

**Constructing  
the  
“Perfect” Voyage**

**Nicolas Baudin at Port Jackson, 1802**

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## *Abstract*

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In 1802, a French scientific expedition under the command of Nicolas Baudin made an unscheduled visit to the British colony at Port Jackson, New South Wales. It was a pivotal episode in the course of Baudin's Australian voyage. The commander had already fulfilled most of his instructions, though imperfectly, and only the north coast of New Holland remained unexamined. He and his men stayed at anchor in Port Jackson for over five months. When they set sail once more, they embarked on what historians agree was a new phase of the expedition. Baudin and his men did not proceed directly to the north coast, but returned to the southern and western coasts, where they perfected and augmented the work in geography and natural history that they had carried out earlier.

This thesis examines what occurred during the sojourn at Port Jackson, as well as the circumstances that led up to it, in order to determine in precise terms why and how this episode came to be a turning point in Baudin's voyage. It asks: was the second campaign just an extension of the first or was it an opportunity for Baudin to redefine the voyage? The Port Jackson sojourn thus serves as a site of interrogation regarding the nature of Nicolas Baudin's leadership and the construction, on British colonial territory, of a French scientific voyage.

However, the opportunity to gain real insight into the sojourn of the voyagers at Port Jackson has been limited by a perceived scarcity of resources. The fact that Baudin's journal falls silent here has meant that there is no one privileged source of information on the commander's role or on the day-to-day activities of the expeditioners, and that scholars examining this episode have tended to focus on the details of the larger picture rather than on the larger picture itself.

This is not to say that the presence of the Baudin expedition in Port Jackson has left no material traces. In fact, there is a diverse range of archival records – expense accounts, correspondence, inventories of specimens, journals kept by officers and savants and the logbooks of the *Géographe* – from which the day-to-day life of the commander and his men

at Port Jackson can be reconstructed. Commencing with an analysis of the events that led up to the sojourn and influenced Baudin's approach to it, this study examines the relationships that Baudin built in the colony, his manner of command aboard the *Géographe* and the scientific results of the stay. After then analysing the way in which Baudin managed the sojourn and planned the second campaign, we conclude that Baudin did not simply seek to satisfy the expectations of his superiors but in fact he seized this opportunity to create the "perfect" scientific voyage.

# *Thesis Declaration*

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This work contains no material which has been accepted for the award of any other degree or diploma in any university or other tertiary institution to Nicole Starbuck and, to the best of my knowledge and belief, contains no material previously published or written by another person, except where due reference has been made in the text.

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## *Acknowledgements*

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## *A Note on Sources*

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The bulk of the records pertaining to Nicolas Baudin's time in Sydney are held in French archives. For the sake of brevity, the following abbreviations for these institutions and their relevant collections have been used in references:

Archives nationales de France (ANF), série marine (SM)

Muséum national d'Histoire naturelle, Paris (MNHN)

Muséum d'Histoire naturelle, Le Havre (MHN, Le Havre), Collection Lesueur (CL).

Most of the manuscripts are held in the archives under a single reference code. In the thesis, this code is provided only in a manuscript's first citation in each chapter. Certain manuscripts – the journals of Nicolas Baudin, Emmanuel Hamelin and François-Michel Ronsard – have multiple volumes and versions, each of which is held under a separate reference code. For these documents, the relevant code is provided in each citation in the thesis.

As most of the records are in the French language, I have considered it useful to give English translations systematically throughout, while providing the original French text in the footnotes. There do exist serious and highly regarded translations of two of the key narratives of the voyage – Christine Cornell has published *The Journal of Post-Captain Nicolas Baudin*, a translation of Baudin's sea log, referred to as the *Journal de mer* (ANF, SM, 5JJ36-40A), and *Voyage of Discovery to the Southern Lands*, which is a translation of the second edition of François Péron's *Voyage de découvertes aux Terres australes*. These translations have thus provided the English quotations from Baudin's and Péron's narratives. Except where otherwise indicated, I have also used the second edition of Péron's *Voyage de découvertes* for most of my French quotations derived from this narrative. Since this text was amended, augmented and published in 1824 by co-author Louis Freycinet, it can be considered the complete version of this official narrative of the Baudin expedition. There is also a transcription in French of the fair copy of Baudin's journal, published by Jacqueline Bonnemains and known as the *Journal historique* or *Journal personnel* (ANF, SM, 5JJ35 and



5JJ40B-D). Joint references are provided for this transcription and the archival copy of the *Journal historique*.

Where no published translation is available, I have provided my own. Except where changes would have significantly altered the character of the text, I have added punctuation markers lacking in the original and standardised capitalisation and spelling. For all quotations and paraphrases in English of French texts, I have provided the original French version in the footnotes.

# Introduction

*The ship, for the insider – in all its spaces, in all its relationships, in all its theatre – was always being remade, was always in process. Its story had not ended. The partial history men made of it was always creating something new.*

- G. Denning

On the morning of 17 June 1802, a French discovery ship tacked against the breeze at the entrance to Sydney Harbour. It had been over eighteen months since the *Géographe* and her consort the *Naturaliste* had set sail from France to “increase the mass of human knowledge”.<sup>1</sup> Throughout the voyage, every squall and calm at sea, each dispute and courtesy in port had been chronicled diligently by Commander Nicolas Baudin in his journal. Yet as the *Géographe* approached Sydney, the journal stopped. While various letters, accounts and other journals sketch an outline of the expedition’s five months in the colony, little is known of the commander’s own experiences, his plans and activities, during the sojourn. It was not until his return to sea, on 17 November 1802, that Baudin recommenced the narration of his journey. On that day, the *Géographe* sailed once more with the *Naturaliste*, and with a new ship: the *Casuarina*.

The sojourn at Port Jackson was an unscheduled one. But it is not for that fact alone that the episode is of interest to us. Scientific voyagers regularly diverged from their itineraries, changing course to avoid inclement weather or making unplanned stopovers to

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<sup>1</sup> “Plan of Itinerary for Citizen Baudin”, reproduced in C. Cornell (trans.), *The Journal of Post-Captain Nicolas Baudin* (Adelaide: Libraries Board of South Australia, 1974), p. 1; “Plan de la campagne que doivent exécuter les corvettes le *Géographe* et le *Naturaliste*, rédigé par les citoyens Fleurieu et Buache et approuvé par le Ministre de la Marine”, reproduced in *Journal du Capitaine de Vaisseau N° Baudin Commandant en Chef des Corvettes le Géographe et le Naturaliste, Destinées par le Gouvernement à faire une Campagne de Reconnaissance et Recherches dans différentes Parties des Mers Australes*, ANF, SM, 5JJ35: “accroître la masse des connaissances humaines”. It should be noted that this document has also been reproduced in Jacqueline Bonnemaïn's edition of the fair copy of Baudin's journal, *Mon voyage aux Terres australes: journal personnel du commandant Baudin* (Paris: Imprimerie Nationale, 2000). There are also two other manuscript versions of this itinerary (C. P. C. Fleurieu, “Projet d’itinéraire pour le Cap<sup>ne</sup> Baudin”, written in Paris and dated an VIII [1799 to 1800], ANF, SM, BB4997 and C. P. C. Fleurieu, “Plan du Voyage qui doit être exécuté par le Capitaine Baudin”, dated 4 floréal an VIII [24 April 1800], ANF, SM, BB4995). However the copy that appears in the fair copy and that we have quoted above has been chosen as our preferred source. Not only is it the source generally quoted by other scholars, but it truly represents Baudin's instructions, in that it is the working document that the commander kept with him and used throughout the duration of the voyage.

replenish supplies and make repairs. This unscheduled stopover, however, was exceptional for two reasons. Firstly, its length. The reason, typically, that navigators called into ports was to service the needs of their expeditions as quickly as possible. They wanted to avoid the influence of distractions on shore and, especially, to return quickly to the work of “discovering”. They would normally never dream of spending five months at anchor.<sup>2</sup> This leaves one to wonder: why did Baudin choose to put his explorations on hold for such an extended period? And, moreover, what occurred during those months – between the French and the British in Sydney, aboard the ships moored in Neutral Bay, and in the field with the savants? These questions become even more intriguing when we consider the second aspect of this sojourn that merits our attention: the Port Jackson stay is typically recognised as the episode which divided Baudin’s voyage into two separate campaigns – the second of which, after the departure from Port Jackson, did not simply carry out those few tasks that the Frenchmen had not yet attempted but, in fact, took them back to the southern and western coasts to refine and augment the work in geography and natural history that had been carried out earlier.<sup>3</sup>

Despite the evident importance of this episode, however, there has as yet been no close study of the detail and significance of what occurred during these months at Port Jackson, or of the pivotal role that they played in defining the characteristics and the objectives of the campaign that followed. It is particularly important to investigate whether the voyage that left Port Jackson was merely an extension of the original voyage, that is to say no more, and no less, than a natural and fortuitous consequence of the extended sojourn, or in fact a distinctly different voyage, constructed deliberately and purposefully in the colony by the commander. It is only in this way that the significance of the Port Jackson stay in

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<sup>2</sup> For further discussion on this point, see G. Denning, *Mr Bligh’s Bad Language: Passion, Power and Theatre on the Bounty* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1992), p. 85.

<sup>3</sup> For example, see R. Bouvier and E. Maynial, *Une aventure dans les mers australes: l’expédition du commandant Baudin (1800-1803)* (Paris: Mercure de France, 1947), p. 187; J.-P. Faivre, *L’Expansion française dans le Pacifique, 1800-1842* (Paris: Nouvelle Editions Latines, 1953), p. 152 and “La France découvre l’Australie: l’expédition du *Géographe* et du *Naturaliste* (1801-1803)”, *Australian Journal of French Studies* II, 1 (1965), p. 53 and M. Jangoux, “La première relâche du *Naturaliste* au Port Jackson (26 avril – 18 mai 1802): le témoignage du capitaine Hamelin”, *Australian Journal of French Studies*, XLI, 2 (2004), p. 126.

Baudin's Australian voyage may be clearly determined.

The expedition had initially been proposed by Baudin himself in 1798, as a "voyage around the world" that "would interest the whole of Europe".<sup>4</sup> By 1800, the Institut National had drawn up its own plans for the voyage and Count Claret de Fleurieu, former Minister of Marine, soon afterwards laid down the itinerary that Baudin would follow.<sup>5</sup> It included stopovers at Tenerife, Mauritius and Timor; a striking omission was the British colony at Port Jackson. It had only been settled for 12 years when the Baudin expedition left France in 1800 and it had not yet been visited by a French expedition. Jean-François Galaup de La Pérouse had stopped at Botany Bay in 1788, but he did not visit nearby Port Jackson and, in any case, the colony had not yet been established as the First Fleet had arrived only days earlier. Spanish navigator Alessandro Malaspina had spent a month in Sydney in 1793, and although he wrote a detailed report concerning the colony,<sup>6</sup> he was arrested shortly after his return to Spain and the report was not published until many years later. Port Jackson was therefore unfamiliar territory to the French, indeed to Europeans generally. However, the colony had developed rapidly during those 12 years and it was in fact well-equipped to host foreign ships. As Ernest Scott comments, "it was already becoming a place of consequence".<sup>7</sup>

While the Port Jackson stay has not been the object of a major study in its own right, it has long been recognised by historians of the expedition as an important event in the course of Baudin's voyage. Certain scholars have treated it as an episode which offers insight into the true objectives of the expedition. Others have considered it for its contributions to the results of the voyage. Throughout all of the historical accounts, though, three themes have remained central: science, politics and the business of calling in to port.

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<sup>4</sup> "un voyage autour du monde [...] qui intéresse l'Europe entière", letter from Nicolas Baudin to the members of the Institut National, dated 6 floréal an VIII [26 April 1800], ANF, SM, BB4995. See also the letter from N. Baudin to the Minister of Marine and the Colonies, undated, ANF, SM, BB4995.

<sup>5</sup> Cornell, "Plan of Itinerary for Citizen Baudin", pp. 1-6; "Plan de la campagne", ANF, SM, 5JJ35.

<sup>6</sup> See report entitled: "Examen Politico de las Colonias Inglesas en el Mar Pacifico", Museo naval, Madrid, ms 318, ff. 111-37 (translated into English and published by R. J. King as *The Secret History of the Convict Colony. Alexandro Malaspina's Report on the British Settlement of New South Wales* (Sydney: Allen and Unwin, 1990)).

<sup>7</sup> E. Scott, *Terre Napoleon: A History of French Explorations and Projects in Australia* (London: Methuen, 1910), p. 200.

It was Ernest Scott, in 1910, who first produced a detailed history of the French expedition.<sup>8</sup> The aim of his study was to determine whether or not there were grounds for the claim that Napoléon Bonaparte had assigned territorial aims to the Baudin expedition, and it is through this lens that he examines Baudin's time in the English colony. He considers Péron's observations of Port Jackson and describes the assistance that was given to the Frenchmen by members of the colony;<sup>9</sup> however, his main point is that there was in fact no reason for the colonial authorities to suspect the expedition of planning to claim territory on the Australian coast or of plotting an invasion of the colony; Napoléon wanted the glory of France to depend on achievements other than war, he argues.<sup>10</sup> Moreover, claims Scott, "the staff knew more about flowers, beetles, butterflies, and rocks than about fortifications and colonies".<sup>11</sup> The personal conduct and motivations of the commander himself figure little in this argument. Indeed, Scott maintains that the available sources were inadequate to support an evaluation of Baudin's management of the expedition during the sojourn.<sup>12</sup> Nevertheless, questions about Baudin's leadership during these months at anchor were to emerge repeatedly in subsequent studies of the Port Jackson stay.

Arthur W. Jose addressed the issue with some enthusiasm, in 1934.<sup>13</sup> His article, simply entitled "Nicolas Baudin", was written in defence of the commander against claims made by some of his young officers that he was "merely an old merchant skipper with his head turned".<sup>14</sup> It argues that the Port Jackson sojourn was mainly important because of "the misbehaviour" of zoologist François Péron and lieutenant Louis de Freycinet, who Jose claimed spent their time in the colony obtaining information that would be useful for a later invasion by the French.<sup>15</sup> By contrast, it is asserted that "their commander behaved

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<sup>8</sup> Scott, *Terre Napoleon*.

<sup>9</sup> Scott, *Terre Napoleon*, pp. 193, 201 and 207.

<sup>10</sup> Scott, *Terre Napoleon*, pp. 207, 218, 262 and 264.

<sup>11</sup> Scott, *Terre Napoleon*, p. 272.

<sup>12</sup> Concerning the records relating to Baudin, Scott remarks, "if we used only the Baudin-King correspondence, we would think him worthy to succeed La Pérouse and Bougainville. If we only used the *Voyage*, we would think him barely fit to command a canal barge". See *Terre Napoleon*, p. 238.

<sup>13</sup> A. W. Jose, "Nicolas Baudin", *Royal Australian Historical Society: Journal and Proceedings*, 20 (1934), pp. 337-396.

<sup>14</sup> Jose, "Nicolas Baudin", p. 345.

<sup>15</sup> Jose, "Nicolas Baudin", p. 360.

impeccably”.<sup>16</sup> In fact, Jose gives Baudin personal credit for establishing an amicable relationship with the reputedly irascible governor of the colony, Philip Gidley King.<sup>17</sup> He describes Baudin’s conduct at Port Jackson as that of a voyager whose interests were entirely absorbed by the scientific mission at hand, and as that of a captain who, in trying to maintain order aboard his ship, “did not hope to gain it by mere good feeling”.<sup>18</sup> Jose’s argument did not extend to whether or not the subsequent campaign benefited from the sojourn at Port Jackson, or, more specifically, from the changes that Baudin made to the expedition during that episode, but the view he put forth regarding the commander’s diplomatic skills and leadership clearly advanced upon the account provided earlier by Scott.

Nevertheless, Jose’s view was not widely supported by other historians at the time. It was not until the late 1940s that Baudin’s diplomatic accomplishments at Port Jackson were once more clearly acknowledged. In *Une aventure dans les mers australes*, René Bouvier and Edouard Maynial argued that Baudin’s demonstrated passion for science above territorial interests effectively allayed King’s suspicions about the objectives of the expedition and, furthermore, helped to establish positive relations between the expedition and the colonial authorities.<sup>19</sup> Yet, perhaps because neither they nor Jose substantiated their claims with a detailed study explaining precisely how Baudin managed his relationships during the sojourn, their argument did not have a significant impact on later accounts of the episode. Both “Nicolas Baudin” and *Une aventure dans les mers australes*, nevertheless, succeeded in adding weight to Scott’s argument for the purely scientific, rather than political, nature of the expedition. Bouvier and Maynial, in addition to stressing Baudin’s lack of concern for political matters, also emphasised the fact that the Port Jackson stay directly contributed to the expedition’s work in natural history and geography.<sup>20</sup> Indeed, a strong body of work was being established which used the sojourn at Port Jackson to demonstrate that the Baudin expedition was not a political venture.

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<sup>16</sup> Jose, “Nicolas Baudin”, p. 360.

<sup>17</sup> Jose, “Nicolas Baudin”, p. 360.

<sup>18</sup> Jose, “Nicolas Baudin”, p. 364.

<sup>19</sup> Bouvier and Maynial, *Une aventure dans les mers australes*, p. 179.

The dichotomy of science and politics addressed by Scott and Jose, as well as by Bouvier and Maynial, was also central to the work produced in the 1950s and 1960s by Jean-Paul Faivre.<sup>21</sup> In contrast to his immediate predecessors, however, in *L'Expansion française dans le Pacifique*, and also in his article “La France découvre l’Australie”, Faivre sought to explore and to emphasise the political objectives of Baudin’s voyage to Australia. French interest in the colony at Port Jackson and the results of the expedition’s visit there were central to the development of his case that Baudin had been sent to Australia on a reconnaissance mission.<sup>22</sup> He argues that, although Baudin had not been instructed to visit Port Jackson itself, his instructions to chart the Torres and Bass Straits had been motivated largely by the fact that they happened to provide the quickest routes to the English colony.<sup>23</sup> Like other historians, he assumes that Baudin only sought refuge at Port Jackson out of necessity,<sup>24</sup> and like Scott before him, he examines the suspicions that were harboured by Governor King and that ultimately led to the establishment of additional British settlements – at Port Phillip Bay and in Tasmania, on the Derwent River.<sup>25</sup> However, Faivre also examines the interest shown by the French expeditioners in the colony’s development and its weak defences.<sup>26</sup> He declares that the observations recorded by Baudin and his men during the Port Jackson stay, being the first French reports concerning the colony, constituted perhaps the most critical results of the expedition and clearly marked the voyage as a political mission.<sup>27</sup>

John Dunmore, in 1969, took a more nuanced approach.<sup>28</sup> While he entertained the possibility that Bonaparte’s support of the Baudin expedition was motivated to some extent by a militaristic interest in Port Jackson,<sup>29</sup> he disagrees with Faivre’s conviction that Baudin’s voyage was a reconnaissance mission. At the same time, he argues that the “cultural

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<sup>20</sup> Bouvier and Maynial, *Une aventure dans les mers australes*, p. 177.

<sup>21</sup> Faivre, *L'Expansion française* and “La France découvre l’Australie”, pp. 45-58.

<sup>22</sup> Faivre, *L'Expansion française*, p. 108.

<sup>23</sup> Faivre, *L'Expansion française*, p. 111.

<sup>24</sup> Faivre, *L'Expansion française*, p. 153 and “La France découvre l’Australie”, p. 46.

<sup>25</sup> Faivre, *L'Expansion française*, pp. 153, 158, 160 and 164, and “La France découvre l’Australie”, p. 54.

<sup>26</sup> Faivre, *L'Expansion française*, pp. 155-156.

<sup>27</sup> Faivre, *L'Expansion française*, p. 153.

<sup>28</sup> J. Dunmore, *French Explorers in the Pacific* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1969), vol. II, *The Nineteenth Century*, pp. 28-29.

<sup>29</sup> Dunmore, *French Explorers in the Pacific*, vol. II, p. 11.

offensive” theory – that is, the argument put forward by historians such as Ernest Scott, and mentioned above, which claimed that Napoléon Bonaparte aimed to gain glory for France through cultural achievements – can lead to confusion and over-simplification.<sup>30</sup> He contends that there was a combination of scientific and political advantages to the expedition, but reminds us that the voyage was Baudin’s idea and that Baudin was deeply interested in scientific research.<sup>31</sup> “What is certain”, Dunmore points out, “is that, if the French were sent as spies, then never has a spy ring been so carefully camouflaged by layers of scientists and never has a band of spies squabbled more, or been less efficient in the execution of its secret orders”.<sup>32</sup> Indeed, Dunmore interpreted the Port Jackson stay as no more than a welcome opportunity for the Frenchmen to pursue their scientific researches, enjoy social functions and reflect upon the voyage they had just completed.<sup>33</sup> Accordingly, he explains the exceptional length of the sojourn only by stating that five months were required in order to renew the health of the men and to repair the ships.<sup>34</sup> For Dunmore, the Port Jackson sojourn concerned, simply, the typical business of calling in to port.

