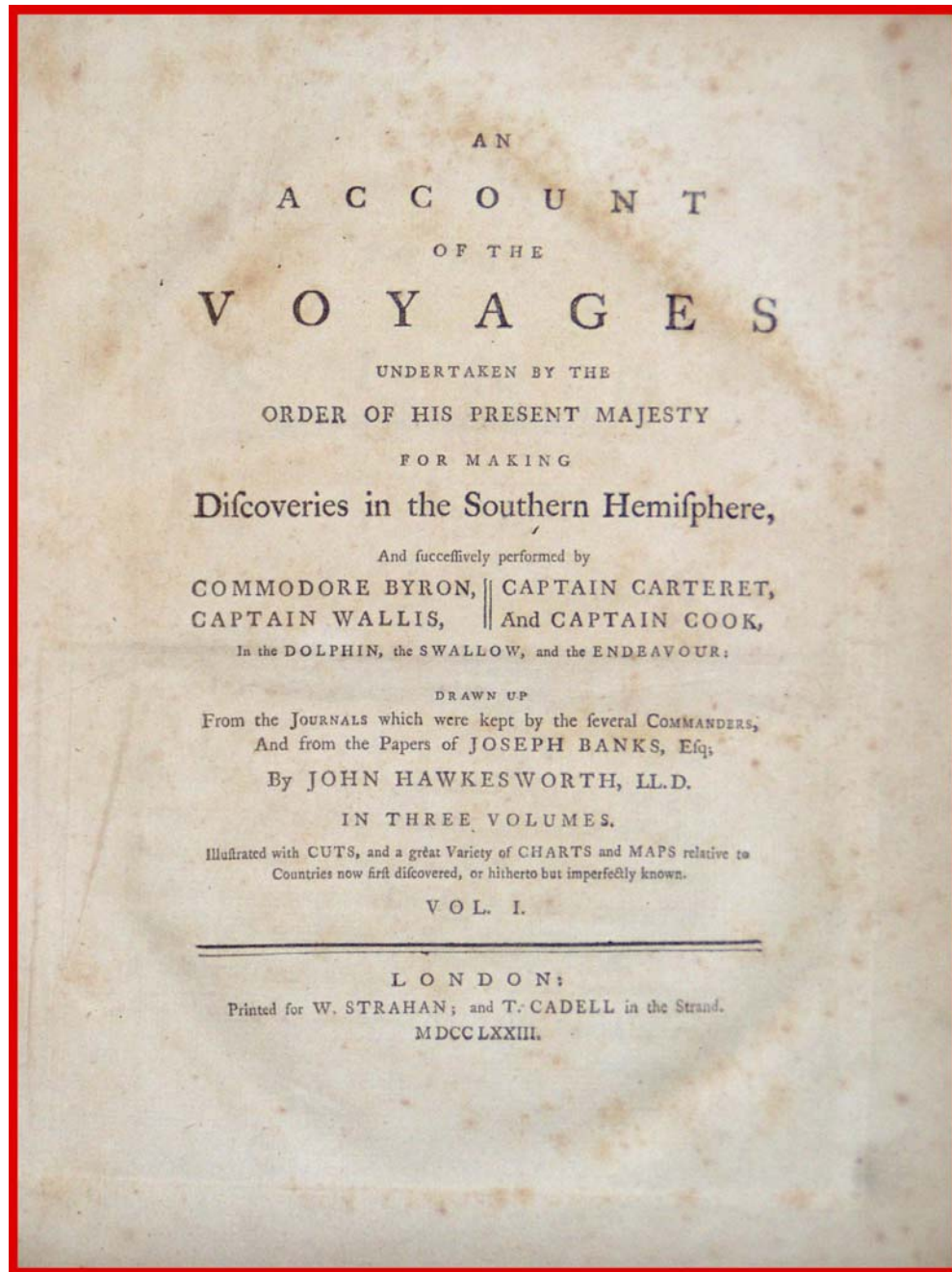
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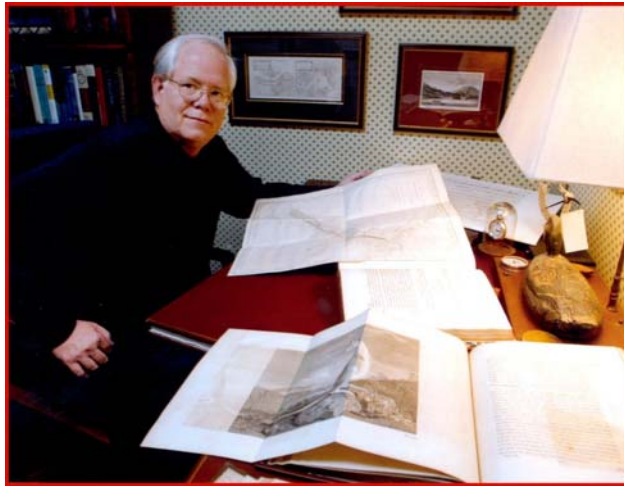
# Foreword

This essay has been occasioned by the location of two volumes of original printer's copy<sup>1</sup> used for preparation of the second edition of John Hawkesworth's account of Captain Cook's *Endeavour* voyage.

My purpose in preparing the current account is threefold: (1) to recount the finding of the volumes; (2) to describe the process of authenticating the volumes as the original printer's copy used in the preparation of the second edition; and (3) to raise questions relating to the markings in the volumes that could lead to further investigation into the people and activities involved in both the correction of the first edition and the preparation of the second.

Comments, corrections and suggestions from readers are greatly appreciated.

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# **Hawkesworth's "Voyages"**

*Hawkesworth, John. AN ACCOUNT OF THE VOYAGES undertaken by 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: Drawn up from the Journals which were kept by the several Commanders, and from the Papers of Joseph Banks, Esq.; by John Hawkesworth, LL.D. In three volumes. Illustrated with Cuts, and a great Variety of Charts and Maps relative to Countries now first discovered, or hitherto but imperfectly known. London: Printed for W. Strahan; & T. Cadell in the Strand. MDCCLXXIII.*

A simple description for a significant 18<sup>th</sup> century published work — the eagerly-anticipated official account of James Cook's first voyage to the Pacific. And what wonderful books they were — three royal quarto volumes full of detailed (albeit a bit fanciful) descriptions and engravings of newly-discovered peoples, places and customs. [FIGURE 1]

Even at the publication price of three guineas for the set,<sup>2</sup> the June 1773 first edition of 2,000 sets sold out very quickly and a completely reset second edition of 2,500 sets was published only two months later. Hawkesworth's "Voyages" became one of the most popular books of the century. In fact, the three volume set was the most requested item in the Bristol Library from 1773-1784, having been borrowed over 200 times.<sup>3</sup>

First editions are seldom printed without errors, and Hawkesworth's "Voyages" was no exception. Typesetting for Volume 1 of the first edition was started at two points simultaneously, and Volumes 2 and 3 were originally planned as a single volume. As a result, the printed volumes of the first edition contained pagination inconsistencies and errors, in addition to the usual assortment of errata. Although there were few textual changes made for the second edition, a number of bibliographic alterations were necessary, including chapter renumbering, repagination of the third volume and a changing of the signatures in both the second and third volumes. The wide variety of non-textual changes made for the second edition was thoroughly documented by Brian J. McMullin in the late 1980's.<sup>4</sup>

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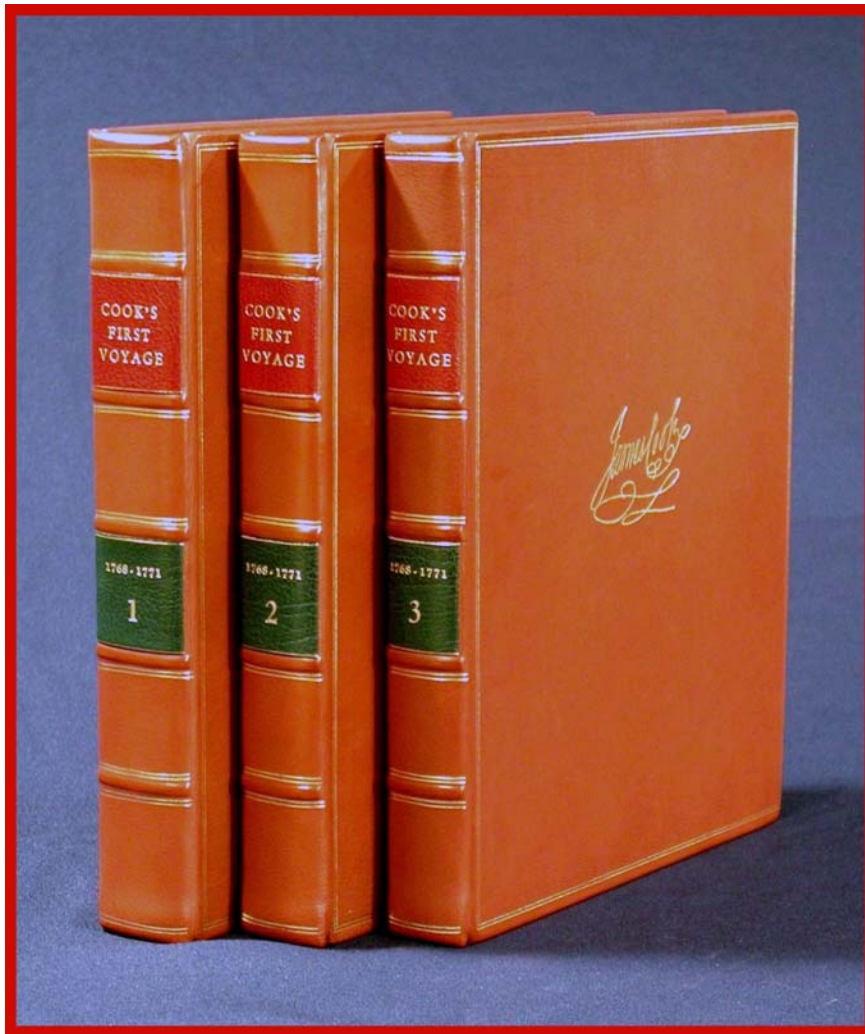


Figure 1. Hawkesworth's "*Account of the Voyages ...*" was issued on June 9, 1773 in three volumes quarto at a price of three guineas for the set. Volume 1 contained accounts of the voyages of Captains Byron, Wallis and Carteret; Volumes 2 and 3 contained the account of the *Endeavour* voyage of Captain Cook. The first edition of 2,000 sets sold out very quickly and a second edition of 2,500 sets was called for almost immediately. The second edition was issued on August 3, 1773.

(All illustrations are from the author's collection.)



## **The Find**

*In nature the bird who gets up earliest catches the most worms, but in book-collecting the prizes fall to birds who know worms when they see them.*

*Michael Sadleir  
The Colophon, Number 3, 1930*

I am a collector of materials related to the voyages of Captain Cook, and I routinely search the holdings of antiquarian booksellers for interesting publications about the good captain. In September 2001, I was searching through Internet listings of Cook material and came across the following item:

*London, Strahan & Cadell 1773. 1st editions, with extensive ink corrections. These are (corrected) proof copies of volumes 2 & 3, with no maps or plates. xv, 410; 395 (all renumbered) pp, Cr 4to. ½ contemporary calf, marbled boards, gilt. A good set, lacking volume 1. Calf and boards rubbed and soiled, internally VG, with volume 2 bound without a title page. Contemporary alterations throughout.*

The listing was from Derek Slavin, a bookseller in the United Kingdom, and the description read like every book collector's nightmare. Everything was negative about the books ... everything, that is, except the phrase "corrected proof copies." That intrigued me.

Such copies are not separate publications, per se; they are simply printed sheets of a previous edition retained by the printer or editor that contain the proofreader's marks identifying corrections to be made by the typesetter in the preparation of a subsequent edition.<sup>5</sup>

I had a copy of McMullin's article describing the changes between the first and second editions and knew what should be present in printer's copy for Hawkesworth's account. So I e-mailed the bookseller, expressed my interest in the volumes, and asked if he could provide me with some images of specific pages that would contain easily identifiable corrections.

When the images arrived I got very excited; everything looked right. I realized I was potentially on the verge of acquiring original and unique material related to Cook, so I decided to get professional advice. There are few, if any, dealers more experienced in antiquarian publications about Captain Cook than Hordern House in Sydney, Australia. I had previously done business with Derek McDonnell, a director of the firm, so I forwarded the information and images to him for evaluation.

McDonnell was very pleased with what he saw and based upon the preliminary images encouraged me to acquire the books. Without seeing the volumes up close he couldn't be positive they were the original printer's copy, but he felt the risk was worth it. On the assumption that the volumes were the originals, he asked if he could examine the books after I received them.



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I also sent the information about the books to Brian McMullin to see if he could confirm my suspicions that the volumes were the bridge between the first and second editions of Hawkesworth's account, and based upon what he saw, he concurred. In his response, McMullin identified two additional characteristics (i.e., inky fingerprints and unbound sheets) that he would expect to find if the books were the true printer's copy.