In regard to whether the expedition was political or scientific, Dunmore has a point; this, indeed, is not the question we need to be asking. Political interests – whether in the form of imperial, commercial or strategic objectives – are attached in varying degrees to all voyages of discovery. In Dunmore’s words: “it is unwise to read more into Baudin’s expedition than this, the voyage belongs to the tradition of scientific travel that went back to Bougainville; it is the last of the great adventures”.<sup>35</sup> Indeed, scholars have been inclined, more recently, to put aside the science/politics question in regard to the Port Jackson sojourn and to focus, instead, upon the finer details of the episode.

In 1987, Frank Horner published the most comprehensive and detailed account to date

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<sup>30</sup> Dunmore, *French Explorers in the Pacific*, vol. II, p. 9.

<sup>31</sup> Dunmore, *French Explorers in the Pacific*, vol. II, pp. 11 and 12.

<sup>32</sup> Dunmore, *French Explorers in the Pacific*, vol. II, p. 11.

<sup>33</sup> Dunmore, *French Explorers in the Pacific*, vol. II, p. 29.

<sup>34</sup> Dunmore, *French Explorers in the Pacific*, vol. II, p. 28.

<sup>35</sup> Dunmore, *French Explorers in the Pacific*, vol. II, p. 11.



of what occurred during the Port Jackson stay.<sup>36</sup> He also dispelled certain myths, such as that which presented the *Géographe* arriving at Sydney in such a crippled state that it could not reach anchorage without assistance.<sup>37</sup> This particular myth had originated in British records and had been perpetuated by historians such as Ernest Scott.<sup>38</sup> Through his description of shipboard affairs during the sojourn, Horner, in contrast to Jose as well as to Bouvier and Maynial, presents Baudin as an irrational and overbearing commander who caused discord aboard the *Géographe* and turned his own officers against him.<sup>39</sup> Similarly, in regard to Baudin's relations on shore with the colonial authorities, he does not take up the comments made during the 1930s and 1940s regarding Baudin's diplomatic skill, neither does he examine in further depth the influence of the British colonialist concerns, which had been raised by Scott and Faivre. Instead, he emphasises King's generosity and cooperative spirit.<sup>40</sup> It is when he comes to describing how Baudin prepared for the second campaign that Horner clearly acknowledges the commander's agency and determination. Here he makes a vital point. Rather than mentioning simply that Baudin prepared to continue his voyage, he states that, in fact, the commander constructed "a new expedition", one that would allow him to carry out his instructions more effectively.<sup>41</sup>

Horner's description of the events and of Baudin's conduct at Port Jackson has since been widely accepted by scholars, and has constituted a common starting point for subsequent historical accounts of the episode, including Anthony Brown's *Ill-Starred Captains*, which provides a lively and extremely detailed description of the expedition's visit to Port Jackson.<sup>42</sup> Its main contribution to knowledge of the episode concerns the interesting background of

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<sup>36</sup> F. Horner, *The French Reconnaissance: Baudin in Australia, 1801-1803* (Carlton: Melbourne University Press, 1987), pp. 248-262.

<sup>37</sup> Horner, *The French Reconnaissance*, p. 240.

<sup>38</sup> See M. Flinders, *A Voyage to Terra Australis: Undertaken for the Purpose of Completing the Discovery of that Vast Country, and Prosecuted in the Years 1801, 1802 and 1803, in His Majesty's Ship the Investigator* (London: G. and W. Nicol, 1814), vol. I, p. 230, and E. Scott, *The Life of Matthew Flinders* (Sydney: Angus & Robertson, 1914), p. 117.

<sup>39</sup> Horner, *The French Reconnaissance*, pp. 255-257.

<sup>40</sup> Horner, *The French Reconnaissance*, pp. 240, 247, 252.

<sup>41</sup> Horner, *The French Reconnaissance*, p. 251.

<sup>42</sup> A. J. Brown, *Ill-Starred Captains: Matthew Flinders and Nicolas Baudin* (Fremantle: Fremantle Arts Centre Press, 2004), pp. 244-283.

Mary Beckwith, a young convict who left Sydney with Baudin at the end of the sojourn.<sup>43</sup> Michel Jangoux presents a number of records that shed light upon the *Naturaliste*'s first visit to the colony, which occurred shortly before the arrival of the *Géographe*.<sup>44</sup> Jean Fornasiero, Peter Monteath and John West-Sooby, in *Encountering Terra Australis*, consider Baudin's experience in Port Jackson alongside that of his contemporary, Matthew Flinders.<sup>45</sup> Finally, the recent biography of François Péron, written by Edward Duyker, adds certain details to the history of the Port Jackson stay,<sup>46</sup> notably, concerning the background of settlers such as Frenchman Pierre Lalouette de Vernincourt, or the "Chevalier de Clambe",<sup>47</sup> who were encountered by the Frenchmen in the colony, and regarding the contribution to science of certain specimens that Péron collected during the sojourn.<sup>48</sup>

The Port Jackson stay has also become an event that is worthy of study in its own right, particularly for its contribution to the expedition's work in anthropology and science and for the insight it offers into Anglo-French relations. Margaret Sankey, for example, has drawn attention to the expeditioners' anthropological work at Port Jackson.<sup>49</sup> She draws comparisons between the observations, written and artistic, made during this sojourn and those made at other stages of the voyage. She considers them in the light of contemporary ideologies and scientific methods and also attempts to determine how much interaction occurred between the Frenchmen and the Aborigines of Port Jackson.<sup>50</sup> For his part, Rhys Jones offers insight into the anthropological collection and Shino Konishi examines how the Frenchmen viewed Aboriginal sexuality.<sup>51</sup> Jean Fornasiero and John West-Sooby look at the

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<sup>43</sup> Brown, *Ill-Starred Captains*, pp. 280-282.

<sup>44</sup> Jangoux, "La première relâche".

<sup>45</sup> J. Fornasiero, P. Monteath and J. West-Sooby, *Encountering Terra Australis: the Australian Voyages of Nicolas Baudin and Matthew Flinders* (Kent Town: Wakefield Press, 2004), pp. 190-214.

<sup>46</sup> E. Duyker, *François Péron: an Impetuous Life* (Carlton: Miegunyah Press, 2006), pp. 135-150.

<sup>47</sup> Duyker, *François Péron*, pp. 146-147.

<sup>48</sup> Duyker, *François Péron*, pp. 142-143

<sup>49</sup> M. Sankey, "The Aborigines of Port Jackson, as Seen by the Baudin Expedition", *Australian Journal of French Studies*, XLI, 2 (2004), pp. 117-151 and "The Baudin Expedition in Port Jackson, 1802: Cultural Encounters and Enlightenment Politics", *Explorations*, 31 (December 2001), pp. 5-36.

<sup>50</sup> Sankey, "Natural Man and the Imaginary Antipodean", in D. Garrioch (ed.), *Two Hundred Years of the French Revolution: Proceedings of the Sixth George Rudé Seminar, Melbourne, 24 July 1988* (Melbourne: Monash History Publications, 1989), pp. 149-159 and especially "The Aborigines of Port Jackson".

<sup>51</sup> R. Jones, "Images of Natural Man", in J. Bonnemains, E. Forsyth and B. Smith (eds), *Baudin in Australian Waters: The Artwork of the French Voyage of Discovery to the Southern Lands, 1800-1804* (Melbourne: Oxford

cross-cultural encounters that occurred throughout the voyage, but also analyse closely the influences of Baudin and François Péron upon the artistic record.<sup>52</sup>

While it is the Frenchmen's anthropological work that has been most thoroughly examined, scholars have nonetheless evaluated the episode's contribution to a variety of scientific fields. Of particular significance have been the recent studies by geologist Wolf Mayer, which reveal the importance both to the world of science and to the English colony of the expedition's mineralogical work.<sup>53</sup> Similarly, Michel Jangoux brings to light new information about the extensive botanical research carried out at Port Jackson.<sup>54</sup> Margaret Sankey has studied the Frenchmen's perceptions of the colony,<sup>55</sup> focusing on the manner in which certain expeditioners evaluated the development of the settlement and the efficacy of the transportation system. Sankey, as well as Marc Serge Rivière,<sup>56</sup> thus take these observations from the political context, within which Scott and Faivre had considered them, into the sphere of scientific enquiry, analysing them with consideration to cultural influences and philosophical ideologies.

Despite growing interest in the scientific aspect of the sojourn, scholars continue to demonstrate a fascination with the politics of the Anglo-French encounters. However, in comparison to the studies produced prior to Horner's *French Reconnaissance*, later works tend to focus on the cooperative and friendly relationship between Governor King and

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University Press, 1988), pp. 35-64 and S. Konishi, "Depicting Sexuality: A Case Study of the Baudin Expedition's Aboriginal Ethnography", *Australian Journal of French Studies*, XLI, 2 (2004), pp. 98-116.

<sup>52</sup> Fornasiero, Monteath and West-Sooby, *Encountering Terra Australis*, pp. 319-321, 323, 362, 367 and 371 and J. Fornasiero and J. West-Sooby, "Taming the Unknown: The Representation of Terra Australis by the Baudin Expedition 1801-1803", in A. Chittleborough, G. Dooley, B. Glover and R. Hosking (eds), *Alas for the Pelicans! Flinders, Baudin and Beyond* (Kent Town: Wakefield Press, 2002), pp. 66-70.

<sup>53</sup> W. Mayer, "Deux géologues français en Nouvelle-Hollande (Australie): Louis Depuch et Charles Bailly, membres de l'expédition Baudin (1801-1803)", *Travaux du comité français d'histoire de la géologie*, 3<sup>e</sup> série, XIX, 6 (séance du 8 juin 2005), pp. 95-109 and "The Quest for Limestone in Colonial New South Wales, 1788-1825", in P. N. Wyse Jackson (ed.), *Four Centuries of Geological Travel: The Search for Knowledge on Foot, Bicycle, Sledge and Camel* (London: Geological Society, special publication no. 287, 2007), pp. 325-342.

<sup>54</sup> Jangoux, M. "Les zoologistes et botanistes qui accompagnèrent le capitaine Baudin aux Terres australes", *Australian Journal of French Studies*, XLI, 2 (2004), pp. 55-78.

<sup>55</sup> M. Sankey, "The Baudin Expedition: Natural Man and the Imaginary Antipodean"; "The Baudin Expedition in Port Jackson"; "The Aborigines of Port Jackson"; "French Representations of Sydney at the Beginning of the Nineteenth Century: the Subversion of Modernism", *Literature and Aesthetics: The Journal of the Sydney Society of Literature and Aesthetics*, 15, 2 (December 2005), pp. 101-108.

<sup>56</sup> M. S. Rivière, "Distant Echoes of the Enlightenment: Private and Public Observations of Convict Life by Baudin's Disgraced Officer, Hyacinthe de Bougainville (1825)", *Australian Journal of French Studies*, XLI, 2 (2004), pp. 170-185.

Baudin, which is taken to reflect the Enlightenment spirit of the “commonwealth of learning”, rather than territorial concerns.<sup>57</sup> Furthermore, it is in regard to the Frenchmen’s relationships with Matthew Flinders, more so than with King, that significant advances have been made. In re-examining the celebrated encounter between Baudin and Flinders at Encounter Bay, Jean Fornasiero and John West-Sooby also analyse documents recording the men’s interaction at Port Jackson. Giving consideration to the individual personality of each navigator, as well as to their generational differences and the colonial context, they lend a degree of complexity to prevailing assumptions about the extent of the camaraderie between foreign navigators at sea – and in port.<sup>58</sup>

The history of the Port Jackson sojourn has in fact grown considerably more complex over the many years since the publication of Scott’s *Terre Napoleon*. Scholars have enriched our understanding of the episode not only by adding additional information to the record but also by adopting a more analytical approach overall. They have revealed various ways – scientific and political, cultural and social – in which it made a critical contribution to the Baudin expedition.

Nonetheless, certain fundamental questions about the significance of this unscheduled sojourn remain unresolved and, in particular, the part played by Nicolas Baudin himself. Scott, Faivre and Horner present Baudin quite simply as a fortunate recipient of Governor King’s generosity, notwithstanding King’s strong suspicions about French intentions. Bouvier and Maynial, as well as Jose, suggest that Baudin’s diplomatic skill was influential, but they do not demonstrate precisely how the commander managed his on-shore relationships. According to Dunmore, Baudin stayed at anchor for five months not by choice but by pure necessity, yet there seems to be no evidence that the men actually took so long to recuperate or that the ships required all this time to be repaired. Horner claims that Baudin critically

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<sup>57</sup> Brown, *Ill-Starred Captains*, pp. 244-284; P. Carter and S. Hunt, *Terre Napoleon: Australia through French Eyes, 1800-1804* (Sydney: Historic Houses Trust of New South Wales, 1999), p. 23; Fornasiero, Monteath and West-Sooby, *Encountering Terra Australis*, pp. 194-214, and Sankey, “The Baudin Expedition in Port Jackson”, pp. 5-36.

mismanaged his officers, yet this sojourn was considerably less fraught in human terms than the previous stopovers had been. He also states that Baudin constructed a “new expedition”, but he does not carry out a detailed analysis to determine how and with what objectives he did so. One wonders indeed how Baudin managed to construct a new expedition at all if he was so dependent upon the generosity of his host and if his efforts at managing shipboard affairs were entirely ineffective.

We cannot hope to understand why or how the Port Jackson sojourn became a turning point for the Baudin expedition without focusing more attention on the actions and the attitude of its commander. The question that needs to be investigated is this: how did Baudin command the expedition while his ships lay at anchor in New South Wales and what ambitions drove his approach? This enquiry relates directly to the ongoing and most controversial issue that concerns this voyage: the nature of Baudin’s command. It requires analysis, similar to that carried out by John Gascoigne and, particularly, by Greg Denning,<sup>59</sup> of the politics of captaincy and the culture of shipboard life, and, more precisely, a closer reading of the relationships that Baudin established and the various activities that he pursued on shore. It also leads to the main problem underlying this investigation: when, as Horner states, Baudin constructed a new expedition, what sort of expedition did he in fact choose to construct? Inspiration may be found in Denning’s ethnographic study of the mutiny on the *Bounty*. Here, Denning writes of Bligh’s intense desire for “a perfect voyage”: that is, an “unblemished” voyage, free of serious illness, severe punishments, and significant delays, carried out by men who shared his ambitions, fruitful enough to fulfil the scientific appetite of Joseph Banks and his salon, and one for which Bligh, as captain of the voyage, would be given due credit.<sup>60</sup>

Baudin, for his part, had certainly intended his Australian voyage to be remarkable, in

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<sup>58</sup> J. Fornasiero and J. West-Sooby, “A Cordial Encounter? The Meeting of Matthew Flinders and Nicolas Baudin (8-9 April, 1802)”, in I. Coller, H. Davies and J. Kalmann (eds), *History and Civilization: Papers from the George Rude Seminar*, vol. 1, 2005, pp. 53-61.

<sup>59</sup> Denning, *Mr Bligh’s Bad Language* and J. Gascoigne, *Captain Cook: Voyager between Worlds* (London: Continuum Books, 2007).

<sup>60</sup> Denning, *Mr Bligh’s Bad Language*, pp. 22 and 65–67.

terms of its contributions to science and discovery. And Antoine-Laurent de Jussieu, professor of the Muséum national d'Histoire naturelle, had held expectations of glory for the commander, ranking him alongside Louis-Antoine de Bougainville, La Pérouse and Bruni d'Entrecasteaux.<sup>61</sup> The voyage up to the Port Jackson stay had been disappointing in many respects; yet, perhaps this extended sojourn gave Baudin the opportunity to begin afresh, as Bligh had been unable to do, in the hope of fulfilling expectations and achieving what he, as a scientific voyager, would deem to be a flawless voyage.

Whether or not this was indeed the case may be revealed only through analysis of the archival records. Although, as mentioned earlier and as scholars widely lament, we do not have recourse to Baudin's journal entries for the period of the Port Jackson stay, there is in fact a vast array of previously under-utilised documents recording the activities, opinions and aspirations of Baudin during the sojourn, as well as those of his men. These include accounts and invoices of the expenses accrued on shore and a number of letters and notes that were passed between Baudin and individuals in the colony. Also available are numerous journals that were kept by men aboard each of the French ships during the stay, which, in addition to daily entries, include letters written to and received from the commander.<sup>62</sup> Of particular significance are the logbooks that were kept by the senior officers aboard the *Géographe*.<sup>63</sup> They comprise daily reports of events aboard the ship as well as orders given to the officers by Baudin. These records, along with Baudin's letters to France and the published Baudin-King correspondence,<sup>64</sup> provide the means for us to reconstruct the events and everyday details of the Port Jackson stay.

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<sup>61</sup> Letter from A.-L. de Jussieu to the Minister of Marine and the Colonies, written in Paris and dated 4 thermidor an VI [20 July 1798], MNHN, AJ15 569.

<sup>62</sup> ANF, SM, 5JJ53.

<sup>63</sup> See *Tables de loch* of the *Géographe*, 8 prairial to 13 messidor, an X, 13 messidor to 4 fructidor an X, 4 fructidor an X to 24 vendémiaire an XI and 25 vendémiaire to 7 frimaire, an XI, ANF, SM, 5JJ25.

<sup>64</sup> See the Baudin correspondence, MNHN, ms2082, pièces nos. 5 and 8, and the letters from Nicolas Baudin to the Minister of Marine and the Colonies, written at Port Jackson and dated 20 brumaire an XI [11 November 1802], 26 brumaire an XI [17 November 1802] and 15 frimaire an XI [6 December 1802], ANF, SM, BB4995. Also see F. M. Bladen (ed.), *Historical Records of New South Wales*, vols IV and V (Sydney: Government Printer, 1896) and F. Watson, *Historical Records of Australia Series I: Governors' Despatches to and from England*, vols III and IV (Sydney: Library Committee of the Commonwealth Parliament, 1915).

This reconstruction, however, must not simply dress the present in funny clothes. “How then”, as George Macauley Trevelyan asks, “is the tale to be told?”<sup>65</sup> These sources need to be discussed within the context of contemporary scientific, colonial and naval cultures, with particular consideration of their customs, hierarchies and codes of honour as well as of the importance within them of space, authority and knowledge. They must also be read for what they reveal of the material concerns of the expedition – the minutiae of purchases and plans, staffing and stores, fieldwork and functions. In its interrogation of the goals and processes involved in the reconstruction of an expedition, this tale is therefore to be told in its relation to the mechanics and culture of scientific voyaging at the turn of the nineteenth century. However it is also the tale of the man for whom this milieu and these practices held no secrets. Through its analysis of the nature of the commander’s personal agency, it is a tale that goes to the heart of who Captain Baudin really was. It is only by examining all that inspired the commander’s relentless efforts to reconstruct his expedition that we can achieve a new understanding of what he deemed to be the “perfect voyage”, and even some insight into what this complex individual held to be the finality of all scientific voyaging.

The first part of the study, *Paris to Port Jackson*, aims to establish an understanding of the difficulties that Baudin encountered over the course of the first campaign and of how, under his command, the Port Jackson stay distinctly drew that campaign to a close. Its initial chapter establishes the rationale behind the original itinerary imposed by French authorities on Nicolas Baudin and discusses the circumstances that led the commander to spend over five months in the fledgling Australian colony. We seek to determine whether his decision was based entirely on necessity, as historians typically believe, or, in fact, corresponded to an idea that was already germinating in Baudin’s mind – a second campaign. The second chapter considers the scheduled stopovers – at Tenerife, Mauritius and Timor – which had preceded this episode. Through comparisons between these sojourns and the stay in Port Jackson, we

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<sup>65</sup> G. M. Trevelyan, *English Social History: A Survey of Six Centuries, Chaucer to Queen Victoria* (London: The  
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can determine the extent to which this latter episode represented a unique event in the course of the voyage. In the third chapter, which is composed of two parts, we examine the two different moments that the expedition's two vessels spent in the colony. In the first instance, we study the course of the *Naturaliste*, following its separation from the *Géographe* near Tasmania. Its captain, Emmanuel Hamelin, and his men, were the first members of the expedition to meet the colonial authorities at Port Jackson. They stayed for only two weeks, departing before the arrival of Baudin. However, this episode allows us to gain an understanding of how their short sojourn in the colony may have influenced the colonists' subsequent reception of the *Géographe* and also to establish a point of comparison between how Hamelin managed his stay at Port Jackson and the way in which, soon afterward, Baudin utilised his time there. Finally, in the second part of the chapter, we study the Frenchmen's daily life in the colony during the sojourn of both the *Géographe* and the *Naturaliste*, thus providing insight into the ways in which Baudin managed the stay – from his initial communications with the governor to his command of shipboard affairs.

Having established the broader context of Baudin's visit to Port Jackson and presented an overview of what occurred during that sojourn, the second part of this study focuses upon the construction of the second campaign. The purpose of this part, *Baudin in Port Jackson*, is to determine, in more precise terms, whether it was the advantageous circumstances from which the expedition benefited at Port Jackson, such as the resources of the colony and the assistance of the English, or the commander's leadership and personal ambition that produced the second campaign. It begins, in the first chapter, with an analysis of Baudin's social, diplomatic and commercial conduct on shore, which takes into account the way in which his expedition was perceived by the British. In this chapter, we aim to determine how the commander managed relationships in the colony to the benefit of his expedition and in order to facilitate preparations for his forthcoming voyage. The second chapter closely examines Baudin's manner of command. It will ascertain the degree to which



Baudin maintained order aboard the *Géographe* throughout the five months at anchor and how he prepared his men for the second campaign. The third chapter moves on to the scientific results of the sojourn, in an effort to establish whether or not the expedition's scientific mission remained of primary importance at this stage of the voyage and to assess what contribution was made to this mission overall by the sojourn at Port Jackson. The final chapter in this part investigates the process by which Baudin disassembled the expedition that had been placed under his command in France and constructed what Horner has referred as the new expedition. This involves looking closely at the material changes and preparations that Baudin made, his selection and organisation of staff, the role that he assigned to each ship, the itinerary that he planned, and the work in geography and natural history that he intended to accomplish in the second campaign. It also entails an analysis of the personal aspirations that drove Baudin to undertake this considerable task.

Only such a close examination of his leadership and all that he brought to it through the months spent ashore in the English colony will allow us to determine whether, by the onset of the southern summer of 1802, Nicolas Baudin had prepared simply a continuation of the campaign that the French government and scientific establishment had played a large role in defining, or whether he deliberately seized an opportunity to redefine the expedition on his own terms. Was he indeed in search of the "perfect" voyage – in terms of personnel, shipboard conditions and results - that had been denied him by his masters and set down in his original instructions?

*Paris*  
*To*  
*Port Jackson*

## *A Change of Course*

The story of Nicolas Baudin's sojourn at Port Jackson, and his construction there of a second campaign, begins on the unknown south coast of New Holland. Here, the expedition reached a point of crisis and, in a defining moment for the voyage and for himself, Nicolas Baudin decided to set sail for the British colony. A visit to Port Jackson had not been scheduled or even suggested in the itinerary. The commander made this decision independently and, although we cannot justly surmise when he began to plan the change of course, it is clear that he had had the idea in mind for some time and that he was driven by something more than the need for respite and replenishment. Exploring precisely what that rationale was has the potential to clarify Baudin's objectives in relation to the remaining voyage as well as the significance of his sojourn at Port Jackson; and it is only by analysing the nature of his conduct and his attitude on the south coast, as well as the plan that the government had actually intended him to follow, that we can effectively understand the motivation behind his decision.

We begin, then, in Paris, 1800, where Count Charles-Pierre Claret de Fleurieu set down the expedition's itinerary and schedule in the *Plan de la campagne*.<sup>1</sup> Herein he stated that the expedition's essential objective in terms of geography was to complete the map of Australia's coastline. Baudin and his men were to concentrate on Australia's south-western, western, north-western and northern coasts, and to determine "precisely the geographical position of the principal points along the coasts [...] and chart them exactly".<sup>2</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> "Plan of Itinerary for Citizen Baudin" by C. Cornell in *The Journal of Post-Captain Nicolas Baudin* (Adelaide: Libraries Board of South Australia, 1974), pp. 1-6; "Plan de la campagne que doivent exécuter les corvettes le *Géographe* et le *Naturaliste*, rédigé par les citoyens Fleurieu et Buache et approuvé par le ministre de la Marine", reproduced in *Journal du Capitaine de Vaisseau N° Baudin Commandant en Chef des Corvettes le Géographe et le Naturaliste, Destinées par le Gouvernement à faire une Campagne de Reconnaissance et Recherches dans différentes Parties des Mers Australes*, ANF, SM, 5JJ35.

<sup>2</sup> "Plan of Itinerary", p. 1; "Plan de la campagne", ANF, SM, 5JJ35 : "le citoyen Baudin doit s'attacher à fixer avec précision la position géographique des points principaux des côtes qu'il visitera et à en lever des cartes exactes".

Fleurieu had demanded accuracy, but also haste. Departing from Le Havre in October 1800, with brief stop-overs for supplies scheduled at the ports of Santa Cruz, Tenerife, and Port Louis, Mauritius, the expedition had instructions to reach the D'Entrecasteaux Channel in Tasmania within six months, that is, by the end of March 1801. This would allow the duration of autumn for the expedition to "sail the full length of this channel", then "make a rigorous examination of the coasts and islands" along the east coast of Van Diemen's Land as far as Banks Strait, followed by a "rapid inspection" of Bass Strait before, finally, drawing up "an accurate chart of the whole" of the unknown south coast of the mainland, including the St Peter and St Francis islands.<sup>3</sup> After verifying "the absolute positions of the two extremities of the section of coast that d'Entrecasteaux examined", the expedition was to spend the period from mid-July to December 1801 surveying the west coast.<sup>4</sup> Then, at Kupang, Timor, the men could rest for the first time since their visit to Mauritius.<sup>5</sup> The final leg of the voyage - the south coast of New Guinea and north coast of Australia - was to be completed, or as far as possible depending on the conditions, within six months, taking advantage of the monsoon.<sup>6</sup> In all, Fleurieu expected the expedition to complete its exploration of Australia within 15 months, from the end of March 1801 to the beginning of July 1802, with one break for rest and refreshment.

Even though Fleurieu did acknowledge that circumstances of weather, "the consequences of which are incalculable", or unforeseen events could possibly oblige Baudin to depart from this scheduled route,<sup>7</sup> his plan left no room for manoeuvre. Indeed, Anthony Brown points out that Fleurieu gave Baudin rather less opportunity to use his discretion than

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<sup>3</sup> "Plan of Itinerary", p. 3; "Plan de campagne", ANF, SM, 5JJ35: "Il parcourra le canal dans toute sa longueur [...] il visitera exactement la portion de côte et les îles qui se portent au nord, jusqu'au détroit de Banks [...]. Après avoir fait cette inspection rapide du détroit de Bass [...] le citoyen Baudin doit [...] lever de l'ensemble une carte exacte qui en présente le développement [...] il pourra vérifier les positions absolues des deux points extrêmes de la portion de côte que d'Entrecasteaux a reconnue".

<sup>4</sup> "Plan of Itinerary", p. 3; "Plan de la campagne", ANF, SM, 5JJ35.

<sup>5</sup> "Plan of Itinerary", p. 4; "Plan de la campagne", ANF, SM, 5JJ35.

<sup>6</sup> "Plan of Itinerary", p. 4; "Plan de la campagne", ANF, SM, 5JJ35.

<sup>7</sup> "Plan of Itinerary", p. 5; "Plan de la campagne", ANF, SM, 5JJ35: "des circonstances de temps dont les suites ne peuvent être calculées".

he had previously given the celebrated La Pérouse.<sup>8</sup> Fleurieu stipulated only that if Baudin had to alter the set course he must revert to it as soon as possible.<sup>9</sup> As shown earlier, however, returning to the itinerary in such a circumstance would not be nearly as simple as this implies. The plan was designed to fit the seasons so precisely that delays would leave the expedition facing the onset of months of inclement weather and unable to return to the itinerary until that season had passed. It was inevitable that, by then, it would be far behind schedule with serious consequences: supplies would run short and illness would set in. Indeed, because of its inflexible schedule, this plan - which Frank Horner refers to as a “virtual straitjacket” - would be impossible for Baudin to follow exactly as instructed.<sup>10</sup>

To satisfy the government’s objectives, as the voyage progressed and delays set him further behind schedule, Baudin would need to rely increasingly on his own initiative. The outward journey was considerably delayed by unfavourable weather and difficulties obtaining supplies. As Horner and Brown have both noted,<sup>11</sup> before the expedition left Mauritius, Baudin informed Hamelin that, being so far behind schedule, the expedition would probably reach Australia too late in the season to navigate safely to Tasmania. He suggested they may instead need to sail north, up the west coast.<sup>12</sup> Indeed, just as foreseen, they did not reach Australia until winter was setting in at the end of May 1801 and so the expedition began its exploration of Australia on the west coast. It was after almost four months on this task that they called in to replenish supplies at Kupang, Timor. They stayed there for 11 weeks, setting out for Tasmania in late spring – perfect weather for sailing south. But while the men had enjoyed Timor’s luxurious tropical setting, the effects on their health were appalling: between

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<sup>8</sup> Brown infers from this that the government may have lacked confidence in Baudin’s abilities as a navigator. See Brown, *Ill-Starred Captains*, p. 49.

<sup>9</sup> “Plan of Itinerary”, p. 5; “Plan de la campagne”, ANF, SM, 5JJ35.

<sup>10</sup> Horner, *The French Reconnaissance*, p. 55. For further comments concerning the limitations of the expedition’s itinerary, see J. Fornasiero, P. Monteath, J. West-Sooby, *Encountering Terra Australis: the Australia Voyages of Nicolas Baudin and Matthew Flinders* (Kent Town: Wakefield Press, 2004), p. 22 and Brown, *Ill-Starred Captains*, p. 49.

<sup>11</sup> Horner, *The French Reconnaissance*, p. 140 and Brown, *Ill-Starred Captains*, p. 123.

<sup>12</sup> *Jacques Félix Emmanuel Hamelin des Essarts, Capitaine de Frégate Commandant le Naturaliste, Corvette destinée avec celle du Géographe sous les ordres du Capitaine Nicolas Baudin pour une expédition de découvertes, armée et équipée pour 4 ans*, vol. I, ANF, SM, 5JJ41, entry dated 5-6 floréal an IX [25-26 April 1801].

Timor and Tasmania, the expedition lost 11 men from dysentery and fever.<sup>13</sup> Despite these serious consequences, the voyage continued and the expedition anchored in the D'Entrecasteaux Channel in January 1802. This was almost a year later than they had been expected to arrive, although in reaching Tasmania earlier in the season - mid summer rather than mid-autumn – they had more favourable conditions in which to carry out the southern stage of the voyage. Nevertheless, by this time, Fleurieu had intended them to be undertaking the final leg of the voyage on the north-west coast.<sup>14</sup> In addition to the fact that Baudin had been unable to obtain the required quantity of provisions during the outward journey and that illnesses contracted in Timor had greatly weakened the crew, the effects of being so far behind schedule meant that the expedition was now tired and low on supplies. At Tasmania, Baudin and his men were able to rest on shore with access to fresh food and water but after six weeks it was time to set sail again. While it had brought the expeditioners some respite, however, this time spent in Tasmania had not greatly improved their circumstances.<sup>15</sup> Moreover, most of their work still lay ahead: the examinations of Bass Strait, the south, north-west and north coasts.

Baudin must have suspected that the expedition was ill-equipped for this undertaking. Before setting sail toward Bass Strait he had told Hamelin that they might need to call in at Port Jackson. Hamelin mentioned this in his journal when, having been separated from the *Géographe* since shortly after leaving Maria Island (off the east coast of Tasmania) around six weeks earlier, he decided to head to the colony himself.<sup>16</sup> It is conceivable that Baudin shared the idea with Hamelin during their time together in Tasmania, but it should also be noted that the commander mentioned this visit as a possibility rather than a definite plan.

Only one week after weighing anchor in Oyster Bay, Maria Island, circumstances did indeed begin to turn against the expedition – though not quite as Baudin might have imagined.

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<sup>13</sup> Fornasiero, Monteath and West-Sooby, *Encountering Terra Australis*, p. 81.

<sup>14</sup> "Plan of Itinerary for Citizen Baudin", p. 4; "Plan de la campagne", ANF, SM, 5JJ35.

<sup>15</sup> This is contrary to the opinion of historian Ernest Scott that the visits to Mauritius, Timor and Tasmania should have ensured the expedition's well-being. See E. Scott, *Terre Napoléon: A History of French Explorations and Projects in Australia* (London: Methuen and Co. Ltd., 1910), pp. 33-4.

<sup>16</sup> Hamelin, *Journal*, t. II, ANF, SM, 5JJ42, entry dated 27-28 germinal an X [17-18 April 1802].

The *Géographe* lost contact with its dinghy carrying geographer Charles-Pierre Boullanger, midshipman Jean-Marie Maurouard and six sailors; leaving Baudin to undertake the expedition's most important task – the charting of the south coast - without some of his best men. The following morning, to make matters worse, the *Géographe* and the *Naturaliste* separated and lost sight of each other in a storm. From this point on, the *Géographe* explored the southern waters and coastlines alone. And as Baudin criss-crossed Bass Strait and edged westwards along the south coast, he would not only pursue his surveying mission, but he would also develop his decision to go to Port Jackson.

After losing sight of the *Naturaliste*, Baudin and his crew spent a week searching the coastline of eastern Tasmania for some sign of the lost dinghy and its men. On the morning of 10 March, near Schouten Island, they encountered a British schooner, the *Endeavour*, heading towards Maria Island to fish for sea-perch. Baudin invited the skipper to come aboard the *Géographe* with the hope of securing his assistance in finding the dinghy. The Englishman could not afford to delay his work by joining the search but he did agree to watch out for the dinghy and he also offered some useful information. According to the expedition's zoologist, François Péron, the British government had given the colony instructions to receive the French ships, if they were to visit, "with all the regard due to the nature of their mission, and to the dignity of the nation to which they belonged".<sup>17</sup> It was this news that Ernest Scott believes determined Baudin to go to Port Jackson.<sup>18</sup> However, the records tell us that this was not actually the first time that a visit to the colony had entered Baudin's mind.<sup>19</sup> All the same, the information provided by the captain of the *Endeavour* would undoubtedly have encouraged him to give this idea further consideration. On parting, Baudin promised the skipper a generous reward if, should he find the lost dinghy, he would take the unfortunate

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<sup>17</sup> C. Cornell (trans.), *Voyage of Discovery to the Southern Lands*, written by François Péron and continued by Louis Freycinet, vol. I, 2<sup>nd</sup> edition (Adelaide: Friends of the State Library of South Australia, 2007), p. 246 ; F. Péron [and L. Freycinet], *Voyage de découvertes aux Terres australes exécuté par ordre de Sa Majesté l'Empereur et Roi, sur les corvettes le Géographe, le Naturaliste; et la goélette le Casuarina, pendant les années 1800, 1801, 1802, 1803, et 1804*, tome II, seconde édition (Paris: Arthus Bertrand, 1824) p. 175: "avec tous les égards dus à la nature de notre mission et à la dignité du peuple auquel nous appartenions".

<sup>18</sup> Scott, *Terre Napoléon*, p. 181.

<sup>19</sup> As mentioned earlier, Baudin had told Hamelin, before they separated, that they might visit Port Jackson. See Hamelin, *Journal*, t. II, ANF, SM, 5JJ42, entry dated 27-28 germinal an X [17-18 April 1802].

men in it to Port Jackson. Of course, part of Baudin's thinking would have been that these men should be safe in a European settlement and from there could obtain a passage back home. Alternatively, he may have already been considering that the *Géographe* could meet them there. We know, from his comment to Hamelin, that Baudin had entertained the prospect of visiting Port Jackson. Did his request concerning the dinghy mean that he had made the decision? Not necessarily, as it had been only three days since he lost contact with Hamelin, and four days since the ships became separated and the dinghy was lost. There was considerable hope that he would soon find the rest of his expedition and, moreover, the most important work of the voyage was still ahead. Baudin's offer of a reward to the *Endeavour's* skipper is most likely to have been motivated by a keen desire to ensure his men's safety and, with the possibility of visiting Port Jackson, to provide some chance of being reunited with them.

Though deeply troubled by the disappearance of the dinghy, Baudin remained determined to fulfil Fleurieu's instructions. After a week of searching for the dinghy, the officers, naturalists and petty officers, assuming that it had "only too unhappily been lost at sea",<sup>20</sup> voted to return to their work and the *Géographe* changed course to sail north to Bass Strait. Throughout this episode, Baudin had been confined to his cabin with colic pains that, he felt, were made worse by "the worrying disappearance of our dinghy".<sup>21</sup> He continued to write in his journal, despite his severe discomfort and indeed the fear that perhaps he was succumbing to some serious illness. He wrote not a word about departing from the itinerary. Before entering Bass Strait, Baudin checked for the *Naturaliste* at Waterhouse Island and later at Port Dalrymple, locations he had indicated to Hamelin as meeting places in the case of separation, but finding no sign of it, he sailed on.

Unfavourable weather had hindered the work of the French on the coast of Tasmania

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<sup>20</sup> Cornell, *Journal of Baudin*, p. 359; N. Baudin, *Journal du Cap<sup>ne</sup> de vaisseau N<sup>o</sup> Baudin, Commandant en chef Les Corvettes Le Géographe et le Naturaliste destinées par ordre Du Gouvernement à un voyage de découvertes*, ANF, SM, 5JJ39, entry dated 19-20 ventôse an X [10-11 March 1802]: "qu'ils n'ont que trop malheureusement péri en mer".

<sup>21</sup> Cornell, *Journal of Baudin*, p. 359. Baudin, *Journal de mer*, ANF, SM, 5JJ39, entry dated 20-21 ventôse an X [11-12 March 1802]: "l'événement fâcheux arrivé à notre canot".



but conditions were worse in the strait: stormy gales, heavy rain and violent seas frequently hampered the *Géographe*'s movements. Baudin had pressed on, nevertheless, and recorded detailed observations of the waters, coastlines, weather patterns and environments on shore. As he approached the mainland in late March 1802, he ordered the sailors to air their clothes and hammocks and clean and disinfect the ship; the unknown coast lay ahead.

From Wilson's Promontory, the *Géographe* followed the coastline westward into unexplored territory where it would make an historic encounter. On a similar voyage of discovery, Matthew Flinders had also been surveying the unknown coast but sailing in the opposite direction to the *Géographe*. The two explorers met in Encounter Bay on 8 April and, over that afternoon and the following morning, they gathered in Baudin's cabin, accompanied by the British botanist Robert Brown serving as interpreter, to exchange navigational information.

During their conversations, the explorers spoke about visiting the British colony. According to Brown, Baudin stated that his intention was to "run along the suppos[d] unexplor[d] part of the coast and then return and put in to Port Jackson".<sup>22</sup> Perhaps he had misunderstood Baudin because, before the men separated, Flinders extended an invitation to the French commander to sojourn at Port Jackson.<sup>23</sup> Despite the apparent inconsistencies, which may be partly attributable to language difficulties,<sup>24</sup> a visit to the colony appears to have been at least a distinct possibility. Indeed, at this stage – in contrast to when he met the *Endeavour* near Tasmania – there was little chance that Baudin would come across the *Naturaliste* and almost none that he would be reunited with Boullanger, Maurouard and the sailors. More importantly, he had almost finished carrying out his instructions for the south coast.

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<sup>22</sup> E. W. Groves, D. T. Moore and T. G. Vallance (eds), *Nature's Investigator: The Diary of Robert Brown in Australia, 1801-1805* (Canberra: Australia Biological Resources Study, 2001), pp. 178, 179.

<sup>23</sup> Letter from Nicolas Baudin to the Minister of Marine and the Colonies, written at Port Jackson and dated 20 brumaire an X [11 November 1802], ANF, SM, BB4995.

<sup>24</sup> On the various misunderstandings that arose during this encounter, see J. Fornasiero and J. West-Sooby, "A Cordial Encounter? The Meeting of Matthew Flinders and Nicolas Baudin (8-9 April, 1802)", in I. Collier, H. Davies and J. Kalmann (eds), *History and Civilization: Papers from the George Rude Seminar*, 1 (2005), pp. 53-61.

On parting, Flinders continued his explorations eastward while Baudin sailed on to the west, determined to complete his survey of the unknown coast. Historians agree that if he was disappointed to learn that the remaining coastline was no longer “undiscovered”, it certainly did not dampen his enthusiasm.<sup>25</sup> In fact, having listened to Flinders’s accounts of the region, Baudin seems to have relished the opportunity to make his own, comparative, observations.<sup>26</sup> However, the wisdom in continuing on beyond Encounter Bay has not gone unquestioned. Taking into account the fact that both relationships and health on board were deteriorating, Fornasiero, Monteath and West-Sooby ask why Baudin did not turn back and seek respite and recovery at Port Jackson,<sup>27</sup> while Horner proposes that, in pushing on, Baudin consciously endangered the crew’s health.<sup>28</sup> In fact, Horner implies that Baudin was following his instructions single-mindedly and that his decisions throughout this period were unreasonable:

it is difficult to explain many of Baudin’s actions in the three months between the departure from Tasmania and the arrival at Port Jackson except by reference to his increasing isolation from his staff, and possibly the lingering effects of his illness.<sup>29</sup>

But while health and emotional issues probably did affect how Baudin dealt with his men, do they adequately explain his decision to continue surveying instead of seeking respite?

By looking at the broader picture, we can find additional factors that may have influenced his reasoning. His decisions to commence the exploration of Australia on the west coast and to spend longer on surveys than instructed demonstrate that, while Baudin was willing to diverge from the prescribed route or schedule if he deemed it appropriate, he was also determined to keep to the designated plan as closely as possible. Presumably, then, when he chose to continue westward – driven, as Fornasiero, Monteath and West-Sooby state, by

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<sup>25</sup>For example, see Fornasiero, Monteath and West-Sooby, *Encountering Terra Australis*, p. 177 and Horner, *French Reconnaissance*, p. 223.