*It seems to me that you do indeed have what looks like printer's copy for the second edition (the alternatives wouldn't stand up: somebody made the changes by comparison with a published copy of the second edition; somebody made the changes independently, before the publication of the second edition). From what I can make out of the images ... the marks are such as would be made within the printing house rather than without. And since there's none of the engraved matter, only the letterpress, I can't imagine it being anything other than printer's copy for a new typesetting (or the copy from which printer's copy was transcribed). ... Are there any remnants of inky fingers to suggest that this copy has been in a printing house? I imagine that unbound sheets would be more useful for setting from, particularly if more than two compositors were involved, but then again I suppose that one could argue that it would be more useful to keep the leaves in the correct order by having them bound. Either way I think that the presence of stray ink marks where the leaves have been handled would be a good sign that the volumes had indeed been through the printing house. I certainly didn't know of marked-up copies [when I prepared my article] ... ; if it is what it seems then you'd of course expect only one copy to have been made, wouldn't you?<sup>6</sup>*

Buoyed by the encouragement of both McDonnell and McMullin, on September 10<sup>th</sup> I e-mailed Derek Slavin and agreed to buy the books. Further communication with Slavin revealed that he had acquired the volumes at an auction in Hay-on-Wye, Wales several years earlier as part of a lot of 42 leather bound books. Most of the books were unexceptional and the two Cooks weren't even mentioned in the lot description.

Slavin remarked,

*Happy to admit they were a bargain, and it would have been a few hundred paid [£ for the lot], and although I knew they were something special (which the specialist book auctioneer and other booksellers present surprisingly didn't!), I didn't have much idea how to research and value them, so it wasn't until late last year that I actually put them up for sale.*

He then went on to add,

*I hope very much that these turn out to be some real treasures.<sup>7</sup>*

As luck would have it, Derek Slavin was a prompt fellow and shipped the books the same day he received my order — the day before the terrorist attack on the World Trade Center. I had visions of finally discovering something important after it had been hidden for nearly a quarter of a millennium, only to have it get lost for the ages in the snarl of suspended airline schedules and piles of “suspicious” packages. However, the combined postal services of the United Kingdom and the United States took the insanity of the moment in stride and delivered the books in perfect shape a week later. [FIGURE 2]

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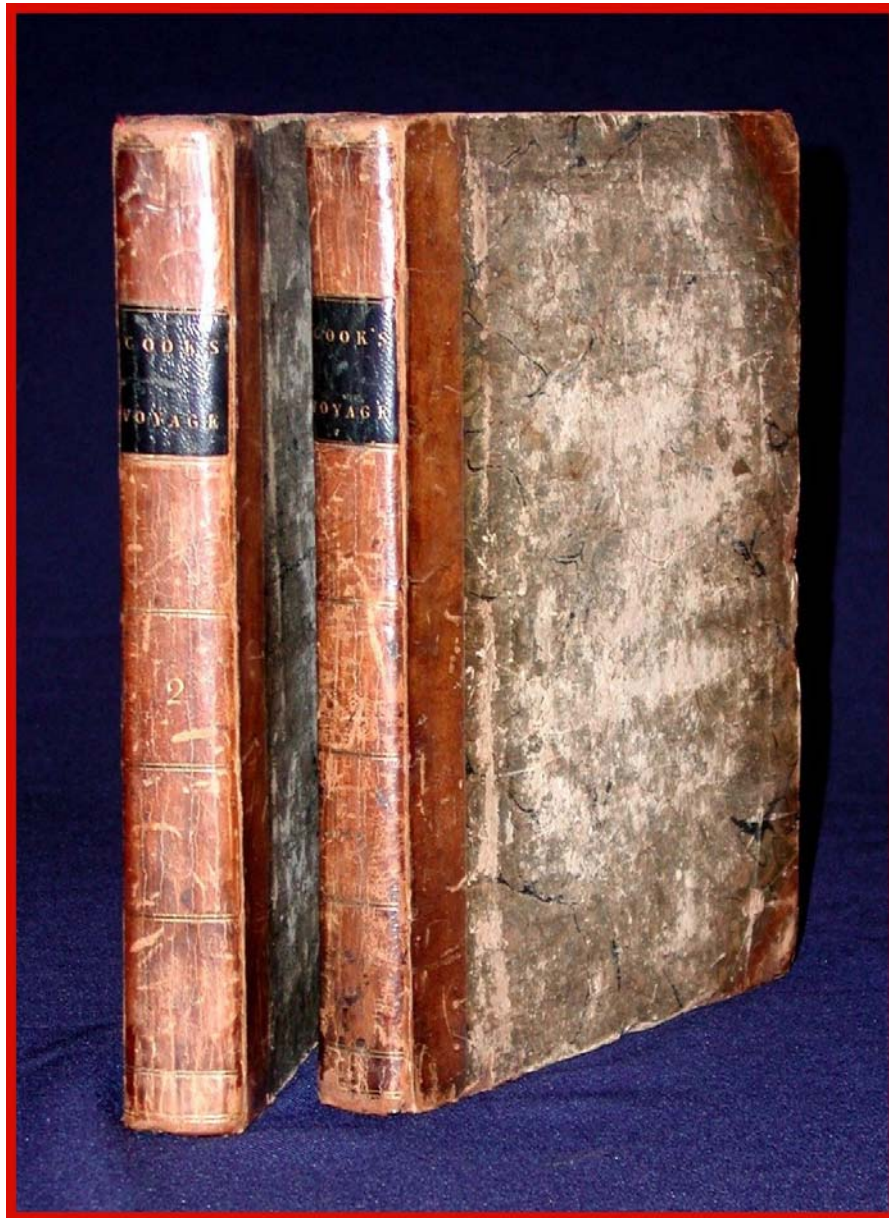


Figure 2. The Hawkesworth Copy. The volumes were described as having "extensive ink corrections, ... no maps or plates, ... all [Volume 3 pages] renumbered, ... rubbed and soiled, ... Volume 2 bound without a title page," and "alterations throughout."



# The Books

*Are there any books, under any circumstance, that should be kept — perhaps even proudly or defiantly — in battered condition? I think there is a very small class of such books, and to argue for this exception is not at all to ignore or impugn the principle of “good to fine condition.” I am, of course, talking about books whose very purpose for being was practical; I am talking about useful books, that might legitimately show signs of having been used; I am talking about books that are “distressed,” in the manner of antique furniture, where evidence of age and long, hard service are judged not merely allowable, but desirable.*

Jack Matthews  
Booking in the Heartland (1986)

As soon as the books arrived, I went through them page by page to better understand what they were. The books were indeed Volumes 2 and 3 of the first edition of John Hawkesworth’s “Voyages.” Volume 1 is missing, although the present volumes are those that cover Cook’s voyage.<sup>8</sup> Other characteristics are as follows:

- **Bindings** — The books are bound in half calf over marbled boards and are in a totally unsophisticated state. As Brian McMullin anticipated, they are stitched from individual leaves, instead of being sewn from folded gatherings.<sup>9</sup> The leaves were bound after the corrections were made (as indicated by some trimmed corrections). [FIGURE 3]<sup>10</sup>
- **Spine Labels** — Both volumes have gilt volume numbers (i.e., 2 and 3) and black morocco spine labels with gilt lettering that reads “Cook’s Voyage” (singular), possibly suggesting that they were originally part of the full set of Hawkesworth, and that binding was done prior to Cook’s return from his second voyage.<sup>11</sup>
- **Page Size** — The trimmed page size is only 196mm by 265mm, significantly smaller than “typical” bound copies of the work.
- **Ink Smudges** — The books have ink smudges on numerous pages, as Brian McMullin predicted. Some smudges are deep in the gutter, further indicating that they were made before the books were bound in their present form. Some of the smudges are actually fingerprints, suggesting that the pages were handled with ink stained hands. [FIGURE 4]<sup>12</sup>
- **Missing Sheets** — The books do not contain any maps or plates, and there is no evidence that they ever did. Volume 2 is bound without a title page. Volume 2 also lacks page 259-260 (one leaf), and page 279-280 (one leaf). If the volumes really are printer’s copy, the plates and charts would have been superfluous, as the non-text sheets were printed separately and

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normally added by the binder. Also, a missing title page (assuming no edits) wouldn't necessarily be unusual. The other missing leaves could simply have been lost before binding, as they were no longer parts of folded gatherings.

- **Copy Changes** — The books are marked up throughout. The copy changes appear to be made in a similar contemporary hand in both volumes. Most are directed to the page numbers, gathering signatures, chapter numbers and correction of errata; there weren't significant text changes between the first and second editions. [FIGURE 5]

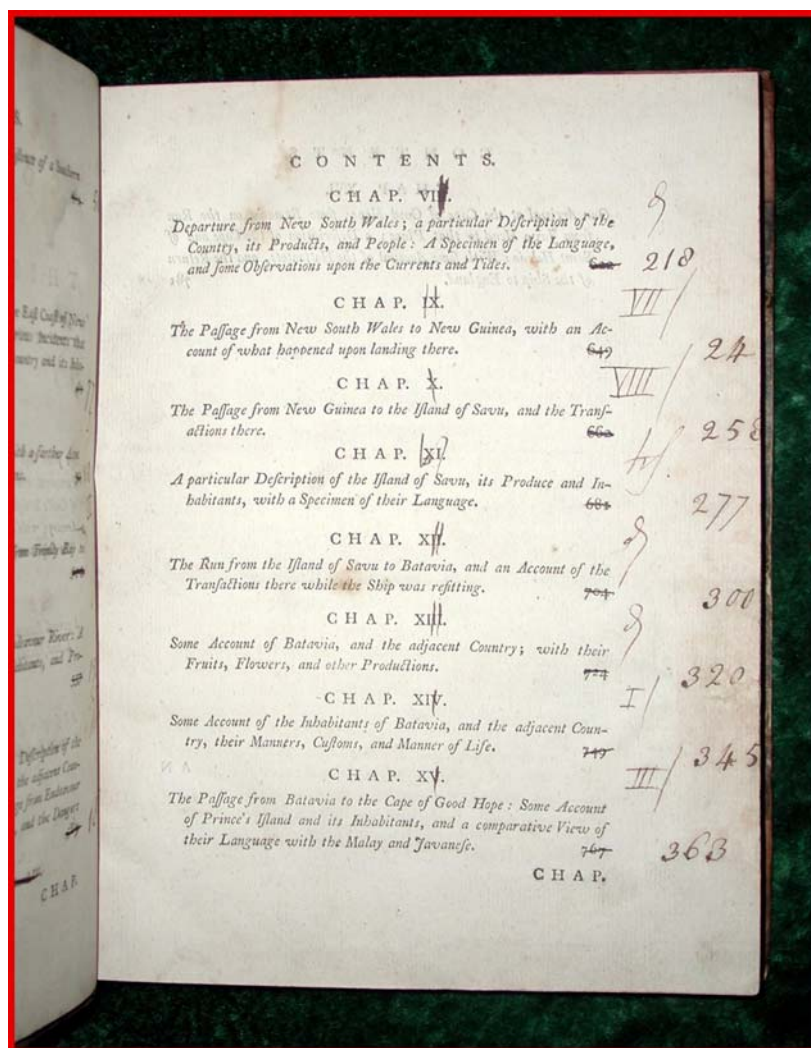


Figure 3. A section from the Hawkesworth Copy Contents of Volume 3 showing corrections to chapter numbers and pagination. Chapter renumbering was necessary to correct a mistake in the first edition. Repagination of Volume 3 was required because Volumes 2 and 3 were paginated as a single volume in the first edition and as separate volumes in the second edition. Careless trimming by the binder resulted in parts of some corrections being cut off.

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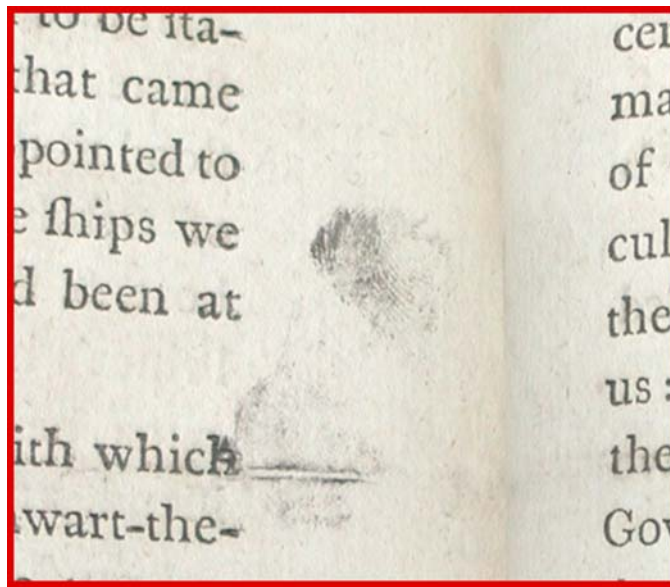


Figure 4. An inky fingerprint. Detail from Volume 3, page 706/302 showing one of several inky fingerprints presumably made by press workers during the typesetting and printing of the second edition. Even before the volumes were received, the presence such fingerprints was anticipated by McMullin as evidence that the sheets had been used in a printing house.