<sup>26</sup> When later examining “Mr Flinders’s Kangaroo Island”, Baudin repeatedly compared his own observations to Flinders’s account. See Cornell, *Journal of Baudin*, pp. 380-381; Baudin, *Journal de mer*, ANF, SM, 5JJ39, entries dated 20 and 21 germinal an X [10 and 11 April 1802].

<sup>27</sup> Fornasiero, Monteath and West-Sooby, *Encountering Terra Australis*, p. 180.

<sup>28</sup> Horner, *French Reconnaissance*, p. 223.

<sup>29</sup> Horner, *French Reconnaissance*, p. 230.

his determination to carry out the task expected of him by his government<sup>30</sup> – he believed that his crew’s health was still at a manageable stage. Indeed, he had expected to find a safe anchorage along this coast which would provide opportunities for rest and for replenishing supplies of firewood and water.<sup>31</sup> This is not surprising given that, according to Fleurieu’s *Plan de la Campagne*, the government expected the expedition to undertake natural history research on shore in this area.<sup>32</sup> Consequently, he was astonished when the coastline offered “not one single place that could relieve the Navigator of the exhaustion and dangers to which such work as they had just done exposed him”.<sup>33</sup> It also appears that he was confident of making the supplies last until he and his men had finished their work here. On 17 April, around the entrance to Spencer Gulf, Baudin noted in his journal that:

as we still had plenty of work to do on the coast of Australia and had only enough water for another two months, I judged it right to begin cutting down on it in good time; that is, instead of giving each man two and half bottles of water, I gave him no more than two [...] still allowing more than the regulations for long voyages prescribed.<sup>34</sup>

This note clearly conveys a sense of confidence: Baudin intended to draw this survey to a close within the next two months and he believed that he could make the supplies last until he called in at a port after that time.

As much as Baudin seems to have believed it possible to complete this task safely, it was certainly not easy. As the *Géographe* continued westward, conditions grew steadily worse, making it impossible to carry out accurate surveys. Although it was only mid-autumn, the

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<sup>30</sup> Fornasiero, Monteath and West-Sooby, *Encountering Terra Australis*, p. 180.

<sup>31</sup> See Baudin’s journal entry in Cornell, *Journal of Baudin*, p. 382; Baudin, *Journal de mer*, ANF, SM, 5JJ39, 22 germinal an X [12 April 1802], and the letter he wrote to Antoine-Laurent de Jussieu, written at Port Jackson and dated 20 brumaire an X [11 November 1802], MNHN, ms2082, pièce no. 8.

<sup>32</sup> “Plan of Itinerary”, p. 3; “Plan de la campagne”, ANF, SM, 5JJ35.

<sup>33</sup> “pas un seul endroit qui puisse dédommager le Navigateur des fatigues et des dangers auxquels il est exposé par un travail semblable à celui que nous venons de faire”, letter from Nicolas Baudin to Antoine-Laurent de Jussieu, written at Port Jackson and dated 20 brumaire an X [11 November 1802], MNHN, ms2082, pièce no. 8.

<sup>34</sup> Cornell, *Journal of Baudin*, p. 386; Baudin, *Journal de mer*, ANF, SM, 5JJ39, entry made 26-27 germinal an X [17-18 March 1802]: “Comme il nous restait encore beaucoup de choses à faire sur la côte de la Nouvelle Hollande et qu’il ne nous restait pas plus de deux mois d’eau je jugeai convenable de commencer de bonne heure à la retrancher, c’est-à-dire qu’au lieu d’en donner deux bouteilles et demie par homme on n’en donna plus que deux. Ce n’était pas sans doute un retranchement bien considérable puisqu’on en donnait encore plus que ne le prescrit l’ordonnance dans les voyages de long cours”.

season during which Fleurieu had planned this stage of the exploration to take place,<sup>35</sup> the squally weather made navigation so dangerous that on several occasions Baudin was obliged to spend the night on deck to ensure the ship's safety<sup>36</sup> and the *Géographe* was repeatedly kept too far from the coasts to allow close examinations. Fleurieu had instructed Baudin to "apply himself to establishing the geographical position of the points that will be noticed along it, and to drawing up an accurate chart of the whole that will show its development".<sup>37</sup> Baudin and his men may not have been able to carry it out as accurately as desired, but before conditions grew even worse, Baudin was determined at least to complete the chart.

As he neared the end of the unknown coast, Baudin turned his attention to the dire conditions on board. On the morning of 6 May, after doubling St Francis Island, he conceded that:

everybody was longing for a rest, and in point of fact we all needed one. We had no more wood and every day had to resort to various expedients to obtain some; and our water-supply could not last long. Like everyone, I felt these privations, but the wish to carry out the government's design made me better able to bear them than the others. Scurvy, which was beginning to get a hold on several members of the crew, was what worried me most, but I nevertheless persisted to pass around the western side of the St Peter islands.<sup>38</sup>

Evidently, Baudin was not blind to the problems developing on board but the end was in sight: they would soon complete the survey and be free to seek some rest and replenishment.

Over the next two days, Baudin followed his instructions for the south coast, precisely, to the end. On 7 May, he "made westing in order to sight the point at which General d'Entrecasteaux had stopped and then returned East to examine the part of the coast between

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<sup>35</sup> "Plan of Itinerary for Citizen Baudin", p. 3; "Plan de la campagne", ANF, SM, 5JJ35.

<sup>36</sup> Cornell, *Journal of Baudin*, pp. 383, 388 and 399; Baudin, *Journal de mer*, ANF, SM, 5JJ39, entries dated 22 and 29 germinal and 15 floréal an X [12 and 19 April and 5 May 1802].

<sup>37</sup> "Plan of Itinerary", p. 3; "Plan de la campagne", ANF, SM, 5JJ35: "le citoyen Baudin doit s'attacher à fixer la position géographique des points qui s'y feront remarquer et à lever de l'ensemble une carte exacte qui en présente le développement".

<sup>38</sup> Cornell, *Journal of Baudin*, p. 399; Baudin, *Journal de mer*, ANF, SM, 5JJ39, entry made 15-16 floréal an X [5-6 May 1802]: "tout le monde soupirait après une relâche et dans le fait nous en avions tous besoin. Il n'y avait plus de bois. Tous les jours on était aux expédients pour s'en procurer et notre provision d'eau ne pouvait durer longtemps. J'éprouvais comme tout le monde ces privations, mais le désir de remplir les intentions du gouvernement me les rendaient [sic] plus supportables qu'aux autres. Le scorbut qui commençait à faire du

that point and the one at which we had come to a halt, West of the St Francis and St Peter islands”.<sup>39</sup> The next day, he returned to the point where d’Entrecasteaux’s chart stopped, just as instructed, by which time the sky was “so dark and overcast that one could scarcely see to work or to read in one’s cabin”.<sup>40</sup> As fierce squalls tossed the seas beneath him that night, Baudin sat down at his desk, satisfied that he had achieved his goal, and recorded his decision:

Serious reflections upon the position I was in, the weakness of my crew, which now consisted of only thirty men for the handling of the ship, our pressing need for firewood, the shortness of the days, and a host of other private considerations all decided me to abandon the coast and make first for D’Entrecasteaux Channel, where the anchorage is good, and from there proceed to Port Jackson, which I have always hoped that the dinghy believed lost may have been able to reach. As the change of course was soon known, everyone expressed satisfaction at it and, truly, we were all very much in need of a little rest.<sup>41</sup>

It would seem from this explanation alone that the purpose of returning to D’Entrecasteaux Channel and then heading on to Port Jackson was simply to satisfy the expedition’s immediate requirements. Baudin also hoped that, in the British colony, he would be reunited with Boullanger and his crew as well as the *Naturaliste*. However, these were not his only considerations. The next morning he revealed an additional advantage to visiting Port Jackson. He recorded in his journal:

The three squalls that I had already endured in the space of one decade had consistently thwarted my desire to examine fully the St. Francis and St. Peter islands, which, to judge from what we have seen of them, are scarcely worth the trouble that we took over them.

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progrès sur plusieurs personnes de l’équipage était ce qui me peinait le plus, mais je persistai néanmoins dans la résolution de contourner les isles St Pierre”.

<sup>39</sup> Cornell, *Journal of Baudin*, p. 400; Baudin, *Journal de mer*, ANF, SM, 5JJ39, entry made 16-17 floréal an X [6-7 March 1802]: “nous fîmes route pour nous élever dans l’ouest afin de venir reconnaître le point où s’était arrêté le général d’Entrecasteaux afin de nous en revenir ensuite par l’est pour reconnaître la partie du continent comprise en ce point et celui où nous nous étions arrêtés à l’ouest des isles S<sup>t</sup> François et S<sup>t</sup> Pierre”.

<sup>40</sup> Cornell, *Journal of Baudin*, p. 400; Baudin, *Journal de mer*, ANF, SM, 5JJ39 entry made 17-18 floréal an X [7-8 May 1802]: “le ciel était alors tellement couvert et sombre qu’on y voyait à peine pour travailler ou lire dans la chambre”.

<sup>41</sup> Cornell, *Journal of Baudin*, p. 401. Baudin, *Journal de mer*, ANF, SM, 5JJ39, entry made 17-18 floréal an X [7-8 May 1802]: “De sérieuses réflexions sur la position où je me trouvais; la faiblesse de mon équipage qui n’était plus que de 30 hommes pour la manœuvre; le besoin pressant que nous avions de bois à brûler, le peu de durée du jour et une infinité d’autres raisons particulières me décidèrent à abandonner la côte pour me rendre premièrement au Canal d’Entrecasteaux où l’ancrage est bon et de là au Port Jackson où j’ai toujours conservé l’espoir que le canot qu’on croit perdu aura pu arriver. Le changement de route n’ayant pas tardé à se répandre, chacun en témoigna sa satisfaction et véritablement nous [en] avions tous grand besoin”.

However, I am convinced that by exploring them thoroughly one must find some shelter for navigators who may be in this area. But to carry out this work with an appearance of success, one simply must be there in the middle of summer when the days are long and the weather is moderate. And so this is what I plan to do in the next season. The southern portion of big Kangaroo Island may also be extremely interesting, and although Mr. Flinders told me that he spent six weeks on it, it looks to me [...] that he did not explore it completely.<sup>42</sup>

Baudin intended to undertake a second and more comprehensive examination of the south coast, during the next summer. As he later explained to the Minister of Marine, the means to carry out this plan would be achieved by visiting the nearby British colony.<sup>43</sup>

This particular advantage to the sojourn is unlikely to have occurred to the commander as an afterthought. During his exploration of the south coast Baudin had recognised that the inclement weather that had repeatedly prevented his men from carrying out close and accurate surveys and also from venturing ashore to replenish supplies of water and firewood and to carry out natural history research was a result only of the “advancing season”.<sup>44</sup> On several occasions he noted that certain passages or harbours which the *Géographe* had not been able to approach, at that point in time, would be accessible and would prove valuable resources to navigators in “the good season – summer, that is.”<sup>45</sup> By continuing on, though, he had been able to accomplish a broad survey and to identify areas that merited closer examination. After his return to the south coast, he would “provide the government with a coast accurately

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<sup>42</sup> Cornell, *Journal of Baudin*, p. 402. Baudin, *Journal de mer*, ANF, SM, 5JJ39, entry made 18-19 floréal an X [8-9 May 1802]: “trois bourrasques que j’avais déjà supportées dans l’espace d’une décade avai[en]t toujours contrarié le désir que j’avais de visiter dans toute leur étendue les isles de S<sup>t</sup> François et de S<sup>t</sup> Pierre qui à en juger par ce que nous en avons vu ne valent guère la peine que nous avons prise pour y réussir. Cependant je reste persuadé qu’en les examinant bien il doit s’y trouver quelques abris pour les navigateurs qui fréquenteront cette partie, mais il est absolument nécessaire pour exécuter ce travail avec apparence de succès de s’y trouver dans le milieu de l’été où les jours sont longs et le temps maniable. C’est aussi ce que je compte faire à la saison prochaine. La partie sud de la grande isle des Kangourous peut aussi être fort intéressante et malgré que M<sup>r</sup> Flinders m’ait dit y avoir resté six semaines il me paraît d’après le croquis qu’il en a tracé dans ma chambre qu’il ne l’a pas visitée en entier”.

<sup>43</sup> Letter from Nicolas Baudin to the Minister of Marine and the Colonies, written at Port Jackson and dated 20 brumaire an XI [11 November 1802].

<sup>44</sup> Cornell, *Journal of Baudin*, p. 391. Baudin, *Journal de mer*, ANF, SM, 5JJ39, entry made 16-17 floréal an X [24-25 April 1802]: “la saison avancée”.

<sup>45</sup> Cornell, *Journal of Baudin*, p. 381. Baudin, *Journal de mer*, ANF, SM, 5JJ39 entry made 21-22 floréal an X [11-12 April 1802]: “la bonne saison, c’est-à-dire, dans l’été”.

charted” rather than “a work that is more extensive but imperfect”.<sup>46</sup>

Having thus decided in favour of Port Jackson, Baudin was resolute and enthusiastic about his plan; but it is interesting that he did not sail directly there but, instead, he first took his men back to Tasmania. As Horner points out, this was the closest safe anchorage with which he was familiar and he may have believed that it was the safest route,<sup>47</sup> but as it turned out there was another motivation: as he stated with satisfaction, “by this means, I was able to complete the work on the east coast of Diemen island that the death or absence of Citizen Boullanger had prohibited”.<sup>48</sup> As Fornasiero, Monteath and West-Sooby state, the decision to re-chart this coastline further demonstrates both Baudin’s pride in his work and his determination to fulfil the government’s expectations as thoroughly as possible.<sup>49</sup>

Finally, on 4 June, as “enormous, long and hollowed waves seemed to threaten to engulf [them] at every moment”, and with “only four men able to remain on deck, including the officer of the watch”, Baudin decided “to sail off the wind and make for Port Jackson, for [they] were no longer in a condition to keep the sea”.<sup>50</sup> He had persevered until satisfied that he had done all he could to fulfil the expedition’s objectives before putting on hold his exploration of Australia. His voyage had involved a series of decisions, decisions to continue on until he reached the point at which d’Entrecasteaux’s chart ended, rather than to leave the survey and seek assistance at either Port Jackson or Timor. Baudin’s decision, on 8 May, to set course for the British port, was not made suddenly. It had been forming in his mind during at least the previous three months, before the *Géographe*’s supplies fell dangerously low and large numbers of her men fell ill, and the opportunity to prepare a second campaign had been

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<sup>46</sup> “je me persuadai facilement qu’il me convenait mieux de présenter au Gouvernement une côte entièrement déterminée qu’un ouvrage plus étendu mais imparfait”, letter from Nicolas Baudin to Antoine-Laurent de Jussieu, written at Port Jackson and dated 20 brumaire an X [11 November 1802], MNHN, ms2082, pièce no. 8.

<sup>47</sup> Horner, *The French Reconnaissance*, p. 231.

<sup>48</sup> “Par ce moyen je me trouvai à même de reprendre le travail de la côte orientale de l’Isle de Diemen que la mort ou l’absence du Citoyen Boulanger avait fait manquer.” Nicolas Baudin to Antoine-Laurent de Jussieu, written at Port Jackson and dated 20 brumaire an X [11 November 1802], MNHN, ms2082, pièce no. 8.

There has been some debate about the wisdom in Baudin’s decision to re-chart the east coast of Tasmania when his crew was growing so weak that they could barely navigate the ship. On this topic, see Horner, *French Reconnaissance*, p. 231 and Fornasiero, Monteath and West-Sooby, *Encountering Terra Australis*, p. 188-189.

<sup>49</sup> Fornasiero, Monteath and West-Sooby, *Encountering Terra Australis*, p. 188.

<sup>50</sup> Cornell, *Journal of Baudin*, p. 416. Baudin, *Journal de mer*, ANF, SM, 5JJ39, entry made 14-15 prairial an X [3-4 June 1802]: “Une longue lame creuse et élevée semblait nous menacer à tout moment de nous engloutir”;

a significant factor in his reasoning. In fact, it is apparent from the way in which the voyage unfolded that the expedition's work was being shaped less by the instructions themselves than by Baudin's determination to complete the most accurate and comprehensive work possible; changing course to sojourn in Port Jackson marked a pivotal moment in that process.

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"n'ayant que quatre hommes en état de rester sur le pont, y compris l'officier de quart"; "Cela me décida à courir largue et venir chercher le Port Jackson, n'étant plus en état de tenir la mer".



## *Ports of Call*

If we are to take stock of the nature and importance of Baudin's one unscheduled stop, it is of interest first to examine the scheduled stopovers that he had already accomplished en route. The first of these was at the Spanish port of Santa Cruz, Tenerife, the second at the French port of Port Louis, Mauritius, and the third at the Dutch port of Kupang, Timor. Each of these episodes critically shaped the course of the voyage and, ultimately, influenced how Baudin and his men would approach their stay at Port Jackson. While, as separate events, each has previously been recounted in detail within historical narratives of the voyage to Australia,<sup>1</sup> they have not yet been drawn together as a group of associated and consequential events. A comparative study of the Santa Cruz, Port Louis and Kupang stays – focusing on the historical backgrounds of the ports, the resources provided to the expedition and the manner in which Baudin negotiated them, the state of relations between Baudin and his officers while at anchor, and the scientific work accomplished on shore – will serve not only to highlight the similarities and differences between them, but also to situate the sojourn at Port Jackson in the wider context of the problems encountered during stays at ports of call.

### *Colonial Histories*

The stopovers of the outgoing voyage and the first campaign were significantly shaped by Spanish, French and Dutch colonial histories. These were histories of conflict, of struggles for survival and independence, and of imperial mercantilism, expansion and dominance. They were also histories of ongoing cross-cultural contact. These historical backgrounds therefore

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<sup>1</sup> See R. Bouvier and E. Maynial, *Une aventure dans les mers australes: l'expédition du commandant Baudin (1800-1803)* (Paris: Mercure de France, 1947); A. J. Brown, *Ill-Starred Captains: Flinders and Baudin* (Fremantle: Fremantle Arts Centre Press, 2004); J.-P. Faivre, *L'Expansion française dans le Pacifique, 1800-1842* (Paris: Nouvelle Editions Latines, 1953); F. Horner, *The French Reconnaissance: Baudin in Australia, 1801-1803* (Carlton: Melbourne University Press, 1987) and J. Fornasiero, P. Monteath and J. West-Sooby, *Encountering Terra Australis: The Australian Voyages of Nicolas Baudin and Matthew Flinders* (Kent Town: Wakefield Press, 2004).

help to explain how the Baudin expedition was to be received by each colonial administration and how far it would benefit from each sojourn.

Of the ports visited by the Baudin expedition, Santa Cruz had the longest history of European possession and was the most familiar to navigators;<sup>2</sup> however, it had not been the most prosperous of colonies. The Castilians had battled against the Guanches for almost a century before finally being able to lay claim to Tenerife in 1495.<sup>3</sup> They gradually established a successful commerce in wine but the harsh environment was not generally suited to European agriculture. François Péron, zoologist aboard the *Géographe*, reported that the island produced “nowhere near enough food for the small, miserable population” and the inhabitants relied upon costly shipments of grain from Spain, America and Germany.<sup>4</sup> Moreover, Péron noted that the “putrid” nature of the food, a scarcity of fresh water and a culture of promiscuity, made worse by the absence of police and the ignorance of local health officers, had led to a number of endemic illnesses, syphilitic diseases and general poor health among the island’s inhabitants.<sup>5</sup> Péron concluded that “the Canaries [...] are of scarcely any real interest, other than for their wine, their advantageous position and the physical and

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<sup>2</sup> François Péron, zoologist aboard the *Géographe*, recorded in the official account that “There yet appears too long and important a course ahead for me to find it necessary to dwell at length on the Canaries. Their position in the middle of the Atlantic Ocean has subjected them to the observations of a host of present-day travellers, to be commended equally for their talents and veracity; there exists, moreover, a Spanish work on this archipelago (in three octavo volumes) by Joseph de Viera y Clavijo, which appears to have exhausted all that can be said of interest about the ancient and modern history of these islands [...]”. “Il me reste encore une carrière trop longue et trop importante à parcourir pour que je doive long-temps m’arrêter sur les Canaries; leur position au milieu de la mer Atlantique les a soumises aux observations d’une foule de voyageurs modernes, également recommandables par leurs talents et par leur véracité; il existe d’ailleurs sur cet archipel un ouvrage espagnol en trois volumes in-8°, par Joseph de Viera y Clavijo, qui semble avoir épuisé tout ce qu’on peut dire d’intéressant sur l’histoire ancienne et moderne de ces îles”. See C. Cornell (trans.), *Voyage of Discovery to the Southern Lands, written by François Péron and continued by Louis de Freycinet* (Adelaide: Friends of the State Library of South Australia, 2007), vol. I, pp. 11-12; F. Péron [and L. Freycinet], *Voyage de découvertes aux terres Australes, exécuté sur les corvettes le Géographe, le Naturaliste et le Casuarina, pendant les années 1800-1804*, tome I, 2<sup>ème</sup> édition (Paris: Arthus Bertrand, 1824), p. 81. Similarly, when La Pérouse stopped at Tenerife in 1785, he noted the observations concerning the island that various French explorers had previously recorded. Moreover, like Baudin after him, he refused to give his naturalists permission to climb the famous Peak of Tenerife largely because it was already well known. J.-F. de Lapérouse, *Voyage autour du monde sur l’Astrolabe et la Boussole, 1785-1788*, ed. H. Patris, (Paris: La Découverte, 2005), p. 31; and J. Dunmore, *The Life of Jean-François de la Pérouse: Where Fate Beckons* (Sydney: ABC Books, 2006), p. 195.

<sup>3</sup> W. C. Atkinson, *A History of Spain and Portugal* (Harmondsworth: Penguin Books, 1960), pp. 99 and 147.

<sup>4</sup> Cornell, *Voyage of Discovery*, vol. I, p. 16; Péron, *Voyage de découvertes*, t. I, p. 86: “ne produisent pas, à beaucoup près, assez de subsistance pour leur faible et misérable population”.

<sup>5</sup> Cornell, *Voyage of Discovery*, vol. I, pp. 14-15; Péron, *Voyage de découvertes*, t. I, p. 84.

political upheavals which took place there”.<sup>6</sup>

In contrast to Tenerife, the colonial history of Mauritius had been short and yet remarkably prosperous. After passing from the Portuguese to the Dutch, the island was claimed by France in 1715 and renamed Ile de France. The island was located on a major shipping route, where it was able to profit from its role as a base for French exploration in the Pacific and Indian Oceans,<sup>7</sup> for French naval vessels operating in the East, and for privateers.<sup>8</sup> By the late eighteenth century, the colonists had established farms, industry and a comprehensive infrastructure.<sup>9</sup> Port Louis became a thriving French community and many visitors from France, such as those voyaging aboard the *Géographe* and the *Naturaliste*, felt at home there.<sup>10</sup> Nonetheless, the colonial administration had grown increasingly independent and, correspondingly, less concerned with the interests of the mother country or of Europe than with the colony’s own welfare. It was troubled by internal problems, based on a clash between local interest in free trade and the French India Company’s desire for a single monopoly.<sup>11</sup> It was also anxious about potential outside threats: since 1794, the administrators had been steadfastly disregarding the decree abolishing slavery, in fear of a rebellion,<sup>12</sup> and, their colony having long been at the centre of Anglo-French imperial rivalry, they were in constant fear of a British attack. Understandably, perhaps, their interests lay more in self-preservation than in supporting scientific expeditions.

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<sup>6</sup> Cornell, *Voyage of Discovery*, vol. I, p. 13; Péron, *Voyage de découvertes*, t. I, p. 80: “les Canaries [...] n’ont plus guère d’autre intérêt réel que celui de leurs vins, de leur position avantageuse, des révolutions physiques et politiques dont elles furent le théâtre”.

<sup>7</sup> In fact, Mauritius had seen a steady stream of explorers, including Louis-François de St Allouarn and Yves-Joseph de Kerguelen-Trémarec in 1772, the survivors of the Dufresne expedition in 1773 and Louis-Antoine de Bougainville in 1768. See L.-A. de Bougainville, *Bougainville: Voyage autour du monde*, ed. J. Proust (Paris: Gallimard, 1982), p. 420 and M. Estensen, *Discovery: The Quest for the Great South Land* (New York: St Martin’s Press, 1998), p. 227.

<sup>8</sup> M. Estensen, *The Life of Matthew Flinders* (Crows Nest: Allen and Unwin, 2002), p. 313.

<sup>9</sup> E. Duyker, *Of the Star and the Key: Mauritius, Mauritians and Australia* (Sylvania: Australian Mauritian Research Group, 1988), p. 6 and E. Duyker, *François Péron: An Impetuous Life* (Carlton: Miegunyah Press, 2006), pp. 68-69.

<sup>10</sup> François Péron commented: “After a long crossing, the sight of any land whatever is undoubtedly pleasant for the sailor; but how much more interesting must it seem to him when he knows he is bound to find there his fellow countrymen and the customs and language of his homeland!” See Cornell, *Voyage of Discovery*, vol. I, p. 43; Péron, *Voyage de découvertes*, t. I, p. 136: “après une longue traversée, la vue d’une terre quelconque est agréable au navigateur; mais combien plus elle doit lui paraître intéressante, alors qu’il sait devoir y retrouver les hommes, les mœurs et le langage de sa patrie!”

<sup>11</sup> Dunmore, *The Life of La Pérouse*, p. 59.

<sup>12</sup> Horner, *The French Reconnaissance*, p. 114.

If, for visiting ships, Port Louis represented a political hornet's nest, Kupang's problems were potentially just as serious, though of a more basic nature. A small outpost of the Dutch East India Company, Kupang had limited agriculture and infrastructure, and was as a result almost entirely dependent upon the company's headquarters at Batavia. Baudin's contemporary, Matthew Flinders, visited the port several times<sup>13</sup> and his observations reveal that, over the two hundred years during which the Dutch had possessed this land, they had not extended their territory "beyond four or five miles round Fort Concordia".<sup>14</sup> This was partly a result of the ongoing resistance of local tribes. Dutch possession was also challenged from the sea, for Kupang was an important port and trading point on the spice route. In 1800, British soldiers had attacked and briefly held the settlement, setting it on fire before retreating.<sup>15</sup> It was still recovering from the effects of this invasion the following year, when the Baudin expedition arrived. In addition to its limited resources and its political problems, Timor had a climate which, not unlike that of Tenerife, had proven to be detrimental to the health of visiting Europeans. Following his visit to Kupang in 1803, Flinders commented on the unhealthy conditions there, and reported that, within a fortnight of leaving the port, numbers of his crew and officers had been debilitated by dysentery.<sup>16</sup> As explorer Dumont d'Urville was to recognise some years later, it was wise to keep sojourns at Timor as brief as possible.<sup>17</sup>

To varying degrees, in fact, each of the ports Baudin was scheduled to visit posed significant risks to an expedition requiring respite and replenishment – even though these ports were well-established and had previously received numerous scientific expeditions. Moreover, it is conceivable that, precisely because they were well-established, their

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<sup>13</sup> Flinders first visited Timor as midshipman under Captain Bligh aboard the *Providence*, then on the *Investigator* during his circumnavigation of Australia and, finally, aboard the *Cumberland* on his return voyage from that campaign. See Estensen, *The Life of Matthew Flinders*, pp. 25, 269-273 and 309.

<sup>14</sup> M. Flinders, *A Voyage to Terra Australis, undertaken for the purpose of completing the discovery of that vast country, and prosecuted in the years 1801, 1802 and 1803, in His Majesty's Ship the Investigator, and subsequently in the armed vessel Porpoise, and Cumberland schooner*, vol. II (London: W. Bulmer and Co., 1814), p. 255.

<sup>15</sup> C. Cornell (trans.), *The Journal of Post-Captain Nicolas Baudin* (Adelaide: Libraries Board of South Australia, 1974), p. 255; "N. Baudin, *Journal de mer*, ANF, SM, 5JJ38, entry dated 3-4 fructidor an IX [21-22 August 1801].

<sup>16</sup> See Flinders, *A Voyage to Terra Australis*, vol. II, p. 258, and Estensen, *The Life of Matthew Flinders*, pp. 273-274.

authorities might have considered it was not in their interests to assist the Baudin expedition, beyond the usual commercial dealings and political good will. It is unlikely that exchange of navigational and scientific knowledge, for example, would have been a motivating factor for them. Indeed, the long histories of these ports made them, if anything, less likely to be of benefit than Port Jackson, with its short history.

### ***Replenishing Supplies***

At Le Havre, the *Géographe* and the *Naturaliste* had been stocked with only eight months of provisions.<sup>18</sup> Baudin was to replenish these and purchase sufficient wine for the campaign ahead during stopovers at Santa Cruz and Port Louis. It was therefore intended that the expedition would commence its voyage to Australia from Mauritius with adequate provisions and a healthy, well-rested staff. Thereafter, its requirements in Australian waters were expected to be met by one stopover eight months later at the small Dutch outpost in Timor. This was an optimistic plan.

The quantity of supplies carried by Baudin's ships when they left France was inadequate,<sup>19</sup> and this insufficiency was compounded by the circumstances Baudin encountered at Santa Cruz. The supply of wine in the Spanish settlement had been depleted by an exceptionally large dispatch just six months earlier and Baudin could only obtain the required quantity at a cost 25% higher than its real value. He was therefore obliged to reduce the order with the intention of purchasing the remaining quantity at Mauritius.<sup>20</sup> Negotiating these arrangements had already delayed the expedition's departure, and waiting for a shipment of provisions, which in the end consisted of only half the quantity Baudin had

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<sup>17</sup> See J. Dunmore, *From Venus to Antarctica: The Life of Dumont d'Urville* (Auckland: Exisle Publishing Limited, 2007), p. 220.

<sup>18</sup> See G. C. Ingleton, *Matthew Flinders: Navigator and Chartmaker* (Sydney: Genesis Publications Ltd, 1986), p. 70.

<sup>19</sup> See Ingleton, *Matthew Flinders*, p. 70.

<sup>20</sup> Cornell, *Journal of Baudin*, pp. 23 and 26; Baudin, *Journal de mer*, ANF, SM, 5JJ36, entries dated 12-13 and 15-16 brumaire an IX [4 and 7 November 1800].

ordered, would delay it still further.<sup>21</sup> As the commander set sail from Santa Cruz, he remarked bitterly that “putting in there had been of no benefit to us”.<sup>22</sup>

His luck was to be no better at Mauritius – not, this time, because it lacked resources, but because of the hostile attitude of the colony’s intendant general, Chanvallon, who stubbornly refused to supply Baudin with provisions essential for the continuation of his mission, or even for the daily consumption of his men while in port.<sup>23</sup> In desperation, Baudin purchased fruit and vegetables at the local market and negotiated with a butcher to buy fresh meat.<sup>24</sup> Fortunately, just as he resolved to move on and try his luck at either Batavia or Manila,<sup>25</sup> an old friend offered his assistance. The Danish consul, Pelgrom, and 15 captains from the Mauritian port lent Baudin enough money to purchase the most essential supplies.<sup>26</sup> This amount was supplemented by a sum of 1,400 piastres which Baudin obtained from his brother, who was in the colony.<sup>27</sup> Nevertheless, when it came to purchasing the required supply of wine, the cost was once again too high and Baudin was obliged to buy beer and spirits instead.<sup>28</sup> To its detriment, then, the expedition had fallen further behind schedule and was forced to commence the first campaign with supplies that were less than adequate.

For this reason, it was fortunate for the welfare of his men that Baudin decided to deviate from the itinerary, choosing to chart the west coast of New Holland and make his way from there to the scheduled port of call in Timor instead of beginning the difficult and time-consuming task of surveying Tasmania and the south coast in an inclement season. Taking this course meant that the under-equipped expedition spent only four months at sea between

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<sup>21</sup> Cornell, *Journal of Baudin*, p. 32; Baudin, *Journal de mer*, ANF, SM, 5JJ36, entry made 21-22 brumaire an IX [11-12 November 1800].

<sup>22</sup> Cornell, *Journal of Baudin*, p. 35; Baudin, *Journal de mer*, ANF, SM, 5JJ36, entry made 22-23 brumaire an IX [13-14 November 1800]: “regrettant beaucoup les onze jours que j’avais perdus sur cette rade puisque les raisons qui m’y avaient fait venir n’eurent aucun bon effet pour nous”.

<sup>23</sup> Cornell, *Journal of Baudin*, p. 125; Baudin, *Journal de mer*, ANF, SM, 5JJ37, entry dated 1-2 germinal an IX [22-23 March 1801].

<sup>24</sup> Cornell, *Journal of Baudin*, p. 126; Baudin, *Journal de mer*, ANF, SM, 5JJ37, entry dated 2-3 germinal an IX [23-24 March 1801].

<sup>25</sup> Cornell, *Journal of Baudin*, p. 126; Baudin, *Journal de mer*, ANF, SM, 5JJ37, entry dated 3-4 germinal an IX [24-25 March 1801].

<sup>26</sup> Cornell, *Journal of Baudin*, pp. 126-127; Baudin, *Journal de mer*, ANF, SM, 5JJ37, entries dated 4-5 and 5-6 germinal an IX [25-26 and 26-27 March 1801].

<sup>27</sup> N. Baudin, “Compte général de mes dépenses particulières pour la campagne et pendant la suite du voyage dont le Gouvernement Français m’a confié le commandement”, ANF, SM, 5JJ24.

the stopovers at Port Louis and Kupang, rather than the scheduled eight months.<sup>29</sup> Their arrival at the Dutch outpost seemed to bode well for the Frenchmen. On the *Géographe*'s first day in port, Governor Lofstett provided his guests with a load of lemons, limes and oranges and, thereafter, "no day [...] passed without his giving [the expedition] a present of pigs, deer, vegetables and sheep".<sup>30</sup> Every two days, Lofstett had a wild buffalo killed for the Frenchmen. Yet, while Baudin granted that "the living was very good on board, as on shore", after some time he found occasion to complain that they "lacked vegetables and other much more nourishing food than meat." Furthermore, he became frustrated by the fact that the provisions all rose in price for the Frenchmen, to double the amount of that paid by local inhabitants.<sup>31</sup> Supplies in the port were clearly not so abundant that settlers could afford to be generous. Kupang was dependent upon the annual delivery from Batavia, the headquarters of the Dutch East India Company, of a variety of essential provisions.<sup>32</sup> Moreover, there were no merchants or any other individuals who would receive bills of exchange; the governor was "the only person to do any business with foreigners",<sup>33</sup> and he was unable to fulfil in its entirety Baudin's request for campaign supplies.<sup>34</sup> The commander, for his part, expressed no particular fears about how long the supplies would last. The Frenchmen had eaten better here and stowed more provisions aboard the ships than they had done at either Tenerife or Mauritius.

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<sup>28</sup> Cornell, *Journal of Baudin*, p. 129; Baudin, *Journal de mer*, ANF, SM, 5JJ37, entry dated 11-12 germinal an IX [1-2 April 1801].

<sup>29</sup> Had Baudin followed the itinerary set by Fleurieu, it would in fact have been ten months after leaving Mauritius before the expedition again sought respite at a European port (Kupang). See "Plan of Itinerary for Citizen Baudin", p. 4; "Plan de la campagne", ANF, SM, 5JJ35.

<sup>30</sup> Cornell, *Journal of Baudin*, p. 262. Baudin, *Journal de mer*, ANF, SM, 5JJ38, entry dated 11-12 fructidor an IX [29-30 August 1801]: "il ne s'était pas passé de jour qu'il ne nous eût fait quelques présents en cochons, cerfs, légumes et moutons".

<sup>31</sup> Cornell, *Journal of Baudin*, p. 262. Baudin, *Journal de mer*, ANF, SM, 5JJ38, entry made 10-11 floréal an X [28-29 August 1801]: "à bord comme à terre, on faisait très bonne chère. Mais nous manquons [...] les légumes et autres rafraîchissements beaucoup meilleure que la viande".

<sup>32</sup> M. Flinders, *A Voyage to Terra Australis*, p. 255.

<sup>33</sup> Cornell, *Journal of Baudin*, p. 262; Baudin, *Journal de mer*, ANF, SM, 5JJ8, entry dated 10-11 fructidor an IX [28-29 August 1801]: "Le gouverneur qui est le seul qui fasse quelque commerce avec les étrangers".

<sup>34</sup> J. Bonnemains (ed.), *Mon voyage aux Terres australes: journal personnel du commandant Baudin, illustré par Lesueur et Petit* (Paris: Imprimerie Nationale, 2000), p. 375; *Journal du Capitaine de Vaisseau N° Baudin, Commandant en Chef des Corvettes le Géographe et le Naturaliste Destinées par le Gouvernement à faire une Campagne de Reconnaissance et Recherches dans différentes Parties des Mers Australes*, ANF, SM, 5JJ40B, entry dated 26-27 vendémiaire an X [18-19 October 1801].

The inadequacy of supplies was a continuing problem during the outgoing voyage and throughout the first campaign. Limited availability of wine and victuals, lack of cooperation, restrictions on trade, and a schedule that allowed Baudin very little time to seek solutions to his problems in obtaining supplies – were that even possible – meant that the exploration of Australia would probably cease at Port Jackson if Baudin were unable to purchase enough supplies there for a second campaign.

### ***Colonial Politics***

If the availability of resources and facilities at ports of call was critical to the voyage, colonial politics at those same ports was at least as significant a factor – and often a far more complicated one. The expedition's access to the resources of the port and its ability to obtain additional assistance, such as navigational information, largely depended on how local administrators felt about hosting and assisting the French voyagers. While the passports carried by Baudin and Hamelin ensured that the *Géographe* and the *Naturaliste* would be received and given help at foreign ports, they did not promise a particular level of hospitality.

On this front, the expedition's series of stopovers commenced well enough at Tenerife. The Spanish general extended a gracious welcome to the expedition and relations between the French and the colonists remained cordial for the duration of the visit.<sup>35</sup> However, one incident did threaten to disturb this harmony. Towards the end of the sojourn, the governor became almost convinced that four soldiers who had deserted their regiment were hiding aboard the *Géographe* or the *Naturaliste*. Baudin and Hamelin allowed the ships to be thoroughly examined but the governor remained suspicious. Nevertheless, his doubts do not appear to have caused any animosity. Neither did any hostility result from the difficulties encountered in obtaining supplies. Of course, Baudin had spent time in this colony before, which meant that he was familiar with the inhabitants and, furthermore, the stopover was so brief that there was not enough time for these issues to escalate.



Baudin had also previously visited Mauritius; however, on this occasion, his familiarity with the port was of no advantage to his expedition. Historians have already described at some length the hostile reception that colonial authorities gave to Baudin.<sup>36</sup> The French in Port Louis had long been anticipating an attack from the English and claimed at first that they had assumed that the *Géographe* and the *Naturaliste* were enemy vessels. Upon learning that the ships were in fact French, they then suspected that a secret agent might be on board, charged with putting into execution the decree concerning the liberation of slaves. Although Baudin convinced the authorities that this was not the case, they continued to treat him with suspicion and ordered him to surrender all correspondence. Over the course of the sojourn, relations between Baudin and the administrators worsened. As noted earlier, Chanvallon, the intendant general, refused to supply the expedition with either daily provisions or campaign supplies. Baudin was informed that many of the locals wanted to detain the expedition so that, if the port was attacked by British forces, the expeditioners could be conscripted and would have to stay to defend it. Chanvallon may have been involved in this scheme. Perhaps, too, as Dunmore proposes, he saw no reason to render his assistance to a scientific expedition that would be of no profit to the colony.<sup>37</sup> In any case, to make matters worse, certain colonists and labour contractors actively encouraged Baudin's men to abandon the expedition.<sup>38</sup> Baudin was able to recover many of the deserters, but, by the time the *Géographe* and the *Naturaliste* set sail, their crews had been considerably decreased.

In comparison to the situation in Mauritius, colonial politics in Timor may have seemed uncomplicated; at least the expedition enjoyed a much more peaceful sojourn there. However, there were circumstances to which the Frenchmen did need to show sensitivity. The settlement was still suffering the effects of a recent attack from the British, while relations

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<sup>35</sup> Cornell, *Journal of Baudin*, pp. 21-22; Baudin, *Journal de mer*, ANF, SM, 5JJ36, entry dated 11 brumaire an IX [12 November 1800].

<sup>36</sup> All accounts of the voyage of the Baudin expedition comment on the hostility of the administrators at Mauritius. For two examples, see Horner, *The French Reconnaissance*, p. 113 and J. Dunmore, *French Explorers in the Pacific*, vol. II, *The Nineteenth Century* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1969), p. 16.

<sup>37</sup> J. Dunmore, *French Explorers in the Pacific*, vol. II, p. 16.

<sup>38</sup> Cornell, *Journal of Baudin*, pp. 126 and 134; Baudin, *Journal de mer*, ANF, SM, 5JJ37, entries dated 3-4 germinal and 30 germinal - 1 floréal an IX [24-25 March and 20-21 April 1801].

between the Dutch and the Malays were, as they always had been, precarious. Moreover, as Kupang was only a small outpost of the Dutch East India Company, Governor Lofstett was obliged to account for his all of his actions to the Governor General at Batavia. Like the Spanish general at Tenerife, he was eager to provide all the assistance it was in his power to give, but hosting the French expedition did cause him a certain amount of anxiety. Baudin sensed this and made an effort to prevent his visit from causing any difficulties for his host and to maintain friendly relations with him.<sup>39</sup> He feared that he had offended Lofstett when he had resisted his attempt to recruit some of the *Géographe*'s sailors for use on his brigantine<sup>40</sup>—though, fortunately, the issue did not become a cause of contention. Such potential conflicts were smoothed over in part by Baudin's diplomatic skill and also in part by the governor's own interest in cooperating with the expedition. The Dutch settlement was considerably less prosperous and received fewer visitors than either Santa Cruz or Port Louis. The commercial gain to be had in trading with the French was therefore more valuable to Lofstett and the inhabitants of Kupang than it was to the locals at either of those other two ports. The mutual benefit was, indeed, significant.