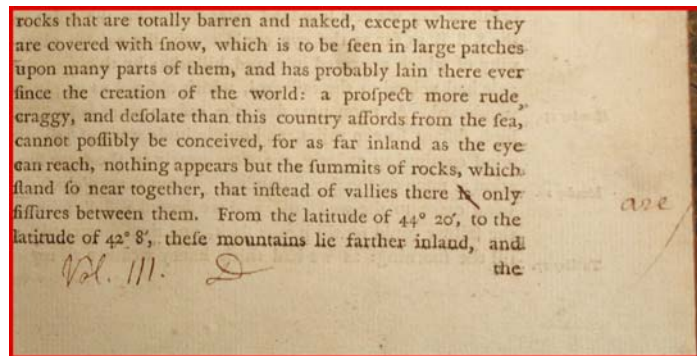


Figure 5. Expected corrections. A section of Volume 3, page 429/25 showing typical "expected" changes (i.e., correction of errata and signature changes of the type that could have been made by any competent printer).

A few weeks after the books arrived, they traveled with me to Berkeley, California where I did a page-by-page comparison with the second edition set held at the Bancroft Special Collections Library at the University of California. I also called upon the staff of the library at Northwestern University in Evanston, Illinois to check a few points against their second edition set. The books then spent several weeks at Hordern House in Sydney (by themselves, unfortunately) undergoing detailed examination by Derek McDonnell. Upon completion of his review, Derek concluded,

*It is apparent that the two volumes are in fact printers' sheets for the re-setting of the second and third volumes of the second edition.*<sup>13</sup>



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McMullin wrote his original article based solely upon comparisons of the published editions, as the existence of printer's copy was unknown. Nonetheless, his detailed analysis served as an excellent guide during the detailed examination of the volumes; his 20<sup>th</sup> century article based upon direct observation of the printed works exactly described the results of the instructions written in my volumes over two centuries before.

I carefully checked both volumes against the points identified in his analysis, including pagination changes, signature identifications and collations. Every page number change, signature change, and errata point McMullin noted was manually marked in the volumes. Except one, that is. Surprisingly enough, the one page that almost every bibliographer and antiquarian bookseller knew was misnumbered in the first edition (i.e., page 189 in Volume 2, which is numbered 191) is not marked in the volumes, although the revised signature identification of Bb2 is marked on the same page.

As I reviewed the books against McMullin's article, I was fascinated by the technical discussions of effects that were achieved by simple markings in the volumes. For example, the first edition Volume 2 ended with a single leaf, a complication for the binder. The problem was remedied in the second edition by getting rid of the Errata page (now corrected in the text) and adjusting the spacing between the lines of the Introduction so the final lines of text would fall at the bottom of the preceding page. The removal of that one leaf near the front of the volume shifted all the following signatures so that the single leaf at the end disappeared.

In his article, McMullin described the process as follows:

*In the first edition Volume II ends with a singleton, 3G1. Single leaves are always troublesome for the binder, and in setting the second edition Strahan overcame the difficulty by removing the leading in the standing type of the Introduction, so that the six lines from a4<sup>r</sup> are now accommodated on a3<sup>v</sup>; with the elimination of the Errata (a4<sup>v</sup>) the account of Cook's Voyage can now begin one leaf earlier, on a4<sup>r</sup> rather than B1<sup>r</sup>.*

The actual instructions to the printer, however, were much simpler — crossing out the text on the Errata page [FIGURE 6] and placing a single comment at the top of the last page of the Introduction — “*This page to be got in.*” [FIGURE 7]

One effect of the correction was a change in every subsequent signature from the point of the correction to the end of the volume (e.g., F2 became F, the next page became F2). Every such change is individually marked in the volumes.

When I communicated my findings to McMullin, he responded with a further confirmation of his earlier thoughts about the books.

*I'd say that what you've got is ... printer's copy — i.e. a marked-up copy of the first edition which was used in the printing house for setting the second edition, and I assume that the cutting-up into leaves was designed to allow the copy to be divided within the printing-house, the binding-up being done after setting was complete — and hence the absence of a few leaves, (lost within the printing-house).<sup>14</sup>*

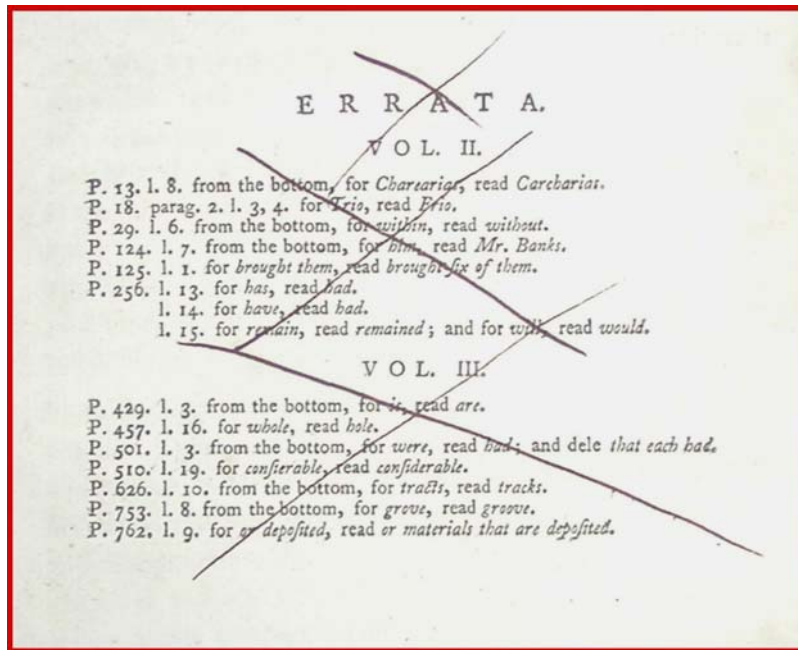


Figure 6. Errata noted in the first edition. All items noted were subsequently corrected in the second edition. (The correction of the first item in Volume 3 is shown in Figure 5.)

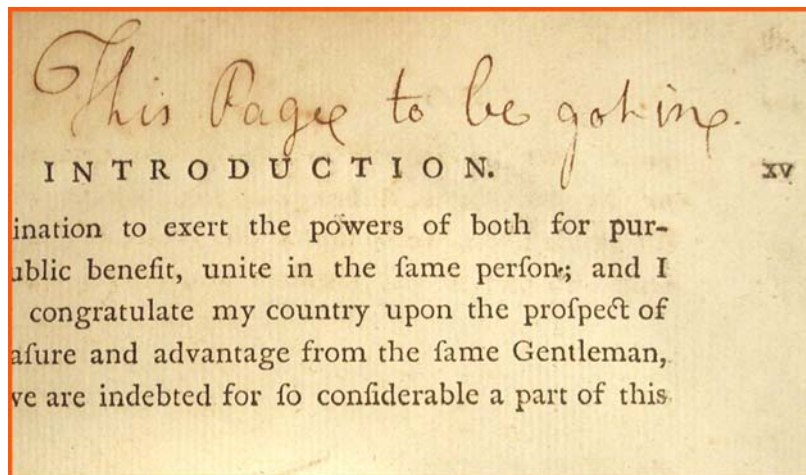


Figure 7. The marking at the top of a4<sup>r</sup> that, in conjunction with the elimination of the Errata (a4<sup>v</sup>), allowed Volume 2 to begin one leaf earlier, thus necessitating the renumbering of all subsequent signatures.

## **Unexpected Corrections**

The markings in the books fall into two categories — “expected” corrections based solely upon the bibliographic and printing requirements and described in detail by McMullin, and “unexpected” corrections.

All of the “expected” corrections (i.e., items noted on the Errata sheet, changes in pagination, signature identification) could have been handled by any competent printing house,<sup>15</sup> and the printer in question, William Strahan, ran one of the top printing houses in 18<sup>th</sup> century London.<sup>16</sup> [FIGURE 8] Therefore, it requires little imagination to offer the argument that the markings in the books were made by individuals inside Strahan’s printing house.<sup>17</sup>

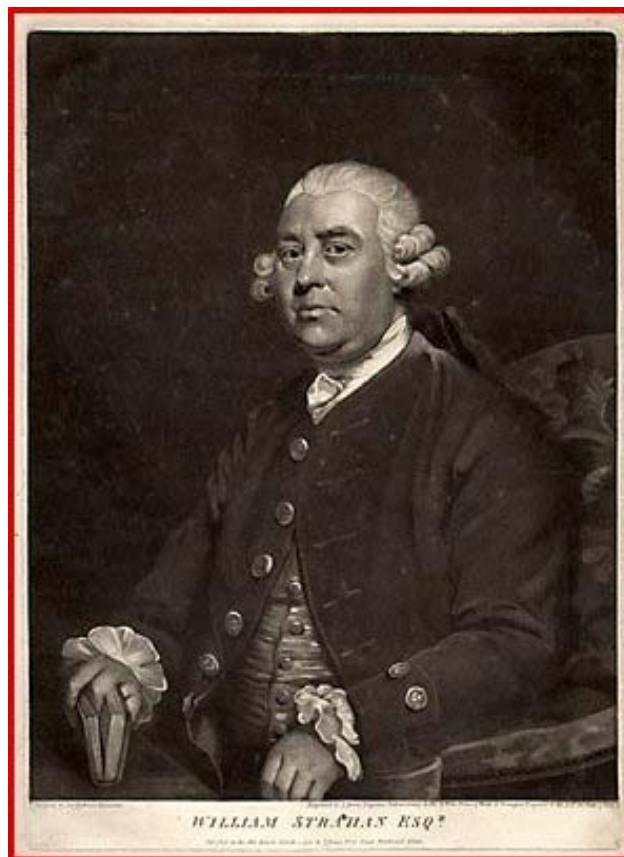


Figure 8. William Strahan (1715-1785). A 1792 mezzotint engraved by John Jones after a 1783 portrait by Sir Joshua Reynolds. Strahan was one of the most successful printers in 18<sup>th</sup> century London and published many of the key works of the period, including Cook’s *Voyages*, Johnson’s *Dictionary*, Smith’s *Wealth of Nations*, Gibbon’s *Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire*, Hume’s *History of England*, Fielding’s *Tom Jones*, Goldsmith’s *Vicar of Wakefield* and Blackstone’s *Commentaries*.

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But assuming that the printer made all the marked corrections would ignore several corrections sprinkled throughout the volumes that were not related to the structure of the books. There are no fewer than seven other changes noted, six of which did not make it into the second edition. One correction is editorial; the others include four longitude corrections, one latitude correction, and a compass heading correction.

1. Volume 2, page 37, line 25 – adding a period after 83, deleting “though” and starting the next sentence “We ... [FIGURE 9]
2. Volume 2, page 282, line 9 – correcting the longitude from 174° to 147°
3. Volume 2, page 327, line 9 – correcting the longitude from 193° to 183° [FIGURE 10]
4. Volume 2, page 356, line 3 – correcting the longitude from 194° to 184°
5. Volume 2, page 358, line 20 – correcting the latitude from 36° to 35°
6. Volume 3, page 608/204, line 13 – correcting the longitude from 127° to 217°
7. Volume 3, page 653/249, line 2 – correcting the compass reference from “E. by E. and SE.” to “E. by S. and SE.”

Of the above corrections, only number six was changed in the second edition. This is particularly puzzling with respect to navigational entries, as a check with both the published journals and their original sources showed that all the marked changes were correct, and the fact they were not incorporated means that the second edition remained in error.

Failure to correct erroneous positions was not simply perpetuation of typographical errors. Printed errors caused real navigational problems. As Helen Wallis has pointed out,

*In England (as opposed to France with its Service Hydrographique), accounts of voyages necessarily served as handbooks of navigation since there was as yet no official government naval establishment responsible for publishing charts and pilot books. Thus the mutineers of the Bounty were able to seek Pitcairn Island as their refuge in 1790 because they had on board Hawkesworth's volumes and read therein the report of Carteret's discovery in 1767.<sup>18</sup>*

Pitcairn Island served as a successful refuge for the mutineers for so many years because nobody in the Royal Navy knew precisely where the island was; the map and text published in Hawkesworth's “Voyages” placed Pitcairn over 200 miles west of its true position, and the printed latitude in the first edition disagreed with the map's position by an additional 350 miles! Of such errors are legends born.<sup>19</sup>

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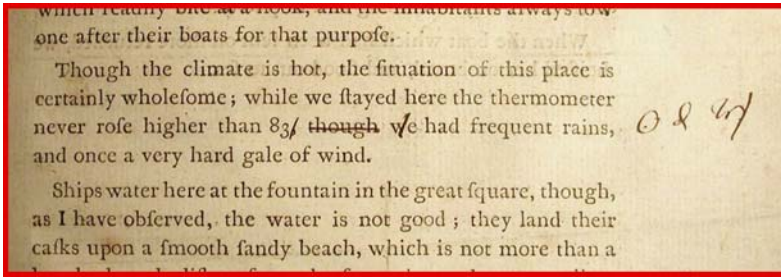


Figure 9. The single “unexpected change” with editorial content. It represents little more than a minor change of syntax. The correction did not appear in the second edition.

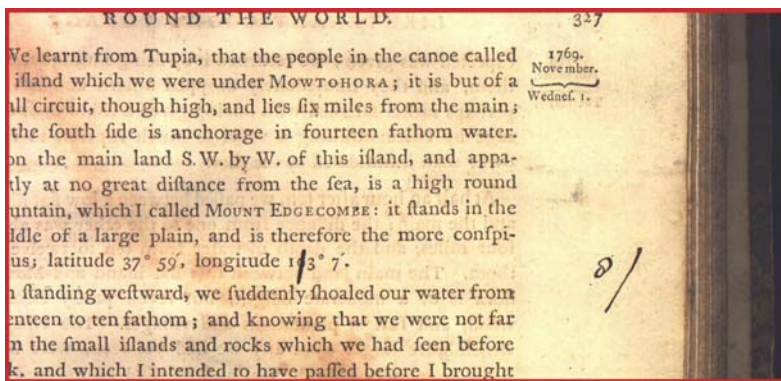


Figure 10. One of several “unexpected” longitude corrections (in this case from 193° to 183°). Only one position correction appeared in the second edition; the rest were apparently overlooked.

Why were the “unexpected” corrections, and particularly the position errors, generally overlooked? There is little basis for speculation, and there are probably no firm answers to be found. But the fact remains that only one “unexpected” change was included in the preparation of the second edition.

Although it's not a correction per se, there is one additional "unexpected" marking. The Half-Title page in Volume 2 includes a large script signature of the name "Mary" written in a contemporary hand. It appears to be the only significant marking not in some way related to the content of the volumes. On the chance that John Hawkesworth might have been responsible for the markings in the volumes, I checked to see if there was any person close to him who might be named Mary. There was. On May 12, 1744, John Hawkesworth married the companion who would accompany him for the rest of his life — Mary Brown. Nothing conclusive, of course, but it kept the research interesting. [FIGURE 11]



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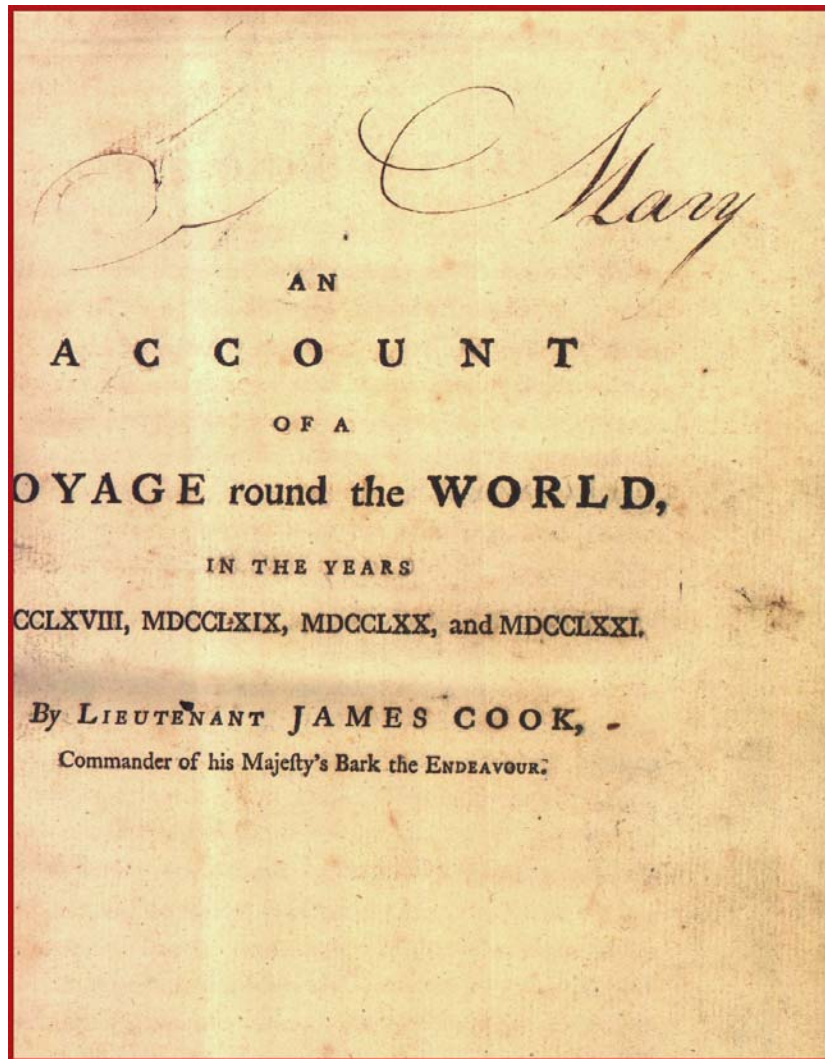


Figure 11. Who is Mary? The large script signature on the Half-Title page in Volume 2 is possibly the only marking not in some way related to the content of the volumes. Is it possibly a reference to Mary Hawkesworth?



## **Sources of the Corrections**

One key question remains — “Who made the corrections in the two volumes?”

In some ways it’s easier to say who didn’t rather than who did. Because of the authoritative editorial and technical nature of the “unexpected” corrections, it is unlikely that the employees of William Strahan’s printing firm were responsible. In addition, all of the markings except the “pencil comment” appear to be in the same hand. One is led to consider John Hawkesworth as the source, as few others would have had access to original logs and journals required for making the corrections to latitude and longitude. But did Hawkesworth have the knowledge to make the more technical corrections such as signature changes?

My research into the identification of the author of the markings continues. To assist in that effort, Hawkesworth biographer<sup>20</sup> John Abbott, Professor and Head of English at the University of Connecticut, graciously provided copies of some of Hawkesworth’s correspondence for handwriting comparison.

Certainly there are distinct similarities between comments written in the Hawkesworth Copy and samples of John Hawkesworth’s handwriting. [FIGURE 12] Ultimately, however, it will require better skills than mine to determine once and for all if John Hawkesworth made the markings.

In an ideal world, the changes in the text would be identified as being in Hawkesworth’s hand, and “Mary” would turn out to be Mary Hawkesworth. But as everyone knows, we live in a far from ideal world. So, for the present, Derek McDonnell’s cautionary comments must hold sway.

*The possibility that some of the annotation might be by Hawkesworth seems, and probably is, too good to be true, as does the hope of making any final decision about ‘Mary’ given our current understanding.<sup>21</sup>*

Not the desired conclusions, certainly, but probably the only appropriate ones given the information at hand.

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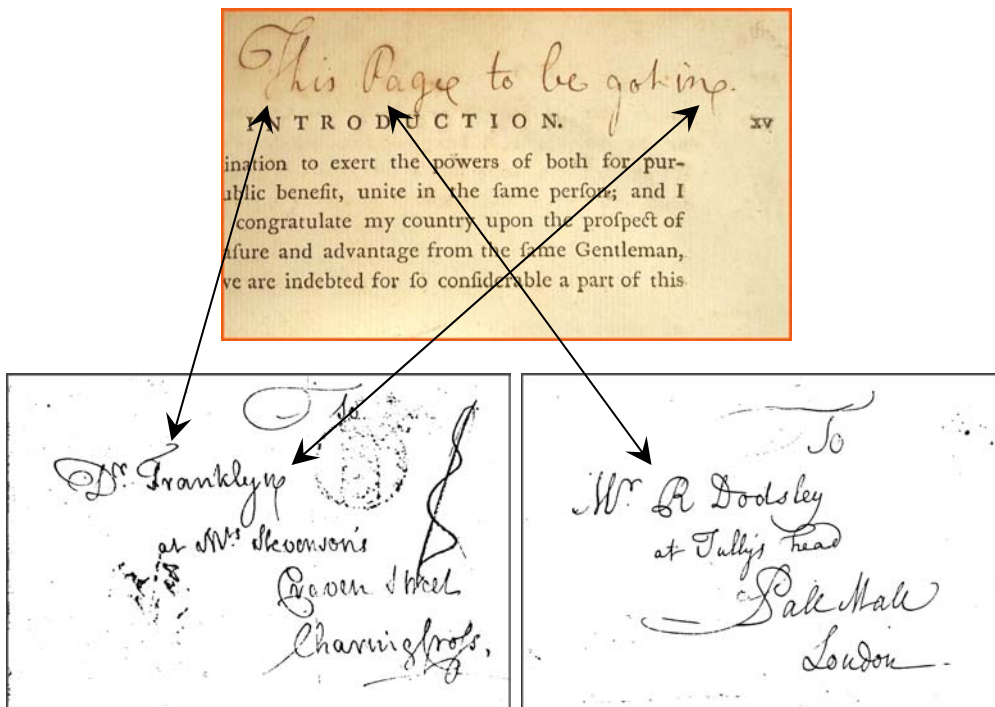


Figure 12. Who made the corrections in the Hawkesworth Copy? The above is a comparison of the note shown in Figure 7 and the addresses of two letters written by John Hawkesworth. Note the similarities of the "T" in the note to the "F" in the address at lower left. There are also strong similarities between the "P" in the note and the "R" in the address at lower right. Finally, the "loop" following the final "N" in the note is also present after the final "N" in the address at lower left. (Hawkesworth wrote the letter addressed at lower left to Benjamin Franklin on November 8, 1769, asking, among other things, to receive a "Pennsylvania" or "Franklin" stove. He misspelled Franklin's name in the process.)



## The Latitude Discrepancy

One of the “unexpected” corrections is a to a latitude entry that is off by a degree in both the first and second editions. The marked correction is especially interesting because it appears to be one of few instances where the correct latitude is recorded. Furthermore, the inaccurate latitude printed in the first and second editions is not a simple typographical error; it appears to be a faithful transcription of an incorrect entry that Cook himself may have recorded in his journal for November 25, 1769.

An examination of the maps of the area in question shows that according to the identified point in the text (i.e., “*Bream head bore S distant 10 Miles; some small Islands (Poor Knights) at N.E. by N. distant 3 Lgs.*”) Cook had to be at the position of 35°36' S as corrected in the Hawkesworth Copy. Had Cook been at the 36°36' S position printed in the first and second editions, he would have been approximately 70 miles south of Bream Head and Poor Knights — and sailing on land. [FIGURES 13-15] <sup>22</sup>

When I first noted the latitude discrepancy, I assumed that like the other position changes it was simply a typographical correction. But when I checked the latitude entry against Beaglehole’s 1955 edition of Cook’s *Endeavour* journal<sup>23</sup> I found that the published version also had the incorrect value of 36°36' S. My next check was Wharton’s 1893 edition of Cook’s *Endeavour* journal,<sup>24</sup> and it too quoted the incorrect value of 36°36' S. Given that Beaglehole and Wharton had compiled their editions from different primary sources and both had come up with the same incorrect value, I began to wonder if the Hawkesworth Copy were the only place with the right latitude.<sup>25</sup>

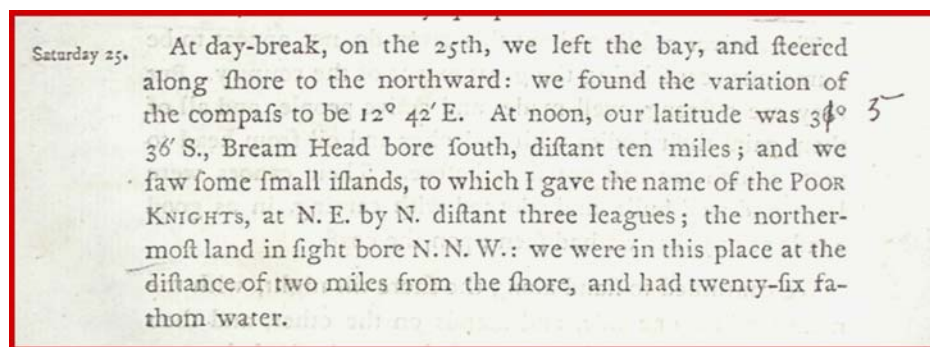


Figure 13. The “latitude discrepancy.” A simple correction of a printed latitude in the first edition that apparently had its origin in a copying error made by James Cook in the preparation of his journal. The fact that this specific correction would have required access to original source materials not usually available to the printer becomes an argument for the authoritativeness of both this and the other “unexpected” corrections.

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Figure 14. The position of the *Endeavour* on November 25, 1769 as noted in the text. "Bream head bore S distant 10 Miles; some small Islands (Poor Knights) at N.E. by N. distant 3 Lgs."



Figure 15. A section of the "Chart of New Zealand" published in the first edition. The area shown in Figure 14 is located at latitude 35°36' S as noted in the Hawkesworth Copy.



## The Hawkesworth Copy

So I checked the original sources, of which there are at least seven: (1) the Canberra Manuscript; (2) the Mitchell Manuscript; (3) the Admiralty Manuscript; (4) the Greenwich Manuscript; (5) the Official Log of the *Endeavour*; (6) Cook's Holographic Log; and (7) the Palliser Hudson Copy of Cook's Holographic Log. The first three are in journal form, the fourth is a hybrid of both journal and log, and the last three are in log form.<sup>26</sup>

## The Canberra Manuscript<sup>27</sup>

The Canberra Manuscript is the only copy of the *Endeavour* journal written in Cook's hand, and is the copy used by Beaglehole when he prepared his 1955 edition of Cook's *Endeavour* journal. It originally belonged to Cook's wife, Elizabeth, and quietly passed through inheritance and sale for over 150 years. It was generally unknown to the public until 1923, when it was auctioned by Sotheby's. It now resides in the National Library of Australia.