In all, the relations established with the Dutch and the Spanish ensured largely harmonious sojourns and facilitated Baudin's efforts to fulfil the basic requirements of the expedition, but there is no indication that they involved any significant exchange of navigational, scientific or political knowledge. In the wake of these experiences, and the disastrous encounter at Mauritius, Baudin gained a heightened awareness of the complexities

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<sup>39</sup> Baudin's diplomatic skill and understanding was demonstrated particularly clearly in the following situations: obtaining Governor Lofstett's permission to leave lieutenant le Bas de Sainte Croix at Kupang, to be returned to France via Batavia (see Bonnemains, *Mon voyage*, p. 375; Baudin, *Journal historique*, ANF, SM, 5JJ40b, entry made 26-27 vendémiaire an X [19 October 1801]); arranging to have a portrait drawn of King Naba-Leba, of the island of Solor, Timor, and arranging for copies to be made of it for the king himself as well as for Lofstett (see Bonnemains, *Mon voyage*, p. 391; Baudin, *Journal historique*, ANF, SM, 5JJ40b, entry made 14-15 brumaire an X [5-6 November 1801]); and offering to punish Henri Freycinet for failing to inform Emmanuel Hamelin of Lofstett's order not to fire the canon when arriving in the port - the local people had orders to assemble in the town with their arms upon hearing at least three shots fired (see Bonnemains, *Mon voyage*, pp. 340-342; Baudin, *Journal historique*, ANF, SM, 5JJ40b, entries made 3-4 and 4-5 jour complémentaire an X [20-21 and 21-22 September 1801]).

<sup>40</sup> Cornell, *Journal of Baudin*, p. 265; Baudin, *Journal de mer*, ANF, SM, 5JJ38, entry made 15-16 fructidor an IX [3 September 1801].

of on-shore dealings during a time of troubled international relations that could assist him in later encounters in foreign ports of call.

### ***Shipboard Politics***

The affairs of a ship in port did not all occur on shore, between guests and hosts, but also on deck between the commander and his men. Shipboard duties and discipline were just as important in port as at sea and, more specifically, the nature of the relationships between Baudin and his officers could have a vital impact on the success of the stopovers.

An insolent and disrespectful attitude on the part of many of the officers towards their commander was to be one of the unfortunate defining aspects of the voyage and it was first evident at Tenerife. One evening during this stopover, Baudin was shocked to find that Henri Freycinet had thought fit to invite a French expatriate of “ill-repute” to dine on board in the great cabin, without first obtaining permission from the commander.<sup>41</sup> Baudin dealt with this quite easily, but a more serious issue soon arose. The officers, as well as the scientists, complained about the quality of the food the commander had been providing them and demanded that he buy fresh food for them from ashore, “consisting only of fish, game, vegetables, fruit etc. etc.”<sup>42</sup> As it was, the meals he had been providing cost more than the allowance the government had been given him for this purpose, and thus Baudin refused. Since the alternative was for the men to obtain their own meals, they and the commander agreed that the existing arrangement would continue only for another six months.<sup>43</sup> As Horner suggests, Baudin may not have been confidently asserting his authority during this early stage of the voyage.<sup>44</sup> In response, the officers were beginning to test their boundaries.

Nevertheless, at least a reasonable level of order had been maintained at Tenerife. By contrast, at Mauritius, a considerably longer stopover and one so problematic that it was

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<sup>41</sup> Cornell, *Journal of Baudin*, p. 28; Baudin, *Journal de mer*, ANF, SM, 5JJ36, entry dated 17-18 brumaire an IX [8-9 November 1800].

<sup>42</sup> Cornell, *Journal of Baudin*, p. 26; Baudin, *Journal de mer*, ANF, SM, 5JJ36, entry dated 15-16 brumaire an IX [6-7 November 1800]: “ne consistant qu’en poissons, gibiers, légumes, fruits, etc. etc.”.

<sup>43</sup> Cornell, *Journal of Baudin*, p. 26; Baudin, *Journal de mer*, ANF, SM, 5JJ36, entry dated 15-16 brumaire an IX [6-7 November 1800].

difficult for Baudin to supervise his men closely, considerable disorder developed. As mentioned earlier, Port Louis was like a second, perhaps more interesting home for the Frenchmen. It was also the last stopover before the voyage of discovery truly commenced.<sup>45</sup> Many officers therefore took advantage of the opportunity to enjoy themselves before they set sail and left “civilisation” behind.<sup>46</sup> On the tenth day of the sojourn, Baudin noted incredulously in his journal:

I saw with pain that several officers from the staff of both ships were taking rooms on shore and that they were having their possessions moved there, contenting themselves with appearing on board only once or twice per decade to perform what they call their guard duty, which is all they think themselves obliged to do during the ships’ stay in port.<sup>47</sup>

Instead of ordering them to return to the ship, Baudin did not more than complain to them about their behaviour. It would seem either that the commander found that their misconduct was not significantly hindering the work being undertaken or that he still had not gained confidence in commanding his senior staff members. Jean Fornasiero, Peter Monteath and John West-Sooby assert that the discipline problems experienced during the sojourn at

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<sup>44</sup> Horner, *The French Reconnaissance*, p. 92.

<sup>45</sup> Letter from the Minister of Marine and the Colonies to Nicolas Baudin, written in Paris and dated 7 vendémiaire an IX [29 September 1800], translated by C. Cornell in Baudin, *Journal of Baudin*, pp. 7-8; ANF, SM, 5JJ25.

<sup>46</sup> An indication of how at least some of the men felt about this stage of the voyage is provided by an entry in the journal of Emmanuel Hamelin, captain of the *Naturaliste* “When I left him [Captain Duchey] [...] I experienced an unpleasant sensation, arising from the realisation that he was the last civilised being that I would embrace for a long time, since the voyage that I was beginning would perhaps only take me to the stupid and thieving inhabitants of New Holland and the islands of the Southern Ocean. The memory of a wife whom I adore, of a father and a mother who are dear to me, added to my distress and melancholy. The reader will not laugh at my confession of weakness, if they possess a sensitive heart and have a wife and a father”. Original text: “Quand je l’ai quitté sur la cale, au bord de la mer, où il [citoyen Duchey, capitaine de frégate] est venu me conduire, j’ai éprouvé une sensation désagréable occasionnée par l’idée qu’il était le dernier être civilisé que j’étais appelé à embrasser d’ici longtemps, la navigation que j’allais commencer ne devant peut-être me conduire qu’auprès des stupides et voleurs habitants de la Nouvelle Hollande et des îles de la mer du sud. Le souvenir d’une épouse que j’adore, d’un père et d’une mère qui me sont chers est venu s’ajouter à mon trouble et augmenter ma mélancolie. Le lecteur ne rira pas de ma confession que je fais de cette faiblesse, si avec un cœur sensible il possède une femme et un père”. See Hamelin, *Journal*, t. I, ANF, SM, 5JJ41, entry dated 5-6 floréal an IX [25-26 April 1801].

<sup>47</sup> Cornell, *Journal of Baudin*, p. 126; Baudin, *Journal de mer*, ANF, SM, 5JJ37, entry dated 4-5 germinal an IX [25-26 March 1801]: “J’ai vu également avec peine que plusieurs officiers des états-majors des deux bâtiments prenaient des chambres à terre et qu’ils y faisaient porter leurs effets se contentant de ne paraître à bord qu’une fois ou deux par décade pour y faire ce qu’ils appellent leur service de garde auquel ils se croient uniquement tenus pendant le séjour des bâtiments dans le port”.

Tenerife had already affected morale.<sup>48</sup> Some of the men did seem to be disenchanted by the expedition and were probably seduced by the more luxurious lifestyle and the opportunities available in the French colony. In fact, a number of officers, as well as several scientists, decided to disembark at Port Louis.

Some troublemakers, though, still remained when the expedition arrived at Kupang and, by that stage, Baudin was rapidly losing patience. As soon as the *Géographe* was securely anchored, even before he went ashore to meet the governor, Baudin informed sub-lieutenant Furcy Picquet to disembark as he was no longer to be a member of his staff.<sup>49</sup> However, Picquet did not intend to give in easily:<sup>50</sup> he challenged his commander to a duel and Baudin was obliged to have him imprisoned in the fortress at Kupang until he could return to Europe. Many of the other officers sympathised with Picquet and, in fact, it was at their request that Baudin allowed him to retain his rank and to proceed to the fortress unguarded.<sup>51</sup> Baudin's first lieutenant, Le Bas, was particularly loyal to Picquet. He called a meeting at which he declared that he would be "the denunciator of the commandant as soon as he returned to Europe".<sup>52</sup> When this was reported to Baudin by engineer François-Michel Ronsard, the commander sought grounds upon which he could discharge Le Bas from the expedition, this time without inciting any further trouble among the officers. The matter was solved for him when Le Bas challenged Ronsard to a duel and Ronsard shot him in the arm.<sup>53</sup> Le Bas was then dismissed from the expedition for medical reasons.

Baudin chose not to elect a new first lieutenant.<sup>54</sup> Apart from these two incidents,

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<sup>48</sup> J. Fornasiero, P. Monteath and J. West-Sooby, *Encountering Terra Australis: The Australian Voyages of Nicolas Baudin and Matthew Flinders* (Kent Town: Wakefield Press, 2004), p. 24.

<sup>49</sup> Until the expedition's departure from Mauritius, Picquet had been sailing aboard the *Naturaliste*. Its captain, Emmanuel Hamelin, had wanted to dismiss Picquet, but, taking into consideration the sub-lieutenant's influential family connections, Baudin had allowed him to continue the voyage. However, Picquet had "continued to behave badly". See Horner, *French Reconnaissance*, p. 182.

<sup>50</sup> Cornell, *Journal of Baudin*, pp. 256-257 and 261; Baudin, *Journal de mer*, ANF, SM, 5JJ38, entries dated 4-5 and 8-9 fructidor an IX [22-23 and 26-27 August 1801].

<sup>51</sup> Baudin, *Journal of Baudin*, pp. 256-257 and 261; Baudin, *Journal de mer*, ANF, SM, 5JJ38, entries dated 4-5 and 8-9 fructidor an IX [22-23 and 26-27 August 1801].

<sup>52</sup> "le dénonciateur du commandant aussitôt notre retour en Europe", Bonnemains, *Mon voyage*, p. 371; Baudin, *Journal historique*, ANF, SM, 5JJ40b, entry dated 21-22 vendémiaire an IX [13-14 October 1801].

<sup>53</sup> Horner, *French Reconnaissance*, p. 182.

<sup>54</sup> This decision has been strongly criticised by certain commentators but there is not the scope to explore the issue here. See Horner, *The French Reconnaissance*, p. 186.

discipline aboard the *Géographe* at Kupang was better overall than it had been during the sojourn at Mauritius. The officers lived on board where they largely remained focused on their work and, as Horner points out, though Baudin was bedridden with a severe fever for the last eight days of the sojourn, he managed to maintain his command.<sup>55</sup> All the same, he had become alienated from his officers. While he lay dangerously ill in his bed on shore, he watched his men pass by regularly to visit Picquet in the fortress, but very rarely to call on him. “At least it serves to demonstrate to what extent I can depend on my officers”, he commented.<sup>56</sup> Given this state of affairs, and particularly Le Bas’s betrayal, Baudin believed that he could command his men more effectively without a first lieutenant to whom he would be obliged to delegate responsibilities. He made a personal resolution to “change the conduct of the officers, or to dismiss them”, as soon as he recovered his strength.<sup>57</sup>

He had narrowly averted a mutiny in Kupang and his manner of command had been strengthened as a result. His efforts to maintain discipline were further facilitated by the fact that those officers who were least committed to the expedition and least obedient had disembarked, voluntarily or otherwise, by the time of the expedition’s departure from Timor.

### ***Scientific Endeavours in Port***

When the *Géographe* and the *Naturaliste* anchored in port, undoubtedly all of the men, from the sailors to the commander, were eager to escape the confines of the ship and head ashore – though none were more impatient than the scientists. However, these men did not always focus on their work when they left the ship. Their productivity depended upon various factors: the material conditions on shore, the distractions they encountered in the

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<sup>55</sup> Horner, *The French Reconnaissance*, p. 184.

<sup>56</sup> “au moins elle servit à me faire connaître jusqu’à quel point je pouvais compter sur mes officiers”, Bonnemains, *Mon voyage*, p. 338 ; Baudin, *Journal historique*, ANF, SM, 5JJ40b, entry dated 22-28 fructidor an X [9-15 September 1801].

<sup>57</sup> “à faire changer mon état-major de conduite ou à m’en séparer”, Bonnemains, *Mon voyage*, p. 343; Baudin, *Journal historique*, ANF, SM, 5JJ40b, entry dated jour 5 complémentaire - 1 vendémiaire an X [23 September 1801], p. 343.

ports, and their perception of how much the local environment had to offer the world of science.

Most of Baudin's scientists had never before left France and they could not wait to venture ashore during their first landfall at Santa Cruz; however, the natural environment of Tenerife was by then already well known to European scientists. Zoologist François Péron's medical training and interest in anthropology came to the fore as he focused on the health and lifestyle of the local inhabitants. Chief zoologist René Maugé, meanwhile, gathered a collection of birds and insects that Baudin considered worthy of reporting to Antoine-Laurent de Jussieu at the Muséum d'histoire naturelle.<sup>58</sup> The commander himself purchased some "objects of curiosity" and donated several hothouse plants to the Marquis de Nava.<sup>59</sup> Although Baudin and the scientists enjoyed their studies at Tenerife, this stopover does not appear to have resulted in any new discoveries.

The sojourn at Mauritius, which was longer than that at Tenerife and during which the savants lodged on shore, provided an even better opportunity for scientific research. However, this region was again very familiar and the enthusiasm of the scientists had clearly ebbed since the previous stopover: Baudin reported to Jussieu that the savants spent most of their time at leisure in the town.<sup>60</sup> Many of the specimens Péron obtained at Mauritius were not a result of his own fieldwork but of donations from inhabitants of the colony.<sup>61</sup> Similarly, because he was preoccupied with more pressing matters, Baudin neither purchased nor acquired donations of any natural history objects at the French colony.

However, he was clearly determined to ensure that, by contrast, the stopover at Timor would be of benefit to the expedition's scientific research. His "first concern" upon arriving in

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<sup>58</sup> Letter from Nicolas Baudin to Antoine-Laurent de Jussieu, written aboard the *Géographe* at Tenerife, and dated 14 brumaire an IX [5 November 1800], MNHN, ms2082, pièce no. 2.

<sup>59</sup> Concerning Baudin's purchase of "objects of curiosity", see Baudin, "Compte général de mes dépenses particulières pour la campagne". Concerning the donations he received, see Cornell, *Journal of Baudin*, p. 27; Baudin, *Journal de mer*, ANF, SM, 5JJ36, entry dated 17 brumaire an IX [8 November 1800].

<sup>60</sup> Letter from Nicolas Baudin to Antoine-Laurent de Jussieu, written aboard the *Géographe* at Mauritius, and dated 14 brumaire an IX [5 November 1800], MNHN, ms2082, pièce no. 3.

<sup>61</sup> F. Péron, "Tableau no. VII<sup>e</sup>, Tableau des différens objets d'histoire naturelle remis au C<sup>en</sup> Péron par différentes personnes", MHN, Le Havre, CL, dossier 21 001.

the port of Kupang was to obtain suitable accommodation for the savants.<sup>62</sup> He thus rented from the governor a “vast and spacious house in which they should have been at ease” and gave them a cook, of their choice, from the *Géographe*, as well as two men to serve them.<sup>63</sup> To that house he allocated only the savants whose work was noisy – such as that of the mineralogists – or distracting – for example, the work of the zoologists. Those who required a quiet environment to work effectively – the geographers, the artists and the astronomer – shared a house with Baudin. The commander noted in his journal that, as soon as the savants had settled into their new lodgings and unpacked their equipment, they set to work.<sup>64</sup> The “botanist and the gardener”, pursued their research with assistance from a guide provided by Governor Lofstett, at Baudin’s expense, while Péron, along with mineralogist Louis Depuch, astronomer Pierre-François Bernier and artist Charles-Alexandre Lesueur took several opportunities to explore the countryside.<sup>65</sup> The environs of Kupang had not been as thoroughly examined by European scientists as those of Tenerife and Mauritius, since ships typically stayed only long enough to replenish supplies before returning to sea. Moreover, the township was smaller than Port Louis and, accordingly, it offered the scientists fewer distractions. All the same, Péron complained that the country’s domestic animals were “all perfectly known” and that it was difficult to observe as many of Timor’s wild animals as he would have liked: “the suspicions and concerns of the Dutch governor, the ferocity of the natives of the inland region, the depth and vastness of the forests, the difficulty of the roads, or the entire lack of them, opposed research of this nature”, he complained.<sup>66</sup> The main

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<sup>62</sup> Bonnemains, *Mon voyage*, p. 397; Baudin, *Journal historique*, ANF, SM, 5JJ40b, entry dated 21-22 brumaire an X [12-13 November 1801].

<sup>63</sup> “une maison vaste et spacieuse, dans laquelle ils auraient dû être à l’aise”, Bonnemains, *Mon voyage*, p. 397; Baudin, *Journal historique*, ANF, SM, 5JJ40b, entry dated 21-22 brumaire an X [12-13 November 1801].

<sup>64</sup> Bonnemains, *Mon voyage*, pp. 397-398; Baudin, *Journal historique*, ANF, SM, 5JJ40b, entry dated 21-22 brumaire an X [12-13 November 1801].

<sup>65</sup> Concerning the provision of a guide, see Baudin, “Compte général de mes dépenses”. Concerning the excursions of Péron and his companions, see Cornell, *Voyage of discovery*, vol. 1, pp. 118-120, 121, 124-125, 130; Péron, *Voyage de découvertes*, t. I, pp. 299-304, 307, 312-316, 327.

<sup>66</sup> This appears to be the only reference to such suspicions or concerns on the part of the governor in the records of the expedition’s 1801 stopover at Timor. See F. Péron, “Tableau général d’une partie des espèces observées dans les diverses classes du Règne Animal par le C<sup>en</sup> Fs Péron élève-zoologiste attaché à l’expédition française de découvertes commandée par le C<sup>en</sup> N<sup>las</sup>. Baudin”, MHN, Le Havre, CL, dossier 21 003: “les soupçons et les inquiétudes du gouverneur hollandais, la férocité des naturels de l’intérieur des terres, la profondeur elle-même des forêts et leur vaste étendue, la difficulté des chemins ou même leur défaut absolu, tout était contraire à des recherches de cette nature”.



hindrance to the development of the natural history collection of Timor, though, was illness. The majority of the expedition's savants were struck down with dysentery, colic and fever during the sojourn in Kupang, a human disaster that is part of the enduring memory of the voyage.

### ***Conclusion***

The stopovers at Santa Cruz, Port Louis and Kupang were, in important ways, detrimental to the Baudin expedition. They each failed to provide the *Géographe* and the *Naturaliste* with the quantity of supplies they required for the voyage, they each gave rise to discord between the commander and the officers, and, while numbers of expeditioners contracted diseases at Santa Cruz and Kupang, many too were lost through desertion and disembarkation at Port Louis. Delays at the first two ports of call put the expedition behind its rather rigid schedule, leaving it exposed to facing the dangers of navigating in an inclement season, a situation which led Baudin to make a critical departure from the itinerary. Appearances would suggest that each stopover, in turn, loosened Baudin's control over the course of the voyage and the well-being of his men. However, this was far from being the case, for there is another sense in which the series of events that was played out from one port of call to the next ultimately served to benefit the expedition. As Baudin fell steadily further behind schedule, he increasingly exercised his own initiative. He began to seek supplies with more determination – as each situation required. He approached relationships with his hosts more prudently and deliberately, gave stronger support to his scientists and altered the hierarchy aboard the *Géographe*. As he departed from the itinerary, and its restrictions, he began to shape the voyage himself and strengthen his command of the expedition. It is this increasing sense of autonomy that indeed led him to Port Jackson.

Bearing in mind Baudin's itinerary, in both the geographical and personal sense, we can now turn to our analysis of the Port Jackson episode, or episodes, for Baudin was

preceded in his journey to New South Wales by his second-in-command, Emmanuel Hamelin, and the *Naturaliste*.

## *An Unscheduled Sojourn*

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*The First Encounter:  
 the Naturaliste at Port Jackson, 25 April - 18 May 1802*

While Baudin was resolutely pursuing his goal on the south coast of Australia and planning the expedition's next campaign, what was his second captain doing? It is indeed a question worth asking, for his actions may have had greater significance for our understanding of the expedition's experience at Port Jackson than has been recognised. Between early April and late June, Hamelin and his crew in the *Naturaliste* sailed from Bass Strait to Port Jackson, where they remained for three weeks, before departing on a southerly course. This episode is well known, but only one aspect of it has thus far been closely analysed: Hamelin's decision to leave Port Jackson before the arrival of the *Géographe*.<sup>1</sup> While this is an intriguing question, and one that still merits consideration, we also need to investigate the circumstances of this first sojourn as a whole. It was the first encounter between the Baudin expedition and the British colonists and, therefore, it was Hamelin rather than Baudin, the commander, who gave the British their initial impression of the work and objectives of the French. In some sense, then, this encounter paved the way for the subsequent arrival of the *Géographe* at Port Jackson where it would be hosted by the British for five months while Baudin prepared for the second campaign. It is therefore important to determine how this first encounter might have shaped the attitude of the British toward the Baudin expedition and, correspondingly, toward the longer sojourn that was to follow. In order to gain some insight into the effects of this first contact, it is useful to reconstruct the events with a focus on the way in which the sojourn was approached by Hamelin and on the reception he and his men were given by the colonists.