I contacted the National Library of Australia and received the following response from Carmel McInerny, Curator of Manuscripts, Australian Collections and Reader Services:

*We have checked the entry in the journal for this date and can confirm that the reading is 36°36' S.*<sup>28</sup>

Now I knew why Beaglehole got it wrong.

## The Mitchell Manuscript<sup>29</sup>

The Mitchell Manuscript is written in the hand of Richard Orton, Cook's clerk on the *Endeavour*, and is likely the journal copy sent to the Admiralty from Batavia before Cook's return to England. It is the copy used by Wharton to create his 1893 edition of Cook's *Endeavour* journal. In similar fashion to the Canberra Manuscript, the Mitchell Manuscript passed through inheritance and sale for 120 years before arriving at its current home in the Mitchell Library, State Library of New South Wales.

In response to my query, I received the following from David Pollock of the State Library of New South Wales Information Request Service:

*... I have checked the November 25 1769 entry in the Mitchell Library copy of the Endeavour journal (our reference CY Safe 1/71, p.157) and can confirm that the Latitude written is 36 degrees, not 35.*<sup>30</sup>

Warwick Hirst, Assistant Curator of Manuscripts at the Mitchell Library also stated,

*I have checked the Mitchell Library's copy of Cook's Endeavour journal (S1/71 - known as the Corner MSS in the handwriting of Orton, the ship's clerk) and confirm that the entry says 36 degrees and not 35 degrees.*<sup>31</sup>

Now I knew why Wharton got it wrong.

In other words, both the first and second editions of the official account were wrong; the authoritative published versions of Cook's journal were wrong; the *En-*

## The Hawkesworth Copy

*deavour's* ship clerk was wrong (having copied what Cook wrote); and Cook himself was wrong in the copy he prepared.

Two journal copies remained to be checked — the Admiralty Manuscript held by the British Public Records Office and the Greenwich Manuscript held by the British National Maritime Museum.

### The Admiralty Manuscript<sup>32</sup>

According to Beaglehole, the Admiralty Manuscript was the last, best and most careful copy of any journal of the voyage of the *Endeavour*, and is likely the journal copy handed over to the Admiralty at the end of the voyage. It is possibly the copy from which Hawkesworth worked, and now resides in the British Public Records Office.

Like the Mitchell Manuscript, the Admiralty Manuscript appears to be written in Richard Orton's hand. Beaglehole notes that Orton copied Cook's own journal as it was written, as evidenced by the Admiralty Manuscript's failure to include some of Cook's later thoughts and the fact that it was ready to send in its entirety as soon as the *Endeavour* reached port.

I sent an e-mail to the Public Records Office and soon thereafter received a response indicating that although they were unable to undertake research for individuals, they could spend a limited amount of time identifying and copying specific documents from their holdings.

Before I was able to detail my request to the Public Records Office, however, a limited edition facsimile of the Admiralty Manuscript<sup>33</sup> appeared for sale on an Internet auction site. It seemed an appropriate time to add that particular book to my collection, so I joined the bidding and won the lot. When the book arrived, I turned to the appropriate date and once again found the incorrect value of 36°36' S. [FIGURE 16]

Did anyone get it right?

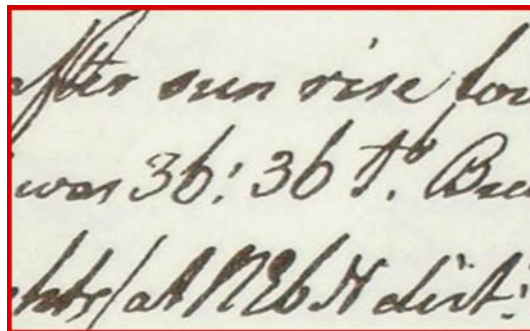


Figure 16. Detail from Orton's journal entry for November 25, 1769, taken from the facsimile copy of the Admiralty Manuscript and showing the incorrectly copied latitude.

## The Hawkesworth Copy

### The Greenwich Manuscript<sup>34</sup>

I then checked with the only other holographic copy of Cook's journal — the one held at the National Maritime Museum at Greenwich. The Greenwich Manuscript was written by Richard Orton and others, using different inks and papers. It is part log and part journal, incomplete, and the “most corrupt” of all the manuscripts. It was kept for many years in the library at Windsor Castle before coming to rest at Greenwich.

I sent an e-mail to the National Maritime Museum and Kiri Ross-Jones of the Manuscripts Department responded:

*I have ... found the following Cook journal: “JOD/19, Journal of Captain Cook's voyage round the world in HMS Endeavour, 1768-71”*

*I have made a quick check of our microfilm version of this manuscript and have been unable to find the exact quotation that you give. However, the latitude is given as the following, for Nov 25 1769, “Latit. obs. 35.36' degrees, ...”<sup>35</sup>*

Finally I had a match. The Greenwich Manuscript was the first original source to agree with the Hawkesworth Copy. The exact journal entry couldn't be found because the portion of the Greenwich Manuscript for the date in question was in the format of a log, and not a narrative journal.

It was time to check the rest of the logs.

### The Official Log of the *Endeavour*<sup>36</sup>

The *Endeavour's* Official Log, according to Beaglehole, “is certainly the original of a good many of the other extant logs of the voyage,” and was left to the British Museum by Sir Joseph Banks on his death. Although the original now resides in the British Public Records Office, I elected to once again contact the Mitchell Library, State Library of New South Wales, to have them check their photostatic copy. Judy Nelson's response, while not exactly what I was seeking, indicated that the Official Log correctly recorded the latitude.

*For Beddie #584 (ML: A 3392), there are entries for Friday 24 November 1769 and Sunday 26 November 1769, but no entry for Saturday 25 November 1769.*

*For 24 November, the entry is Lat. 35 35' S and for 26 November, Lat. 34 55' S.<sup>37</sup>*

The latitude is very close to that of the Hawkesworth Copy, but the date is off by one day, a discrepancy possibly due to the difference in the way time is reckoned on board ship (i.e., noon to noon) and the manner in which it is reckoned on land (i.e., midnight to midnight).

### Cook's Holographic Log<sup>38</sup>

No complete holographic log in Cook's hand exists. Only fragments are known — one covering the period from November 5, 1768 through May 8, 1769, and the other covering the period from February 18 to September 23, 1770. Unfortunately, neither

## The Hawkesworth Copy

fragment includes the date of the latitude discrepancy. The existing fragments, however, are important in determining the order in which the logs and journals were prepared, as textual analyses have shown that the Greenwich Manuscript and the Palliser Hudson Copy were both copied from Cook's Holographic Log.

### The Palliser Hudson Copy of Cook's Holographic Log<sup>39</sup>

The Palliser Hudson manuscript is virtually a complete copy of Cook's Holographic Log (including the periods for which no fragments in Cook's hand are now known), and was a gift from Cook to Sir Hugh Palliser. According to Anthony Payne, a Director of Bernard Quaritch Ltd., the London booksellers, the manuscript was sold by Christie's (along with a manuscript copy of the journal of Cook's second voyage) in November 1960 to a private buyer and was not available for direct review.<sup>40</sup> However, Payne further noted that a microfilm copy of the manuscript did exist in the National Library of Australia in Canberra.

So I once again contacted the National Library of Australia and received the following response from Graeme Powell, Manuscript Librarian in the Australian Collections and Reader Services:

*I have checked the microfilm copy of this work, which is held at mfm G650. In this version of the logbook, the latitude for 25 November 1769 is 35 (degrees) 36 (minutes) South.<sup>41</sup>*

All in all, an interesting pattern. It appears that all forms of the *Endeavour* journal (i.e., Canberra, Admiralty, Mitchell) carry the incorrect latitude, and all existing forms of the *Endeavour* log (i.e., Greenwich, Official Log, Palliser Hudson) carry the correct value (with a slight variation of a single minute of latitude).

### Significance of the Latitude Discrepancy

On its surface, the tracking down of a single latitude discrepancy may seem a task that serves no end other than what Beaglehole describes as, "the sterile pleasure of pedantry [that] must be enjoyed in this case for its own sake." However, such a finding: (1) corroborates previous investigations into the order in which the holographic copies of the *Endeavour* journals were made [FIGURE 17]; (2) suggests that Cook himself might have made the latitude mistake; and (3) underscores the authenticity of the Hawkesworth Copy and the changes that were recorded but not carried into the second edition.

**Order of the *Endeavour* Journals** — Apparently, the first journal copy made was the hybrid Greenwich Manuscript, wherein the latitude in question was recorded correctly, albeit in log form. Thus, because the log portion of the Greenwich Manuscript was copied from Cook's Holographic Log, one could conclude that the missing portion of Cook's original contained the correct latitude.

The next journal copy to be made was the Mitchell Manuscript, which, according to Beaglehole, has the appearance of the work "of a rather careless and lazy tran-

## The Hawkesworth Copy

scriber,” and contains numerous places where Cook had to insert words Orton had omitted. Otherwise, it was a copy of Cook’s holographic journal (or drafts thereof), and as such carried forward the miscopied latitude.

The Mitchell Manuscript and the Canberra Manuscript were prepared in approximately the same timeframe and it is difficult at times to determine which was written first. Beaglehole cites content differences that indicate that the Canberra Manuscript followed the Mitchell Manuscript, which would indicate that it could not have been the source of Orton’s work in the Mitchell Manuscript. Therefore, when preparing the Mitchell Manuscript, Orton must have been copying from some other form of Cook’s prior work and the only other known sources appear to be Cook’s Holographic Log and his holographic journal drafts, of which only a few fragmentary sections survive. Given that Cook’s Holographic Log apparently carried the correct entry, as evidenced by its accurate transcription into the Palliser Hudson Copy, the Mitchell Manuscript with its incorrect entry must have been copied from Cook’s fragmentary journal drafts.

**Source of the Latitude Error** — It would follow that Cook too would have worked from his prior drafts when preparing what became the more polished Canberra Manuscript. Therefore, if both Orton and Cook used the preliminary journal drafts as the source of their work and both incorporated the same incorrect latitude entry, it follows that the source itself was incorrect. As Cook was the author of the drafts, it would appear that Cook himself miscopied the latitude from his Holographic Log.

When the final Admiralty Manuscript was prepared, it was copied in large part from the Canberra Manuscript, although it also shares certain similarities with the Mitchell Manuscript. Like its two sources, however, the Admiralty Manuscript perpetuated the latitude error.

**Authenticity of the Hawkesworth Copy** — The fact that the Hawkesworth Copy appears to be the only identified source of the accurate information other than original log entries (including those in the Greenwich Manuscript) underscores the authenticity of the “unexpected” corrections and other markings in the Hawkesworth Copy. It is unlikely that the longitude, latitude and editorial changes would have been made within the print shop, where no original sources would have been available.<sup>42</sup>

Why those changes were overlooked in the hastily prepared second edition remains a mystery.<sup>43</sup>



## Endeavour Logs & Journals

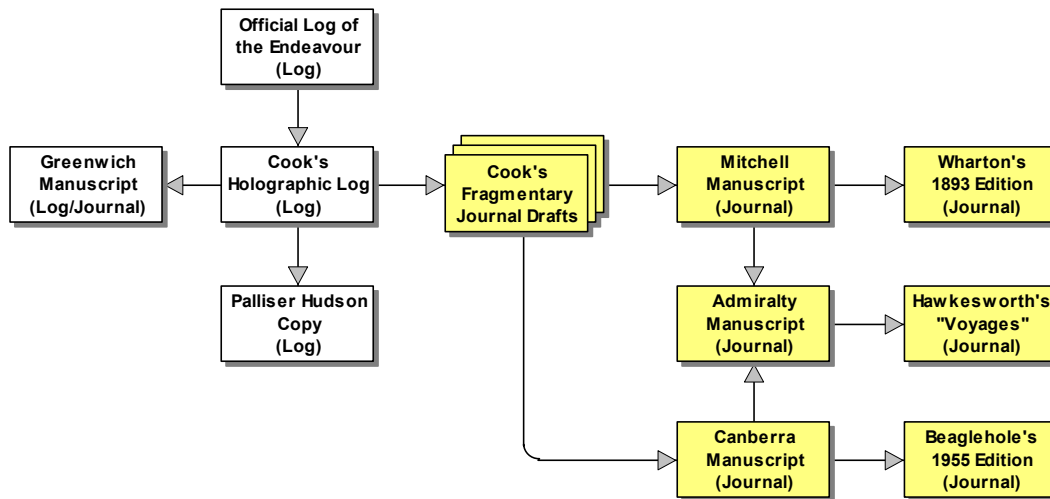


Figure 17. Sources from which the various logs and journals of the *Endeavour* voyage were prepared. Copies in shaded boxes contained the incorrect latitude value of 36°36' S. All incorrect versions of the journal were ultimately derived from either Cook's Holographic Log or the fragmentary holographic drafts of Cook's journal, neither of which now includes the period around November 25, 1769. However, as all versions of the log that were copied from Cook's Holographic Log record the correct latitude, it follows that Cook's Holographic Log also recorded the correct latitude. Therefore, Cook's fragmentary journal drafts appear to be the source of the latitude error.



## **The Pencil Comment**

Volume 3, page 659/255, lines 10-25 contain what is undoubtedly the most intriguing marking to be found in the Hawkesworth Copy. It is the only entry in pencil and appears to be written by a different hand than the other corrections. It is also the only general comment directed toward the printed text, as opposed to a correction, per se.

The printed text in question relates an incident that occurred September 3, 1770, at Cook's Bay on the western coast of the island of New Guinea in what is now Irian Jaya. Attacked by a defiant group of islanders, Cook refuses retribution, despite being "urged by some of the officers to ... cut down the cocoa-nut trees for the sake of the fruit." Cook curtly dismisses the proposal as "highly criminal."

The printed passage is vigorously crossed out and accompanied by pencil marginalia. [FIGURE 18] The scribbled comment is difficult to read, and some of it has been trimmed by the binder.<sup>44</sup> One interpretation reads:

*A very imprudent [improper?], ill timed display of your own Superiority of interest & humanity over your Officers – I suppose you reprov'd them at the time.*

The tone of what can be read seems to be critical of the printed text and makes reference to "you" and "your" in addressing its comments. It appears to be written to the author of the text, which could at first glance be either Cook or Hawkesworth.<sup>45</sup> Despite the wording, it seems odd that the comment would have been addressed toward Cook, as the printed sheets of the first edition weren't available until almost a year after Cook had departed on his second voyage to the Pacific, and the second edition was published almost two years before his return. That leaves Hawkesworth as the target, but the language doesn't seem to fit.

As is the case of virtually all of the other "unexpected" corrections, nothing was changed in the second edition, although in this case that's not surprising, as the nature of the pencil markings is more of comment than correction.

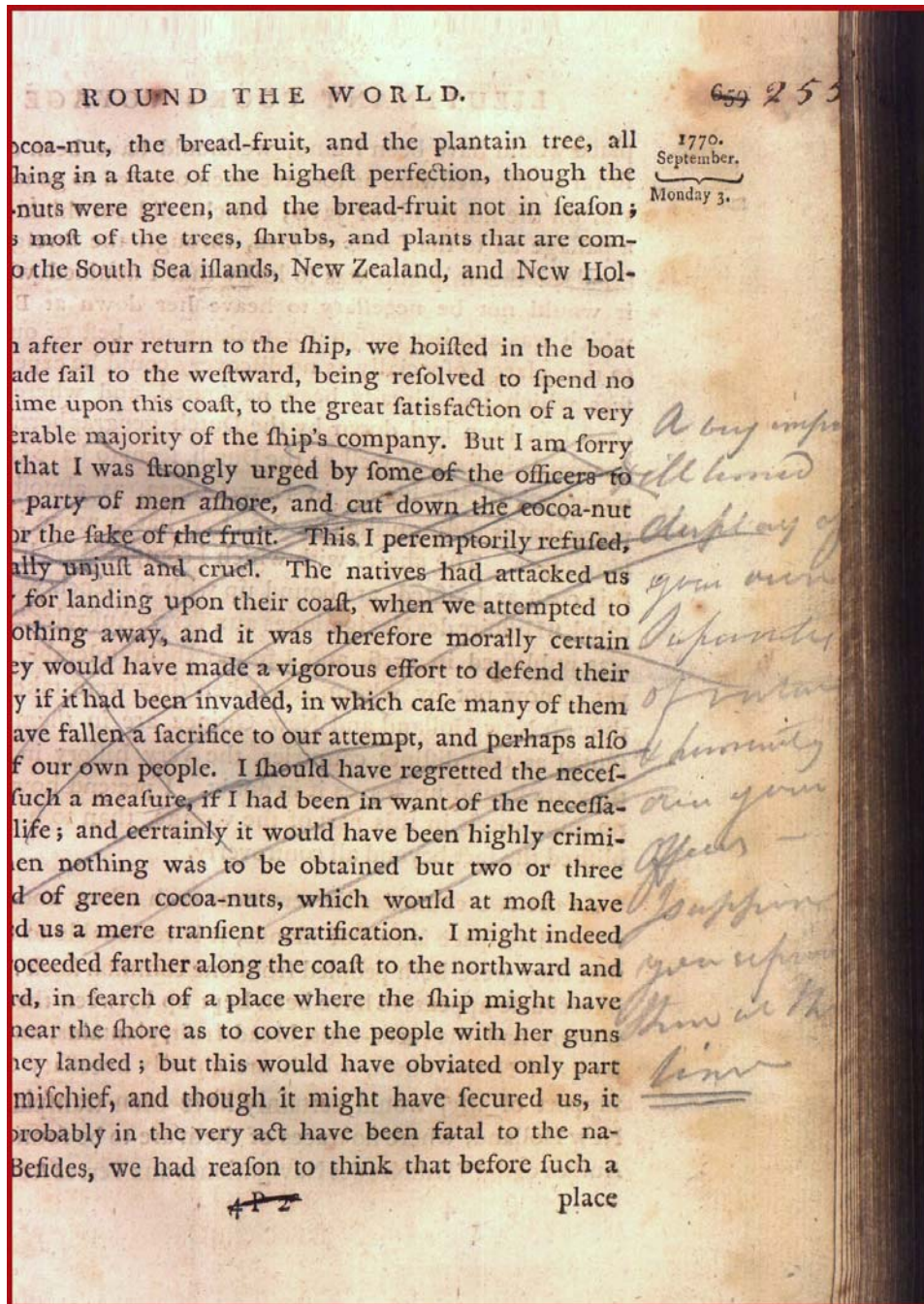


Figure 18. The "Pencil Comment." The printed passage is vigorously crossed out and accompanied by pencil marginalia. "A very imprudent [improper?], ill timed display of your own Superiority of interest & humanity over your Officers - I suppose you reprov'd them at the time."

## The Hawkesworth Copy

### Who Was the Author?

What can one surmise about the author of such a comment? Two characteristics suggest themselves — familiarity and access. The style, content and intimacy (i.e., use of “you” and “your”) of the “pencil comment” point toward an author who was familiar with the key players in the incident. Furthermore, assuming that the comment was written during preparation of the second edition and not later, the author would have to have had access to the printer’s copy at a time contemporary with its preparation and use.

The number of people with such familiarity and access during the summer of 1773 was small. Cook was at sea, and Hawkesworth would have been an unlikely critic of his own work. One person with both familiarity and access was Joseph Banks, fellow voyager with Cook on the *Endeavour* and advisor to Hawkesworth during the preparation of his “Voyages.” Banks’ journal of the voyage was the source of much of Hawkesworth’s material, and Banks was even rumored to have paid £1,000 to Hawkesworth to include his journal in the official account.<sup>46</sup>

Could Banks have written the “pencil comment?” Although the hand of the marginalia bears some similarities to that of Joseph Banks as it appears in his holograph journal in the State Library of New South Wales,<sup>47</sup> any definite association would be based more upon wishful thinking than upon knowledgeable conclusion. Derek McDonnell agrees.

*The pencil annotation is provocative indeed ... but, my first gut reaction is no to Banks (whose hand and style and character I know quite well). A lot of 18<sup>th</sup> century hands are very very similar.*<sup>48</sup>

During my original research on the volumes I didn’t consider anyone other than Banks, and after reaching the conclusion that he probably wasn’t the author I temporarily halted my investigation. Then, after having set aside the question of the authorship for over a year, I encountered another possible candidate. During a simple internet search on images related to Sydney Parkinson (one of Banks’ artists on the *Endeavour* voyage) I ran across two letters written to Joseph Banks by John Fothergill.<sup>49</sup> The letters in question were written during the summer of 1773, in the period between the first and second editions of Hawkesworth’s “Voyages.” Although there was nothing apparent in the texts to link Fothergill to the “pencil comment,” several features of the handwriting appeared strikingly similar to the penciled marginalia.

Could John Fothergill have been the author of the “pencil comment?” He certainly met the criterion of familiarity; he was the most respected London physician of the time and was an associate of Joseph Banks, John Hawkesworth, and William Strahan. He also shared some of Banks’ interests (e.g., botany, Cook’s first voyage), and was a central character in the dispute between Hawkesworth, Banks and Stanfield Parkinson over the disposition and publication of the late Sydney Parkinson’s papers and journal of the *Endeavour* voyage.<sup>50</sup>

All in all, the library web site had nine letters that were written by Fothergill between July 2, 1773 and March 9, 1778, covering a wide variety of topics, including some

## The Hawkesworth Copy

references to the Parkinson affair. I worked with printouts of the internet letters over the course of the following year, but the high contrast images lacked the fine detail necessary for a proper analysis of the writing's characteristics. However, in August 2004 I was able to visit the Mitchell Library, State Library of New South Wales and examine the original letters in person.

Armed with my previous research, a listing of the letters in question, and a letter of introduction from Joe Branin, Director of the Ohio State University Libraries, I showed up at the Mitchell Library on a Saturday to log my request. I was told that Warwick Hirst, the Assistant Curator of Manuscripts and Original Materials and the person to whom I needed to speak, wouldn't be back until Monday (my last day in Australia) and that I should call back then.

On Monday when I called Mr. Hirst, he told me that the letters would be available to me that afternoon. When I arrived at the library, he escorted me upstairs into the staff area and directed me to a table where the letters were waiting in a clamshell case accompanied by the customary pair of cotton gloves. He told me to take whatever time I needed and to simply let him know when I was finished. He even granted me permission to photograph the letters as long as I didn't use a flash. [FIGURE 19]

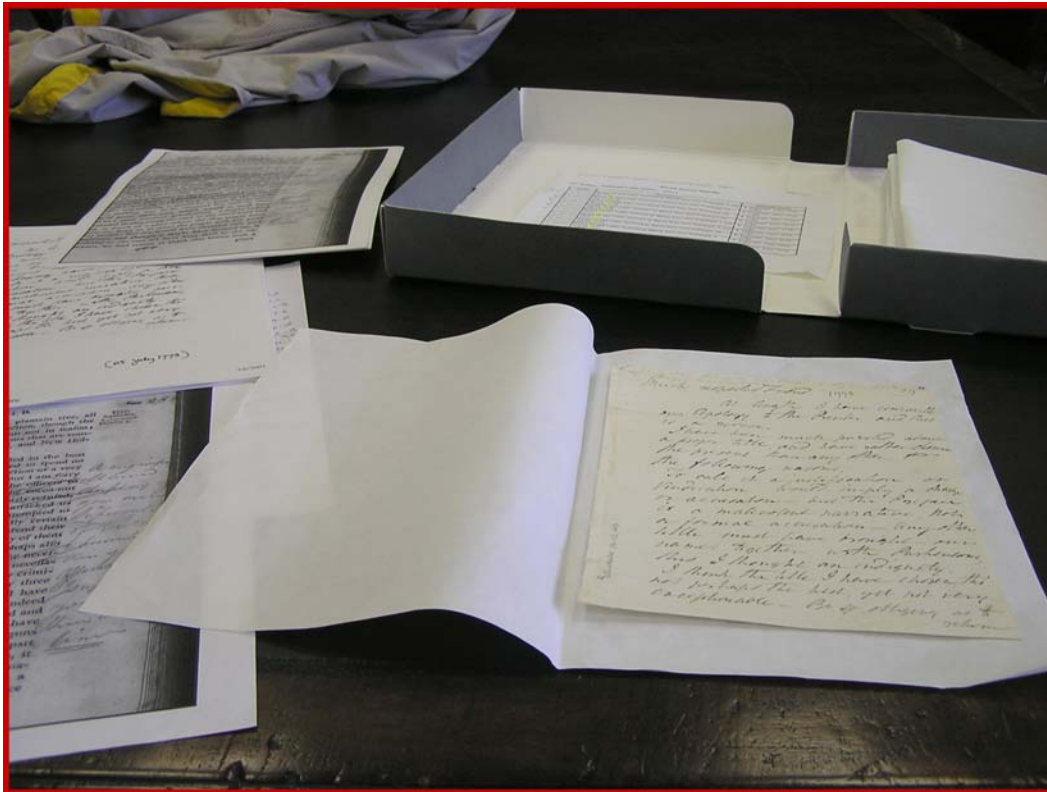


Figure 19. The letters written by John Fothergill to Joseph Banks set out for examination in the Mitchell Library, State Library of New South Wales.