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<sup>1</sup> M. Jangoux, "La première relâche du *Naturaliste* au Port Jackson (26 avril-18 mai): le témoignage du capitaine Hamelin", *Australian Journal of French Studies*, XLI, 2 (2004), pp. 126-151. Also see Horner, *French Reconnaissance*, pp. 248-249.

Hamelin's decision to visit Port Jackson may not have been reached easily. After losing contact with Baudin near Maria Island, off the east coast of Tasmania, he encountered two British ships. Hamelin learned from the captain of the second ship, the *Harrington*, that the British had made significant discoveries in Bass Strait. More alarmingly, he was told that a British frigate had recently left Port Jackson to survey the Gulf of Carpentaria and the south coast of New Guinea. Upon hearing this news, Hamelin must have shared the sentiment of his sub-lieutenant, Jacques Saint-Cricq, who declared: "how shameful for us, we could have already completed that work!"<sup>2</sup> Hamelin would consequently have had reason to question how much work the expedition had left to do. This may have been part of the reason why, when he was forced to seek respite, he did not immediately decide upon Port Jackson but considered returning to either Timor or Mauritius. Choosing either of these, particularly the second, would have meant giving up the expedition. However, these destinations also carried the risks of desertion and disease. According to his journal entries, in any case, Hamelin believed that the south-west coast remained to be explored and his first priority was to rejoin Baudin.<sup>3</sup> Visiting Port Jackson was most likely to satisfy both of these objectives and so in the end, as Michel Jangoux states, Hamelin's decision was simple: he went to find or wait for Baudin in the British colony.<sup>4</sup>

On the morning of 24 April 1802, the British flag was raised on the foremast as the *Naturaliste* approached the entrance to Port Jackson. The arrival was an eventful one: heavy rain and rough seas signalled an incoming storm, the *Naturaliste's* dinghy capsized leaving several men ashore without provisions or shelter.<sup>5</sup> Meanwhile, the British colonists in Sydney Town were celebrating St George's Day with music and a nine-canon salute that could be

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<sup>2</sup> "Quelle honte pour nous, nous eussions déjà avoir pu fini ce travail!", *Journal de S<sup>t</sup> Cricq, Enseigne de Vaisseau sur la Corvette Le Naturaliste, commandée par le Citoyen Hamelin Cap<sup>ne</sup> de freg<sup>le</sup> Voyage de découvertes du Cap.<sup>ne</sup> Baudin*, ANF, SM, 5JJ48, entry dated 19 ventôse an X [10 March 1802].

<sup>3</sup> As mentioned earlier, Hamelin cited the fact that "the commander told me one day that he might be forced to seek respite at Port Jackson" as a reason for his decision to set sail for the British colony on 18 April 1802. See *Jacques Félix Emmanuel Hamelin des Essarts, Capitaine de Frégate Commandant le Naturaliste, Corvette destinée avec celle du Géographe sous les ordres du Capitaine Nicolas Baudin pour une expédition de découvertes, armée et équipée pour 4 ans*, t. II, ANF, SM, 5JJ42, entry dated 27-28 germinal an X [17-18 April 1802]: "Le Commandant me dit un jour qu'il serait peut être forcé de relâcher au Port Jackson".

<sup>4</sup> Jangoux, "La première relâche du *Naturaliste* au Port Jackson", p. 128.

heard aboard the *Naturaliste*.<sup>6</sup> The joyous mood of the colonists was fortunately to extend to a warm reception of the French explorers. According to the pilot who guided the *Naturaliste* through the heads, they had been hoping to see the expedition for the past year.<sup>7</sup>

The following morning the *Naturaliste* dropped anchor at Middle Cape and Hamelin cautiously made contact for the first time with the governor of the colony, Philip Gidley King. He wrote a letter requesting the provisions they required and from his diffident tone it seems that, as Joan Webb points out, he half expected a refusal.<sup>8</sup> Meanwhile, he sent first lieutenant Pierre Milius and midshipman Desiré Breton ashore to inform King in person of their arrival and objectives.<sup>9</sup> The governor being out of town, the men were hosted instead by the lieutenant governor of the colony, Lieutenant Colonel William Paterson.<sup>10</sup> However, King had been informed of the *Naturaliste*'s arrival and he hurried back to Sydney on 26 April.<sup>11</sup> Milius had not yet returned to the ship and King welcomed him with enthusiasm, assuring him that, although the colony was lacking essential provisions, he would take great pleasure in providing for the Frenchmen. He declared to Milius that he saw the men of the *Naturaliste* as "citizens of the world" with "the right to expect the recognition of all nations".<sup>12</sup> On the same

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<sup>5</sup> For a detailed account of this incident see A. J. Brown, *Ill-Starred Captains: Matthew Flinders and Nicolas Baudin* (Fremantle: Fremantle Arts Centre Press, 2004), p. 244.

<sup>6</sup> See *Journal tenu à bord de la Corvette le Naturaliste par J. V<sup>r</sup> Couture Aspirant de 1<sup>ère</sup> Classe*, ANF, SM 5JJ57, entry dated 4-5 floréal an X [24-25 April 1802] and *Journal [Nautique] du Naturaliste Giraud aspirans de la marine pendant les années 9. 10 & 11*, ANF, SM 5JJ57, entry dated 4-5 floréal an X [24-25 April 1802].

<sup>7</sup> Obviously, Governor King had some knowledge of the Baudin expedition and had been expecting the ships to visit Port Jackson. Hamelin noted that the pilot told him "he had been sent by Governor King to bring them in, convinced by our parliamentary flag that we were one of the two French vessels on discovery that he had been hoping to see for the past year". See Hamelin, *Journal*, t. II, ANF, SM, 5JJ42 entry dated 5-6 floréal an X [25-26 April 1802]: "persuadé par notre pavillon de parlementaire que nous étions un des deux bâtiments français occupés de découvertes et qu'il espérait voir depuis un an."

<sup>8</sup> Letter from Emmanuel Hamelin to Philip Gidley King, written at Port Jackson and dated 25 April 1802, reproduced in F. M. Bladen (ed.), *Historical Records of New South Wales*, vol. IV (Sydney: Government Printer, 1896), [HRNSW], p. 942. Regarding the suggestion that Hamelin feared his requests would be refused, see J. Webb, *George Caley: Nineteenth Century Naturalist* (Chipping Norton: Surrey Beatty and Sons, 1995), p. 41. François Péron also claimed that, because of the hatred the British felt for France as a result of the Napoleonic Wars, Hamelin had reason to fear that the colonists at Port Jackson would refuse to assist the expedition. See C. Cornell (trans.), *Voyage of Discovery to the Southern Lands*, written by François Péron and continued by Louis Freycinet, vol. 1, 2<sup>nd</sup> edition (Adelaide: Friends of the State Library of South Australia, 2006), p. 290; F. Péron [and L. Freycinet], *Voyage de découvertes aux Terres australes exécuté par ordre de Sa Majesté l'Empereur et Roi, sur les corvettes le Géographe, le Naturaliste; et la goélette le Casuarina, pendant les années 1800, 1801, 1802, 1803, et 1804, Historique*, t. II, 2<sup>ème</sup> édition (Paris: Arthus Bertrand, 1824), p. 263.

<sup>9</sup> *Journal de Breton, aspirant de 1<sup>ère</sup> Classe à bord du Géographe : Depuis Le 9 Vendémiaire an 9 Jusqu'au 9 Brumaire an 10*, ANF, SM, 5JJ57, entry dated 5 floréal an X [25 April 1802].

<sup>10</sup> Saint-Cricq, *Journal*, entry dated 5 floréal an X [25 April 1802].

<sup>11</sup> Saint-Cricq, *Journal*, entry dated 5 floréal an X [25 April 1802].

<sup>12</sup> "Il regardait en nous, disait-il, les citoyens de tout le monde et nous avons le droit de nous attendre à la reconnaissance de toutes les nations", Saint-Cricq, *Journal*, entry dated 5 floréal an X [25 April 1802].

day, he also replied to Hamelin's letter, directing him to anchor at the entrance to Sydney Cove and giving the captain the same assurances he had given personally to Milius and Breton. Nevertheless, it seems that Hamelin did not entirely trust the British. He noted in his journal that on this first day at anchor in Port Jackson a midshipman from the *Porpoise* came aboard and "asked many intelligent and discreet questions to which I responded".<sup>13</sup> Perhaps Hamelin had difficulty putting aside the suspicious mentality natural to a man of military background.

Governor King, while extending an enthusiastic welcome, was also conscious that this situation called for some caution. While waiting to meet Hamelin in person, he compiled a set of regulations for the Frenchmen to follow based on those applying to British and foreign merchant vessels. Given the fact that France and England were still believed to be at war, it is not surprising to find that these regulations related entirely to the Frenchmen's movements and were more restrictive than those applying to the crews aboard merchant vessels. For example, while the latter were permitted to travel freely up and down the harbour on the condition that a "trustworthy person" commanded their boat, Hamelin's men were prohibited from venturing beyond the *Naturaliste's* anchoring place. Similarly, whereas merchants could collect wood and water at any location they chose, the Frenchmen were able to do so only where indicated by a British officer. While it was only the sailors from merchant vessels who were not allowed into the countryside without a pass, all men from the *Naturaliste* – crew members, scientists and officers - needed the Governor's permission to explore beyond Sydney Town.<sup>14</sup> King also paid heed to appropriate formalities by directing Paterson to ensure the sentinels paid the captain and officers of the *Naturaliste* the compliments due to their rank.<sup>15</sup> Horner states that, although King imposed some restrictions, he otherwise treated the

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<sup>13</sup> "m'a fait plusieurs questions sages et discrètes auxquelles j'ai répondu", Hamelin, *Journal*, t. II, ANF, SM, 5JJ42, entry dated 5-6 floréal an X [25-26 April 1802].

<sup>14</sup> P. G. King, "Regulations to be observed by the French Ship during her stay in Port Jackson", dated 27 April 1802, *HRNSW*, vol. IV, p. 943 and "Regulations to be observed by all masters or commanders of British or foreign vessels arriving at Port Jackson, and by all merchants, importers, and consignees resident in His Majesty's territory of New South Wales", undated, reproduced in *HRNSW*, vol. IV, pp. 144-146.

<sup>15</sup> P. G. King, "Government and General Order", dated 27 April 1802, *HRNSW*, vol. IV, p. 146.

Frenchmen in the same way he would have treated British guests.<sup>16</sup> King was a politically astute man, though, and his hospitality would have been carefully calculated. By balancing generous hospitality, precise regulations and appropriate etiquette, it appears that King was attempting to ensure cordial relations and thereby prevent conflict.

The Governor met Hamelin on 28 April. After the pilot had taken the *Naturaliste* to the entrance to Sydney Cove, as ordered, Hamelin, his officers and the naturalists went ashore to dine at Government House and then visited the home of the Lieutenant Colonel. The Frenchmen were hosted with “the greatest cheer”, declared Saint-Cricq, and King informed them that there would always be a place for each of the men at his table.<sup>17</sup> He also informed his guests, probably both in the spirit of cooperation and to advise the French of where they stood, that many British ships had explored this part of the world and particularly valuable discoveries had been made in Bass Strait.<sup>18</sup> In his journal, Hamelin praised the hospitality and noted that it had been Joseph Banks, not the British government, who had informed King about the expedition and instructed him to render assistance should it visit the colony.<sup>19</sup> This perhaps put Hamelin more at ease, for he gave King a detailed account of the surveying work the expedition had achieved thus far.<sup>20</sup> Nevertheless, it seems that there was something in his manner that made King suspicious. Shortly after the *Naturaliste*’s departure, King would write to the Duke of Portland relaying Hamelin’s account of the French voyage and commenting somewhat mistrustfully that “the remainder of the *Naturaliste*’s voyage is a

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<sup>16</sup> Horner, *The French Reconnaissance*, p. 247.

<sup>17</sup> “la plus grande convivialité”, Saint-Cricq, *Journal*, entry dated 5 floréal an X [25 April 1802].

<sup>18</sup> In fact, King provided considerable detail, informing the Frenchmen “that the British had sent many vessels on discovery in this part of the world. They had recently discovered an island of 80 miles in length situated in Bass Strait between Western Port and the Hunter Islands. Western Port had been thoroughly surveyed but three attempts to land on the south-west coast had been unsuccessful [...]. Nevertheless, they had discovered an excellent port 15 miles west of Western Port [...]. Captain King assured us that this port was as commodious as it was precious”. Saint-Cricq, *Journal*, entry dated 5 floréal an X [25 April 1802]: “Le Capitaine King nous apprit que les Anglais avaient envoyé beaucoup de bâtiments en découverte dans cette partie du monde. On avait trouvé nouvellement une île de 80 milles de longueur située dans le détroit de Bass entre le port Western et les îles Hunter. Le port Western avait été parfaitement reconnu mais trois tentatives avaient été infructueuses sur la côte sud-ouest [...]. On avait cependant découvert un superbe port à 15 milles dans l’ouest du port Western [...]. Le Capitaine King nous assura que ce port était aussi commode que précieux”.

<sup>19</sup> Hamelin, *Journal*, t. II, ANF, SM, 5JJ42, entry dated 7-8 floréal an X [27-28 April 1802].

<sup>20</sup> Letter from Philip Gidley King to the Duke of Portland, written at Sydney and dated 21 May 1802, *HRNSW*, vol. IV, pp. 762-763.

secret”.<sup>21</sup> Furthermore, after Hamelin’s stopover in the colony, King redoubled his efforts to persuade the British government to provide him with the means to form a colony at Port Phillip, claiming that the French intended to establish a settlement on the south coast of New South Wales or the west coast of Australia.<sup>22</sup> Thus, while all accounts suggest that the relationship established between King and Hamelin was congenial enough, it is clear that there was a certain amount of distrust on both sides.

The Frenchmen returned to the *Naturaliste* late that first night but the festivities were not over. The next day, Captain Scott from the *Porpoise* came aboard to announce the imminent arrival of Governor King. Etiquette and undoubtedly the keen desire to enjoy the rare company of French explorers had led King to reciprocate the previous day’s visit. At one o’clock in the afternoon, the governor and his retinue arrived aboard the *Lady Nelson* and as they boarded the *Naturaliste* they were greeted with three cries of “Vive la République!” The Englishmen stayed for an hour and on leaving were saluted again, as on arrival. Hamelin then boarded the *Porpoise*, to return Captain Scott’s visit, before going ashore to Government House with the officers and naturalists. There, they enjoyed a “splendid” dinner, attended by 40 men and eight women from the colony. “The French were shown the greatest esteem”, wrote Hamelin, “and as their leader having the honour of representing Commander Baudin, I was showered with compliments”.<sup>23</sup> The dinner was followed by a ball and a “lovely” supper and thus the revelry continued late into the night. Near midnight, King passed alongside the *Naturaliste* in the *Lady Nelson*, and was again saluted with three cries of “Vive la

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<sup>21</sup> Letter from Philip Gidley King to the Duke of Portland, written in Sydney and dated 21 May 1802, *HRNSW*, Vol. IV, p. 763.

<sup>22</sup> King had been planning to increase Britain’s possessions in the region for some time but the government had been reluctant. The risk of a neighbouring French colony must have struck King as a strong justification for his plan. For examples of King’s claims about the intentions of the French, which he voiced for the first time following the departure of the *Naturaliste*, see letter from Philip Gidley King to the Duke of Portland, written at Sydney and dated 21 May 1802, *HRNSW*, vol. IV, p. 766 and letter from Philip Gidley King to Joseph Banks, written at Sydney and dated 5 June 1802, *HRNSW*, vol. IV, p.785. The fact that the letter of 21 May 1802 was the first in which King supported his proposal for a settlement at Port Philip by mentioning the probability of the French planning a settlement on the north-west coast of Bass Strait has also been found to be the case by Manning Clark. See C. M. H. Clark, *A History of Australia*, vol. 1 *From the Earliest Times to the Age of Macquarie* (Melbourne: Melbourne University Press, 1962), p. 182.

<sup>23</sup> “A 4 heures, chez le Gouverneur King, a commencé un splendide dîner qui nous y attendait. Il y avait quarante personnes dont huit femmes. Les Français y ont joui des plus grands égards et, comme leur chef ayant l’honneur de représenter le Commandant Baudin, j’ai été comblé d’honnêtetés. Il y a eu bal entre 7 et 10 ½ heures, et un



République”, which he returned with many shouts.<sup>24</sup> The Frenchmen finally returned to their beds in the early hours of the morning “enchanted by the reception we had received”.<sup>25</sup> Milius returned ashore later that day to express his gratitude to the governor’s wife who, with a group of other society ladies, took him on a tour of Sydney Town.<sup>26</sup> Over that week, Hamelin and his officers were to dine once more at Government House and also at the home of the commissary, John Palmer.<sup>27</sup> It was a festive beginning to the sojourn, yet the rules of etiquette were strictly observed.

Following the ball at Government House, Hamelin and his men turned to the work at hand. On 29 April they anchored the *Naturaliste* in Neutral Bay where it would stay for the remainder of the sojourn.<sup>28</sup> Six men were settled into the hospital in Sydney – two suffering from scurvy, one from venereal disease and three from injuries – where they were supplied with provisions by the French and treated by the colony’s surgeon for a cost of a little over 10 pounds sterling.<sup>29</sup> On 2 May, Hamelin had notices posted around Sydney Town to inform the inhabitants that he would not be accountable for any debts incurred by his men.<sup>30</sup> Sailors ferried his belongings ashore to his lodgings in Sydney where he would be able “to communicate more easily with the authorities of the colony”.<sup>31</sup> The following day, King and Paterson showed Hamelin where the observatory tents could be pitched and, accordingly,

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très joli souper de 10 ½ heures à 13h”, Hamelin, *Journal*, t. II, ANF, SM, 5JJ42, entry dated 9-10 floréal an X [29-30 April 1802].

<sup>24</sup> Hamelin, *Journal*, t. II, ANF, SM, 5JJ42, entry dated 9-10 floréal an X [29-30 April 1802].

<sup>25</sup> “Nous revînmes coucher à bord, enchantés de la réception qu’on nous avait faite”, J. Bonnemains and P. Haugel (eds), *Récit du voyage aux Terres australes par Pierre-Bernard Milius, second sur le Naturaliste dans l’expédition Baudin (1800-1804)*, (Le Havre: Société havraise d’études diverses, 1987), p. 42.

<sup>26</sup> Milius, *Récit du voyage aux Terres australes*, p. 42.

<sup>27</sup> Hamelin, *Journal*, t. II, ANF, SM, 5JJ42, entries dated 11-12 and 12-13 floréal an X [1-2 and 2-3 May 1802].

<sup>28</sup> *Journal de Breton, aspirant à bord du Géographe, depuis le 9 vendémiaire an 9 jusqu’au 9 brumaire an 10*, t. II, ANF, SM, 5JJ57, entry dated 9 floréal an X [29 April 1802].

<sup>29</sup> Concerning the establishment of the *Naturaliste*’s men into hospital, see Breton, *Journal*, entry dated 11 floréal an X [1 May 1802] and Hamelin, *Journal*, t. II, ANF, SM, 5JJ42, 11-12 floréal an X [1-2 May 1802]; for a reference to sending provisions to these men, see *Journal tenu à bord de la Corvette le Naturaliste par J.V<sup>e</sup> Couture Aspirant de 1<sup>ère</sup> Classe*, ANF, SM, 5JJ57, entry dated 11-12 floréal an X [1-2 May 1802]; and, in relation to the payment of hospital care, see Hamelin, “Compte de mes dépenses au Port Jackson pour la Corvette le *Naturaliste*”, ANF, SM, BB4997.

<sup>30</sup> Breton, *Journal*, entry dated 11 floréal an X [1 May 1802].

<sup>31</sup> “J’ai pris un appartement à terre pour communiquer plus aisément avec les autorités de la colonie”, Hamelin, *Journal*, t. II, ANF, SM, 5JJ42, entry dated 12-13 floréal an X [2-3 May 1802] and Couture, *Journal*, entry dated 12-13 floréal an X [2-3 May 1802].

Saint-Cricq later supervised their establishment at Green Point, approximately a mile into Port Jackson opposite Middle Cape.

These steps taken, the Frenchmen set about the regular duties of expeditioners who find themselves in port for a short time. From the end of April, boats crossed the harbour almost constantly on daily trips to collect bread and water, and to catch fish. In early May, the hammocks were taken ashore to be washed and afterwards groups of sailors regularly went ashore to wash laundry at the watering place. The officers were presumably kept busy managing these activities, though the journals do not indicate precisely what their roles were or how the line of command was organised. After moving into his lodgings in Sydney, Hamelin seems to have rarely returned aboard the ship. Midshipman Victor Couture, for example, refers to the captain coming aboard only once other than for social occasions. Indeed, Hamelin's own journal entries suggest that he was busy gathering supplies ashore and give no indication of his involvement in shipboard affairs. In fact, it appears that neither the condition of the ship nor the command of his men were high priorities to Hamelin during this sojourn. The *Naturaliste* was not cleaned, repaired or refitted and, although it was discovered on 4 May that cables had been destroyed by rats, there was no attempt to eradicate the rodents.