## The Hawkesworth Copy

Needless to say, the next couple of hours were a delight. The privilege of working with original materials associated with some of the key characters associated with Cook's voyages, Benjamin Franklin, Samuel Johnson, William Bligh and other notables was heady stuff.<sup>51</sup>

My onsite examination of the letters and subsequent review of the images I took reinforced my impression of the similarity of Fothergill's writing with that of the "pencil comment" (e.g., letter forms, upward slant to right, use of dashes as phrase separators). [FIGURE 20]

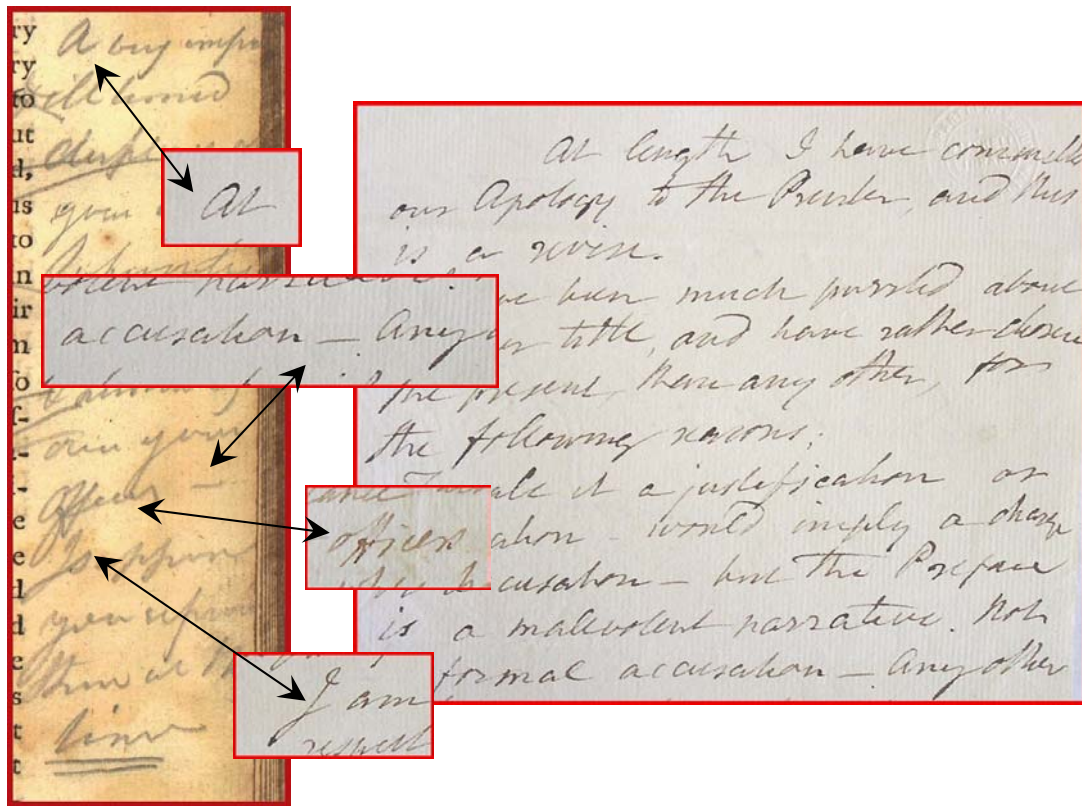


Figure 20. A comparison of some of the letter forms in the "Pencil Comment" to similar ones in letters written by John Fothergill to Joseph Banks.

There's no specific information that would conclusively demonstrate that Fothergill had access to the Hawkesworth Copy, and definitive confirmation of Fothergill as the author of the "pencil comment" probably cannot occur without a more detailed handwriting analysis by a qualified professional (if even then). Perhaps future investigation will yet finally unravel this element of the story of the Hawkesworth Copy.





# Preserving for Posterity

There's a certain responsibility that comes with the location and identification of an item that holds a particular place in history — the responsibility of preserving that item for posterity.

Although the Hawkesworth Copy is currently in my collection of Cook materials, it doesn't "belong" to me in the same sense that my car or house does. Rather, I see myself more as a temporary curator of the volumes, which have been around for more than two centuries and will no doubt survive much longer than I will.

Unlike the other items in my collection, all of which have their counterparts in other collections and libraries, the Hawkesworth Copy is unique; it represents an irreplaceable stitch in the fabric of the history of Captain James Cook and the exploration of the Pacific. For that reason, I believe it's important that the information in the volumes be shared with anyone who has an interest.

## The Hawkesworth Copy on CD-ROM

In the past, I had considered my library to be for personal use and enjoyment and hadn't thought about how it might also be used by others. That has changed with the Hawkesworth Copy. My current goals for those books are: (1) that they are never "lost" again; (2) that appropriate scholars and collectors know of their existence and contents; and (3) that they eventually end up in the "right" library where they will be continue to be available to later researchers.



Figure 21. The Hawkesworth Copy is available to interested collectors, scholars and researchers on two CD-ROMs. Volume 2 contains 215 images and Volume 3 contains 203 images. Each image file name is numbered in sequence and contains the page numbers that are included in the image. Images display full-screen on a 1024x768 monitor.

Bad things can happen to books. Many of today's bibliographic treasures are rare because fire, flood, insects and neglect have been able to destroy most of the copies that once existed. To guard against such a loss of the Hawkesworth Copy, I decided to make a digital copy of the volumes so that the information they contained would still be available should anything happen to the books themselves.

Because of the fragility of their bindings, I didn't want to subject the books to a photocopying or scanning process. That left digital photography. The two volumes were documented in a series of

## The Hawkesworth Copy

more than 400 images, beginning with their spines and covers and continuing with a separate high resolution image for each two-page spread.

The images show a small amount of focus shift and “fisheye” image distortion caused by the closeness of the camera and the fact that the books could not be supported in a fully-opened state. All in all, however, they are of sufficient quality to be enlarged for examination of individual markings and entries.

I then compiled a digital edition of the Hawkesworth Copy on two CD-ROMs that can be shared with appropriate collectors, scholars and researchers on a per-request basis.

## Going Into Print

The next step was to let people know that the Hawkesworth Copy existed. But who would want to know? In general it seemed that there were several groups that might take interest in the volumes — those interested in the exploits of Captain Cook, per se; those with a more general interest in exploration and maps; bibliophiles and book collectors; and bibliographic professionals. The challenge was to get the word out to all who might be interested.

Because people with different interests read different publications, I elected to create several versions of the current essay for publication in a variety of periodicals.



Figure 22. *The Hawkesworth Copy: An Investigation Into the Printer's Copy Used for the Preparation of the 1773 Second Edition of John Hawkesworth's Account of Captain Cook's First Voyage.* Cook's Log (Journal of the Captain Cook Society), January–March 2003, volume 26, number 1, pp. 3-9.

## Cook's Log

Probably the best method of getting information to fans of Captain Cook is through *Cook's Log*, the quarterly newsletter of the Captain Cook Society.

The society is international in scope, and *Cook's Log* routinely carries articles about all facets of Captain Cook's life and explorations.

The article I prepared for *Cook's Log* was a moderately detailed version of the current essay that focused more on Captain Cook and collecting and less on some of the bibliographical details of the volumes.

It appeared in *Cook's Log* in the first issue of 2003.

## The Hawkesworth Copy

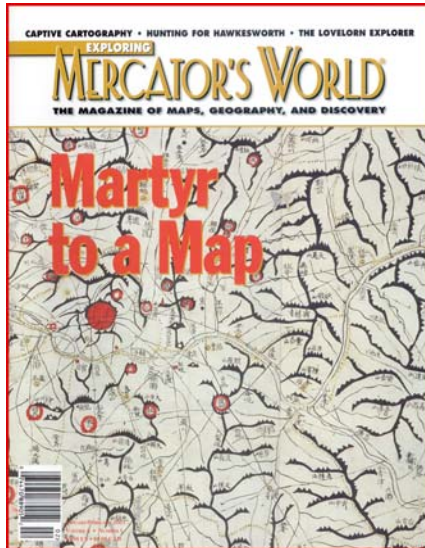


Figure 23. *The Hawkesworth Connection*, *Mercator's World*, January/February 2003, volume 8, number 1, pp. 20-25.

### *Mercator's World*

*Mercator's World* bills itself as “the magazine of maps, geography and discovery.” It is published bi-monthly and is available by subscription and on newsstands worldwide.

Because *Mercator's World* appeals to a broader audience with a strong interest in maps, I prepared a highly condensed article that focused on the implications of the “latitude discrepancy” but left out much of the other bibliographic detail.

The material appeared as a feature article in the January/February 2003 issue.

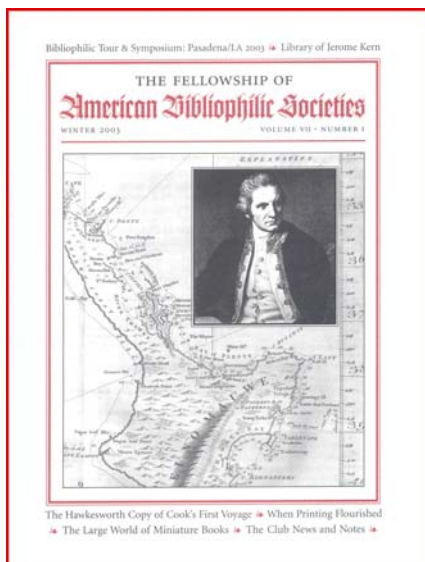


Figure 24. *The Hawkesworth Copy: An Investigation Into the Printer's Copy Used for the Preparation of the 1773 Second Edition of John Hawkesworth's Account of Captain Cook's First Voyage*. The Fellowship of American Bibliophilic Societies Journal, winter 2003, volume vi, number 3, pp. 8-14.

### *The Fellowship of American Bibliophilic Societies Journal*

The Fellowship of American Bibliophilic Societies (FABS) is an organization composed of 26 member book clubs and societies from throughout the United States and Canada.

The *FABS Journal* is published twice a year and is sent to the membership of all affiliated organizations.

The version I submitted to the *FABS Journal* had more of a book collector's perspective and focused on those parts of the story that would most appeal to fellow bibliophiles.

The article appeared as the cover story in the winter 2003 issue.

## The Hawkesworth Copy

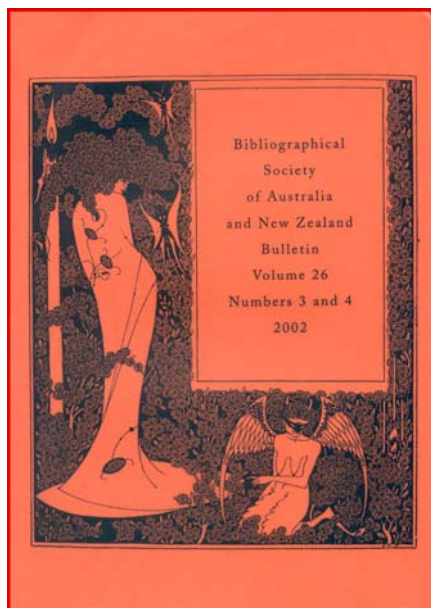


Figure 25. *The Hawkesworth Copy: An Investigation Into the Printer's Copy Used for the Preparation of the 1773 Second Edition of John Hawkesworth's Account of Captain Cook's First Voyage.* Bibliographical Society of Australia and New Zealand Bulletin, 2002, volume 26, numbers 3 & 4, pp. 173-192.

### *The Bibliographic Society of Australia and New Zealand Bulletin*

For me, the story of the Hawkesworth Copy began with Brian McMullin's 1989 article in the *BSANZ Bulletin*. For that reason, it was an easy decision to look to the same journal as a source for getting information about the Hawkesworth Copy to those who were interested in book history and physical bibliography.

I originally sent the complete text of my essay to Ian Morrison, the editor of the *BSANZ Bulletin*, and asked if he thought any part would be of interest to his readers. His response was that, even though the *BSANZ Bulletin* was a refereed journal, he wanted to bypass the refereeing process and print the article exactly as presented.

The article, which is the closest in detail to the current version of this essay, appeared in early 2003.

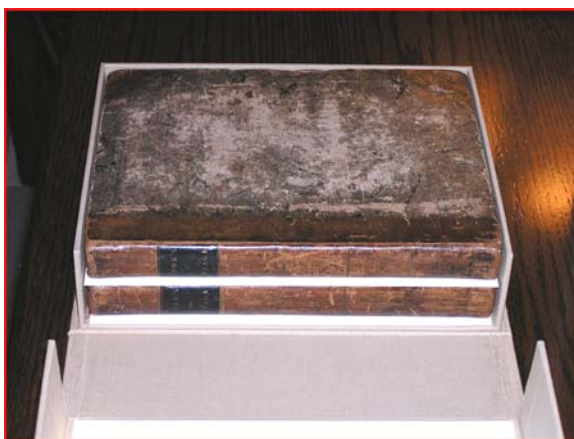


Figure 26. The Hawkesworth Copy volumes now rest in a custom "clamshell" case to protect them from further wear and tear. Such containers are frequently called "Solander Cases" after their inventor, Daniel Solander, the naturalist who assisted Joseph Banks on Cook's *Endeavour* voyage to the Pacific.



## Closing Comments

Survival of original printer's copy from the 18<sup>th</sup> century is unusual, particularly for such a well-known and well-researched publication by the premier printer of the time. Therefore, details contained in the Hawkesworth Copy can facilitate further investigations into the publications of Cook's voyages, the work of John Hawkesworth, and the process of 18<sup>th</sup> century book publishing in London. Particular insight might also be gained into the internal workings of the printing firm of William Strahan, publisher of many of the key works of the period, including Cook's *Voyages*, Johnson's *Dictionary*, Smith's *Wealth of Nations*, Gibbon's *Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire*, Hume's *History of England*, Fielding's *Tom Jones*, Goldsmith's *Vicar of Wakefield* and Blackstone's *Commentaries*.

In a 1754 letter to Sir Horace Mann, Horace Walpole coined the word "serendipity" and described it as "always making discoveries, by accidents and sagacity, of things they were not in quest of." So it has been with my discovery of the Hawkesworth Copy. I ended up with a unique Cook item not because I was looking for it (after all, nobody knew it existed), but simply because I was looking.

All in all, my investigation of the Hawkesworth Copy has been an adventure that has taken me down some unexpected paths (as any good adventure should). From cryptic words in a bookseller's description; to identification of a previously unrecorded (and unsuspected) original document; to identification of an error in every copy of the *Endeavour* journal; to questions yet unanswered ... it's all been great fun.

In a 1952 article entitled "Collecting Captain Cook", Sir Maurice Holmes stated:

*In assembling my Cook collection, I have had excitement in plenty, an excitement which in my case takes three forms.*

*First there is the excitement of paying more than one can afford for a much desired book. This is a form of excitement reserved for the collector of modest means, and I have savoured it to the full in the acquisition of three or four of my most treasured pamphlets.*

*At the opposite pole is the almost unbearable excitement of acquiring a real rarity for next to nothing. ...*

*Lastly, there is the excitement of getting a book which one has come to regard as an 'impossible'.<sup>52</sup>*

It's been my good fortune to have experienced all three forms of Holmes' excitement in my location and identification of the Hawkesworth Copy.



# Notes

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- 1 The document — manuscript, typescript or printed — given to the compositor to set into type for printing. (Carter, John. *ABC for Book Collectors*. Newcastle, Delaware: Oak Knoll Press, 1995.)
- 2 Although such long-range comparisons are always suspect, the computed buying power of £3 12s in 1773 is equivalent to over US\$400 today.
- 3 Kaufmann, Paul. *Borrowings of the Bristol Library, 1773–1784*. Charlottesville: Bibliographical Society of the University of Virginia, 1960.
- 4 McMullin, B.J., *Cook's First Voyage and the Strahan Quarto Editions of 1773*. Bibliographical Society of Australia and New Zealand Bulletin, 1989, volume 11, number 1, pages 5-35.
- 5 Once the next edition is complete, such printer's copy serves minimal purpose and there is little reason to assume it would survive. That the Volumes 2 and 3 of the Hawkesworth Copy exist is not in question; they do. Why they exist in their current form is, however, worthy of investigation. What would be the purpose of binding and retaining them, unless the printer or editor wanted to keep a record of the changes? If they were important enough to save, why were they carelessly bound and some markings trimmed in the process? Was Volume 1 similarly retained? If so, why was it subsequently separated and where is it now? The questions abound.
- 6 Personal correspondence from Brian McMullin (Monash University).
- 7 Personal correspondence from Derek Slavin (Derek Slavin – Rare & Collectible Books).
- 8 Subsequent attempts to locate Volume 1 through the bookseller in the United Kingdom have been unsuccessful; the first volume was not present in the original auction lot and the auction house has no record of where it acquired the volumes. In later correspondence, Derek Slavin added, "The missing volume definitely wasn't for sale in the same auction — I looked at absolutely everything, and had I spotted it I would have bought the other lot as well."
- 9 Upon examining the gutter of Volume 2, page 307 and Volume 3, pages 781/377 and 507/103, one can see the lack of a gathering fold. In numerous other cases the individual leaves are bound crooked. Compound page numbers refer to the page numbers in Volume 3, where the printed page number (e.g., 781) is manually overwritten with the corresponding revised page number for the second edition (i.e., 377).
- 10 Although the handwritten corrections were made before the volumes were bound, the loose sheets were in close proximity when marked, as some page markings have transferred to previous pages. For example, in Volume 3 the inked page number 103 offset to the previous page, but is not in registration as would be expected if the sheets were bound prior to the correction being made.
- 11 Although the bindings appear to be of the same general era as the text, it is not yet possible to state whether they are true contemporary bindings. After brief examinations, antiquarian booksellers Anthony Payne and Joe Felcone suggested that the bindings may be more typical of the period between 1790 and 1810. However, a copy of Stockdale's 1784 London edition of "*A Voyage to the Pacific Ocean ...*" identified by the author was bound virtually the same as the Hawkesworth Copy.
- 12 Actual ink fingerprints (recognizable as such and not just as smudges) can be found in Volume 3 on pages 706/302, 777/373, and others.
- 13 Personal correspondence from Derek McDonnell (Hordern House).



- 14 Personal correspondence from Brian McMullin (Monash University).
- 15 After the Errata page items were handled, all of the pagination and signature markings would fall out automatically from the process of setting the formes of type.
- 16 For an excellent history of William Strahan and his work in the London book trade, see: Cochran, J.A. *Dr. Johnson's Printer: The Life of William Strahan*. Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 1964.
- 17 There is at least one bibliographical change that the compositors simply missed. The marking correctly changes the last chapter pagination in the Volume 3 Contents from page 781 to 377, yet the second edition was printed without any page reference whatsoever. The existence of such a compositor omission leaves the door open for other missed corrections in "unexpected" places (i.e., not in the Errata or the continual signature and page changes, but buried in the text).
- 18 Wallis, Helen. *Publication of Cook's Journals: Some New Sources and Assessments*. Pacific Studies, 1978, volume I, number 2, pages 163-194.
- 19 The incorrect latitude for Pitcairn Island was corrected in the second edition. The longitude error was not changed, as the printed value agreed with Carteret's calculated position and was not known to be incorrect.
- 20 Abbott, John Lawrence. *John Hawkesworth: Eighteenth-Century Man of Letters*, The University of Wisconsin Press, 1982.
- 21 Personal correspondence from Derek McDonnell (Hordern House).
- 22 Hawkesworth anticipated the problem of inconsistencies between the text and the charts. In his General Introduction to the "Voyages" he stated, "*Great care has been taken to make the charts and the nautical part of the narrative coincide; if there should be any difference, which it is hoped will not be the case, the charts are to be confided in, as of unquestionable authority.*"
- 23 Cook, James. *The Journals of Captain James Cook on His Voyages of Discovery*. Ed. J.C. Beaglehole. I. *The Voyage of the Endeavour 1768-1771*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press for the Hakluyt Society, 1955.
- 24 Cook, James. *Captain Cook's Journal During His First Voyage Round the World Made in H.M. Bark "Endeavour" 1768-71*. Ed. W.J.L. Wharton. London: Elliot Stock, 1893.
- 25 The latitude discrepancy in question has been noted by others before, although apparently without any investigation into how it differed from other printed position errors. A first edition set of Hawkesworth's "Voyages" held by the Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library at Yale University has the latitude marked with an asterisk and the following note entered on the page, "*\* the Lat: here given 36° 3'6 S – must be a mistake as by the chart it is but 35° 3'6 – for Bream Head lies in 35° 4'6 S. Lat: & they steered thence to the Northward poor Knights Islands.*" Personal correspondence from Jill Haines (Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library, Yale University).
- 26 According to Wharton, "A Log is the official document in which the progress of the ship from hour to hour is recorded, with such official notes as the alteration in sail carried, expenditure of provisions and stores, etc. A Journal contains this information in a condensed form, with such observations as the officer keeping it may feel inclined to insert." However, as Beaglehole notes, "the border-line between the two is far from strongly marked."
- 27 The most comprehensive Cook bibliography is the *Bibliography of Captain James Cook R.N., F.R.S., Circumnavigator* (2<sup>nd</sup> Edition) edited by M.K. Beddie and published by the Council of the Library of New South Wales in 1970. Bibliographical items related to Cook are frequently referred to by their reference number in Beddie. The Canberra Manuscript is Beddie 574.
- 28 Personal correspondence from Carmel McNerny (National Library of Australia).

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- 29 Beddie 578.
- 30 Personal correspondence from David Pollock (State Library of New South Wales).
- 31 Personal correspondence from Warwick Hirst (Mitchell Library).
- 32 Beddie 575.
- 33 Cook, James. *The Journal of H.M.S. Endeavour 1768-1771*. Guilford, Surrey, England: Genesis Publications Limited, 1977.
- 34 Beddie 577.
- 35 Personal correspondence from Kiri Ross-Jones (National Maritime Museum).
- 36 Beddie 584.
- 37 Personal correspondence from Judy Nelson (Mitchell Library, State Library of New South Wales).
- 38 Beddie 579.
- 39 Beddie 576.
- 40 Christie's *[Sale] Catalogue of Important Books and Manuscripts from the Libraries of [among others] Commander P A Hudson* (November 28, 1960) and the printed list of purchasers and prices realized describes the manuscript Log Book and Journal of Captain Cook's First and Second Voyages bound in two volumes folio. It comprises a contemporary transcript of Cook's own log of the "Endeavour". The transcript is in two [possibly more] hands — "it seems probable that Orton, the clerk, was one writer, and the other hand (if only one) perhaps that of Lieutenant Zachary Hicks." The catalog includes as frontispiece a facsimile of a leaf of the journal signed by Cook, and devotes a plate to the binding. Beaglehole, in his definitive *The Journals of Captain Cook* (Hakluyt Society), states "no complete holograph log by Cook is extant. There are two separate holograph portions and there is one virtually complete copy" which is the one offered for sale by Christie's. It belonged originally to Sir Hugh Palliser, "the naval officer who early perceived Cook's talents, and remained his friend." The seller, Commander Hudson, was a direct descendant of Palliser. The manuscript was purchased for £53,000 by Reg Remington for the London bookseller Francis Edwards.
- 41 Personal correspondence from Graeme Powell (National Library of Australia).
- 42 One could argue an alternative hypothesis that those preparing the second edition simply compared each latitude and longitude to the engraved maps and charts that accompanied the first edition or to those positions quoted immediately before and after each entry to check the "reasonableness" of each position reference. However, if that were the case and the changes were made within the Strahan printing firm, why would the corrections generally not have been transferred to the second edition? In addition, such an argument would not address the question of the one "unexpected" editorial change shown in Figure 9.
- 43 The latitude discrepancy was not corrected in the 1775 Dublin edition, although that is not surprising, as such pirate editions are generally direct copies of authorized editions (i.e., the 1773 first and second editions). However, the latitude was corrected in the authorized four-volume octavo third edition that appeared in March 1785.
- 44 When was the "pencil comment" made? Trimming by the binder is evidence that the comment was written before the loose leaves were collected for binding. (See also Note 11.) It is not possible, however, to know whether the comment was written before or after the leaves were used as the printer's copy for the second edition.

- 45 Hawkesworth compiled his account of Cook's first voyage from the combined journals of James Cook and Joseph Banks. He also added his own interpretations and embellishments throughout, and left the reader with no ability to decipher which of the three contributors was responsible for any given part of the text. However, it seems unlikely the marginalia would have been directed toward Banks, as the printed version of the crossed-out portion of the text closely matches Cook's original journal and is quite dissimilar from Banks' journal.
- 46 The amount is a substantial one, being equivalent to over \$100,000 in today's funds. In a letter written on 15 May 1773 to William Mason, Horace Walpole wrote, "... at present our ears listen and our eyes are expecting East Indian affairs, and Mr. Banks's voyage, for which Mr. Hawkesworth has received *d'avance* one thousand pounds from the voyager, and six thousand from the booksellers, Strahan & Co., who will take due care that we shall read nothing else till they meet with such another pennyworth." Quoted in *The Journals of Captain James Cook on His Voyages of Discovery, Vol. I*, p. ccxlix. Ed. J.C. Beaglehole.
- 47 Joseph Banks' holographic *Endeavour Journal* is available online through the State Library of New South Wales. (<http://www.sl.nsw.gov.au/banks/index.html>)
- 48 Personal correspondence from Derek McDonnell (Hordern House).
- 49 The two letters and several others written by Fothergill to Banks are available online through the State Library of New South Wales.  
([http://www.sl.nsw.gov.au/banks/series\\_72/72\\_047.htm](http://www.sl.nsw.gov.au/banks/series_72/72_047.htm),  
[http://www.sl.nsw.gov.au/banks/series\\_72/72\\_048.htm](http://www.sl.nsw.gov.au/banks/series_72/72_048.htm))
- 50 Hawkesworth described Fothergill's role in a 1773 letter addressed to "My Dear Madam."  
"As to Parkinson tho' y<sup>e</sup> suit is in my name, it is at Dr Fothergills expense, who by his affirmation [the Quaker's affidavit] alledges that the papers from which his Book is printed are Mr Bank's property. that he saw them delivered to Mr Banks in consequence of the purchase & that Mr Banks afterwards lent them to Parkinson to read, upon his, [the Doc<sup>rs</sup>] answering for no improper use being made of them; that the first thing Parkinson did with the papers was to copy them, and the next thing to print them. This was such justifiable cause for a suit & as to my affidavit it is only that Banks executed a Bill of Sale to me of Parkinson's papers to make me plaintiff in the suit, & this fact, y<sup>e</sup> bill of Sale to which Mr Wallace's clerks, the Solicitor in y<sup>e</sup> Cause, is a subscribing witness proves to be true beyond the possibility of a Cavil —"  
(Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library, Yale University).
- 51 When I was finished with my direct examination of the Fothergill letters, Warwick Hirst guided me to an exhibit area where the State Library of New South Wales was displaying a selection of its finest objects, including Joseph Banks' original journal from Cook's first voyage. The two volumes written by Banks (comparable in American terms to the handwritten notes of Columbus and Lewis & Clark combined) were wonderful in themselves, but they were only part of what was in the room. Incunabula (books printed before 1501), explorer's journals, illustrated books, early maps of Australia ... the room was full of world class publications and artifacts, and I was the only person present. It was a wonderful experience.
- 52 Holmes, Sir Maurice. *Collecting Captain Cook*. The Book Collector, Autumn 1952, volume 1, number 3, pages 166-173.



## **The Hawkesworth Copy**

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