It appears that scientific research was not a high priority for Hamelin either during this sojourn. He received a donation – three pieces of red cedar<sup>32</sup>- to be added to the natural history collection, but the account of expenses accrued during this period does not list any purchases of natural history objects and his journal gives no indication that Hamelin collected any. He was probably too busy during most of the sojourn to pursue scientific work; however, a later excursion through the countryside to Parramatta would seem to have offered an excellent opportunity. In fact, natural history work was not Hamelin's strong point: "it is foreign to me [...]; I do not claim to be clever or play the savant"<sup>33</sup> he had commented earlier in the expedition. The only way in which he appears to have contributed to the expedition's

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<sup>32</sup> Couture *Journal*, entry dated 21-22 floréal an X [11 May 1802].

scientific work during this sojourn was by, on one occasion, sending a boat party, including the botanist Leschenault and two soldiers allocated by Paterson, to collect shells, plants and seeds. Leschenault was one of only two scientists on board the *Naturaliste* at this time. He was very ill when he arrived at Port Jackson,<sup>34</sup> though in addition to the boat excursion he also ventured into the countryside during the final week of the sojourn in the company of the British botanist, Robert Brown, and the gardener, Peter Good, who had just arrived in port with the Flinders expedition. The second scientist was the mineralogist, Charles Bailly. He carried out an analysis of ferruginous stones for Governor King.<sup>35</sup> In all, nevertheless, with so few naturalists, a captain with little knowledge or enthusiasm about science, and, according to Robert Brown, an unimpressive number of natural history specimens,<sup>36</sup> we might wonder whether the *Naturaliste* clearly illustrated to the British the scientific objectives of the expedition during this sojourn, particularly given the keen interest in natural history displayed by men such as King and Paterson.

The main objective in coming to Port Jackson, after the hope of finding the *Géographe*, had been to replenish supplies. Fortunately, King provided Hamelin and his men with plenty of fresh food, which fulfilled their daily requirements. Since their arrival, he had regularly sent loads of fresh vegetables aboard the *Naturaliste*. Two weeks into their stay, he had an oxen killed and he sent 60 pounds of beef aboard.<sup>37</sup> However, we should note that this event occurred the day after the Flinders expedition arrived in Port Jackson. Although it was a generous act, as Frank Horner and Anthony Brown state,<sup>38</sup> considering that the French had already been in port and in need of provisions for some time, it is possible that it was motivated more by a desire to assist the British expedition rather than it was to improve the lot of the French. In addition to these donations, Hamelin purchased daily supplies of bread

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<sup>33</sup> “elle m’est étrangère [...] ; je ne prétends pas faire de l’esprit ni jouer le savant”, Hamelin, *Journal*, t. I, ANF, SM, 5JJ41, entry dated 13-14 prairial an IX [2 June 1801].

<sup>34</sup> Jangoux, “Les zoologistes et botanistes qui accompagnèrent le capitaine Baudin aux Terres australes”, in *Australian Journal of French Studies*, XLI, 2 (2004), p. 69.

<sup>35</sup> Letter from Philip Gidley King to Joseph Banks, written in Sydney and dated 5 June 1802, *HRNSW*, vol. IV, p. 782.

<sup>36</sup> Letter from Robert Brown to Sir Joseph Banks, written in Port Jackson and dated 30 May 1802, *HRNSW*, vol. IV, p. 776.

<sup>37</sup> Hamelin, *Journal*, t. II, ANF, SM, 5JJ42, entry dated 18-19 floréal an X [8-9 May 1802].

from the commissary.<sup>39</sup> As Horner points out, however, the colony was unable to provide sufficient campaign provisions. On 5 May, Hamelin wrote to King requesting a bower-anchor, 200 bushels of wheat, several gallons of brandy, salted meat, and vegetables.<sup>40</sup> If he could acquire these articles, Hamelin stated, he would set sail from Port Jackson within the week.<sup>41</sup> King was unfortunately unable to provide the salted meat. Consequently, he gave Hamelin permission to procure provisions from the inhabitants of the colony and this is what the French captain did, in earnest. His approach, however, was severely criticised by his midshipman, Breton. Hamelin took many objects of exchange ashore, Breton explained, and traded them himself for potatoes and pumpkins that the inhabitants provided.<sup>42</sup> This claim is supported by the daily journal entries of Breton's fellow midshipmen Etienne Giraud and Couture, which note that large quantities of objects of exchange were taken to Hamelin on shore.<sup>43</sup> The system of barter was common in the colony at this time but, although the regulations for merchant vessels did forbid trade with convicts, it is not known whether this rule applied to the French. According to Breton, Hamelin had indeed been engaging in barter with the convicts of the colony:

This traffic, shameful for an officer and especially for an officer commanding a ship and representing the French Government, caused difficulties between Captain Hamelin and the unfortunate convicts who exchanged their vegetables for tools. And the justice of the peace, Harris, was obliged to re-establish the peace between them.<sup>44</sup>

It can only be imagined what impression this must have given Governor King and the other leading members of the colony.

Nevertheless, a series of events was to take place that should have augured well for the *Naturaliste's* sojourn with the British. A few days after his request for campaign provisions,

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<sup>38</sup> Brown, *Ill-Starred Captains*, p. 345 and Horner, *The French Reconnaissance*, p. 247.

<sup>39</sup> Hamelin, *Journal*, t. II, ANF, SM, 5JJ42, entry dated 15-16 floréal an X [5-6 May 1802].

<sup>40</sup> Hamelin, *Journal*, t. II, ANF, SM, 5JJ42, entry dated 13-14 floréal an X [4-5 May 1802].

<sup>41</sup> Hamelin to King, written at Port Jackson and dated 27 April 1802, *HRNSW*, vol. IV, p. 945.

<sup>42</sup> Breton, *Journal*, entry dated 28 floréal an X [18 May 1802].

<sup>43</sup> Couture, *Journal*, entry dated 21-22 floréal an X [11-12 May 1802] and Giraud, *Journal*, entry dated 20-21 floréal an X [10-11 May 1802].

<sup>44</sup> "Ce trafic, honteux pour un officier, et surtout un officier Comd<sup>t</sup> un Batiment & représentant le gouvernement français, fit naître des difficultés, entre le Cap<sup>n</sup> de frégate hamelin, & les malheureux déportés qui échangeaient

Hamelin gave in to King's "pressing solicitations" to spend a night in Parramatta.<sup>45</sup> Interestingly, although this was the only occasion when Hamelin ventured beyond Sydney during this sojourn, he did not note any observations of the countryside that he travelled through – and which other members of the expedition were to describe with rapturous enthusiasm – or of the town of Parramatta. Of course, this excursion also gave him time alone with King but, again, he left no record of what occurred between them. Upon their return to Sydney, on 10 May, Hamelin and King discovered that the Flinders expedition had arrived in the port. Visiting Flinders aboard the *Investigator*, Hamelin learned about the encounter with the *Géographe* and was told that Baudin was intending to come to Port Jackson as soon as the weather forced him to give up his survey of the coast.<sup>46</sup> Considering that Hamelin had cited his desire to rejoin Baudin as the primary reason for visiting Port Jackson, he ought to have been relieved to hear this news. In fact, his relief should have been even greater the following day when the colony received word that France and England were at peace, following the Treaty of Amiens. In response to this news, Governor King told Hamelin "now, if the *Géographe* arrived at Port Jackson, it could like [the *Naturaliste*] and at the same time moor in Sydney Cove, which he did not believe he could have permitted previously".<sup>47</sup> With the knowledge that the countries were at peace, King would place greater trust in his guests and host them with even greater generosity. Thus, as Jangoux remarks, the sojourn was turning out just as it seems Hamelin had hoped.<sup>48</sup>

However, rather than encouraging Hamelin to await Baudin's arrival, these events seem only to have hastened his departure. On 12 May, the same day that Flinders visited him aboard the *Naturaliste*,<sup>49</sup> Hamelin wrote to Denis Decrès, the Minister of Marine and the Colonies, to inform him that, being unable to obtain the supplies he required, he intended to

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leurs légumes, contre des Outils. Et le juge de paix Harris fut obligé de rétablir la paix entr'eux", Breton, *Journal*, entry dated 28 floréal an X [18 May 1802].

<sup>45</sup> "J'ai été, pour céder aux pressantes sollicitations du Gouverneur, coucher à Paramatta", Hamelin, *Journal*, t. II, ANF, SM, 5JJ42, entry dated 19-20 floréal an X [9-10 May 1802].

<sup>46</sup> Hamelin, *Journal*, t. II, ANF, SM, 5JJ42, entry dated 19-20 floréal an X [9-10 May 1802] and Saint-Cricq, *Journal*, entry dated 5 floréal an X [25 April 1802].

<sup>47</sup> Hamelin, *Journal*, t. II, ANF, SM, 5JJ42, entry dated 21-22 floréal an X [11-12 May 1802].

<sup>48</sup> Jangoux, "La première relâche du *Naturaliste* au Port Jackson", p. 128.

<sup>49</sup> Couture, *Journal*, entry dated 21-22 floréal an X [11-12 May 1802].

sail from Port Jackson the next day if possible. He hoped to rejoin Baudin at sea and inform him of the colony's lack of resources, but if he had not met him by 29 June, then he would head directly to Mauritius.<sup>50</sup> Having officially made this decision, Hamelin moved out of his lodgings and back on to the *Naturaliste*.<sup>51</sup> It seems an odd decision indeed. There was no reason why Hamelin needed to leave, as Jangoux points out;<sup>52</sup> in fact, it would have been in the interests of the *Naturaliste* to stay in port. The ship still lacked essential campaign provisions and Hamelin knew that two ships were due to arrive in the colony with ample supplies.<sup>53</sup> Moreover, there was little to no chance of encountering the *Géographe* at sea. Baudin later stated this himself.<sup>54</sup> And, as Saint-Cricq recognised, it was dangerous to sail south of Australia in winter. Horner suggests that there was an air of desperation about this decision and, indeed, Hamelin's hope that he could set sail the next day does give this impression.<sup>55</sup>

This begs the question: why was Hamelin desperate to leave Port Jackson? Historians agree that he did not genuinely hope to meet Baudin but that, in fact, he wanted to return to Mauritius – but again, why?<sup>56</sup> Jangoux proposes that, after being separated from the *Géographe* twice and losing most of his naturalists, Hamelin lost his enthusiasm for the expedition and decided that the only honourable way out was to return to France as soon as possible without giving the impression of fleeing.<sup>57</sup> True, Hamelin does appear to have lacked motivation. In fact, it is important to remember that he hesitated about going to Port Jackson in the first place and that, once in port, he seems to have been uneasy and distrustful of the British – it was after only 10 days there that he determined to leave. The decision may also have been related to his assumptions about the expedition, or rather Baudin's objectives for it.

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<sup>50</sup> Letter from Emmanuel Hamelin to the Minister of Marine and the Colonies, written at Port Jackson and dated 22 floréal an X [12 May 1802], reproduced in Hamelin, *Journal*, t. II, ANF, SM, 5JJ42, entry dated 21-22 floréal an X [11-12 May 1802].

<sup>51</sup> Hamelin, *Journal*, t. II, ANF, SM, 5JJ42, entry dated 22-23 floréal an X [12-13 May 1802].

<sup>52</sup> Jangoux, "La première relâche du *Naturaliste* au Port Jackson", pp. 128-129.

<sup>53</sup> Horner, *The French Reconnaissance*, p. 248.

<sup>54</sup> Letter from Nicolas Baudin to Antoine-Laurent de Jussieu, written in Port Jackson and dated 20 brumaire an X [11 November 1802], MNHN, ms2082, pièce no.8.

<sup>55</sup> Horner, *The French Reconnaissance*, p. 249.

<sup>56</sup> For example, see Horner, *The French Reconnaissance*, p. 248, Brown, *Ill-Starred Captains*, p. 349, Fornasiero, Monteath and West-Sooby, *Encountering Terra Australis*, p. 203.

Péron claimed that Hamelin expected to meet the *Géographe* at Mauritius. Apparently, Baudin had told him that they would seek respite at the French colony after completing their exploration of the south-west coast and, from what Flinders had explained, Hamelin understood that this campaign had indeed been finished.<sup>58</sup> This idea seems to be supported by the letter Hamelin left at Port Jackson for Baudin; he explained that if he did not meet his commander at sea he would wait for him at Mauritius.<sup>59</sup> It is unlikely that he could actually have believed that Baudin would head straight to the French colony and not to Port Jackson, for, according to the other Frenchmen as well as King, it was widely understood that the *Géographe*'s arrival was imminent. Nevertheless, it does appear that Hamelin assumed the expedition's exploration of Australia had reached its end – an assumption that was probably encouraged by his new knowledge of the accomplishments and projects of British navigators in the region, particularly the Flinders expedition. This appears to be the impression that he gave to King: in a letter to the Duke of Portland, the governor remarked that, as the Baudin expedition had not sailed east of Timor to explore the north-west coast of Australia, “consequently that part and the Gulf of Carpentaria is reserved for Captain Flinders”.<sup>60</sup> Thus, it was perhaps a combination of Hamelin's lack of enthusiasm, his distrust of the British, and his assumption that this was the end of the expedition that impelled him to sail precipitately for Mauritius.

Upon leaving the British colony, Hamelin compiled a “Notice sur le Port Jackson”. It provided information that would be useful to the French government should they consider invading the colony – for example, how to enter the port safely, details of the population of the colony and the size of its army, the traffic of ships in and out of Port Jackson, and the state of the port's defences – and included a proposal for how best to undertake such an invasion. He suggested a two-pronged attack, with soldiers approaching Sydney from Botany Bay and

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<sup>57</sup> Jangoux, “La première relâche du *Naturaliste* au Port Jackson”, p. 129.

<sup>58</sup> Cornell, *Voyage of Discovery*, p. 290; Péron, *Voyage de découvertes*, t. II, p. 264.

<sup>59</sup> Letter from Emmanuel Hamelin to Nicolas Baudin, written aboard the *Naturaliste* and dated 27 floréal an X, reproduced in Hamelin, *Journal*, t. II, ANF, SM, 5JJ42, entry dated 27-28 floréal an X [17-18 May 1802].

<sup>60</sup> Letter from Philip Gidley King to the Duke of Portland, written at Port Jackson and dated 21 May 1802, *HRNSW*, vol. IV, p. 762.

others taking the township of Hawkesbury via the Hawkesbury River.<sup>61</sup> He also expressed his confidence that the convicts would support France once they found themselves no longer on the soil of His British Majesty. Hamelin included the report in his journal, which would be submitted to the French government authorities after the expedition.<sup>62</sup> Several historians have referred to this report but they have generally attributed little significance to it.<sup>63</sup> Horner, in particular, remarks that, because it was in Hamelin's journal, it would not have come to the attention of Decaen, the governor of Mauritius, as did similar and better-known reports by Milius and Péron. However, the report in his journal was not the only one that Hamelin compiled: listed amongst the various papers and charts that were returned to France was a document entitled "Notes sur les établissements des Anglais dans la mer du sud, par Hamelin".<sup>64</sup> Whether or not it reached its target is unknown, but it is obvious that Hamelin believed these observations merited the attention of his superiors and that he fully intended them to be laid before the powers of the French government. This may have been another reason why he decided to hurry back to Mauritius.

After less than a week of preparations, the *Naturaliste* sailed out of Port Jackson on 18 May 1802. Hamelin therefore left before achieving his stated purpose: he did not rejoin Baudin and the ship was still dangerously low on supplies. The *Naturaliste* was forced to return to Port Jackson 21 days after its departure.

In summary, it was essentially Hamelin's indecision and lack of commitment to the objectives of the expedition that characterised the *Naturalistes*'s first sojourn at Port Jackson. From his initial choice to visit the colony to his determination to leave, he appeared dispirited and irresolute – his commitment was wavering. Accordingly, he did not take full advantage of the opportunities available in the British colony to contribute to the expedition's research or to enable the *Naturaliste* to continue the voyage. Moreover, his behaviour was guarded and distrustful, which is perhaps partly why he does not appear to have developed a significant

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<sup>61</sup> The settlement of "Hawkesbury" is known today as Windsor.

<sup>62</sup> Hamelin, *Journal*, t. II, ANF, SM, 5JJ42, entry dated 28-29 floréal an X [18-19 May 1802].

<sup>63</sup> However, Michel Jangoux does include a reproduction of this report in his article "La première relâche du *Naturaliste* au Port Jackson", pp. 149-151



relationship with any of the colonists despite the various social events that were organised. In all, the *Naturaliste*'s first sojourn at Port Jackson, under Hamelin's command, must have left a curious impression upon the British colony.

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<sup>64</sup> "Lettres, journaux et papers", ANF, SM, 5JJ24.



## *An Unscheduled Sojourn*

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*Commandant Baudin at Port Jackson,  
20 June – 18 November, 1802*

In 1934, A.W. José wrote that “the stay at Sydney may be passed over briefly especially as Baudin himself did not think its events worth recording in his journal”.<sup>1</sup> Indeed, for a long time historians did tend to skim over this stage of the expedition, largely finding significance only in the “spying” that was carried out by François Péron and his companions. Over time, however, more details have been revealed and a detailed narrative of the Port Jackson sojourn has gradually emerged.<sup>2</sup> We are now familiar with the main events and activities, as well as, to a certain extent, what was achieved during this episode. Moreover, important studies have been produced concerning particular aspects of the sojourn, such as the Frenchmen’s observations of the indigenous inhabitants,<sup>3</sup> French representations of the colony,<sup>4</sup> and Baudin’s friendship with Governor King. However, the general narrative of this sojourn still has some limitations. In particular, we need to determine more precisely the role that Baudin played, by examining the daily life of the expedition members during this episode and keeping in mind two important factors: firstly, that it was not simply out of necessity, as

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<sup>1</sup> A. W. Jose, “Nicolas Baudin”, *Royal Australian Historical Society: Journal and Proceedings*, 20 (1934), p. 360.

<sup>2</sup> Numerous scholars studying the Baudin expedition, the Flinders expedition, French exploration, the maritime exploration of Australia and Australian colonial history have given an account of the sojourn of the *Géographe* and the *Naturaliste* in Port Jackson. The most detailed description is in F. Horner, *The French Reconnaissance: Baudin in Australia, 1801-1803* (Carlton: Melbourne University Press, 1987), pp. 238-262.

<sup>3</sup> See J. Fornasiero, P. Monteath and J. West-Sooby, *Encountering Terra Australis: the Australian Voyages of Nicolas Baudin and Matthew Flinders* (Kent Town: Wakefield Press, 2004), pp. 358-380; J. Fornasiero and J. West-Sooby, “Taming the Unknown: the representations of Terra Australis by the Baudin expedition in A. Chittleborough, G. Dooley, B. Glover and R. Hosking, *Alas for the Pelicans! Flinders, Baudin and Beyond* (Kent Town: Wakefield Press, 2002), pp. 59-80; R. Jones, “Images of Natural Man”, in J. Bonnemains, E. Forsyth and B. Smith (eds), *Baudin in Australian Waters: the artwork of the French Voyage of Discovery to the Southern Lands, 1800-1804* (Melbourne: Oxford University Press, 1988), pp. 35-64; S. Konishi, “Depicting Sexuality: A Case Study of the Baudin Expedition’s Aboriginal Ethnography”, *Australian Journal of French Studies*, XLI, 2 (2004), pp. 98-116; M. Sankey, “The Aborigines of Port Jackson, as seen by the Baudin Expedition”, *Australian Journal of French Studies*, XLI, 2 (2004), pp. 117-151 and M. Sankey, “The Baudin Expedition in Port Jackson, 1802: Cultural Encounters and Enlightenment Politics”, *Explorations*, 31 (December 2001), pp. 5-36.

previously believed, but with a clear and reasoned sense of purpose that Baudin chose to visit Port Jackson; and, secondly, that this was the second encounter between the expedition and the British colony, a fact which is of course known but whose significance has not been fully appreciated. In this way, we may hope to arrive at a better understanding of the importance of the Baudin expedition's sojourn in Port Jackson.

The best place to begin is with the governor's reception of the *Géographe*, remembering that only two months earlier he had hosted its consort, under the command of Hamelin. If, during that visit, Hamelin's conduct had seemed strange, even suspicious, it does not appear to have greatly concerned King. Perhaps this was largely because it gave him the impression that the expedition was nearing its end. Thus, in addition to the fact that it was known that England and France were at peace and that, in any case, the British passports and his instructions from Banks obliged him to do so, King readily welcomed the *Géographe* into Port Jackson. The hospitality that King showed to Baudin and his men has been recounted many times and generally with a focus upon the governor's generosity and humanity. Susan Hunt and Paul Carter, for example, declare that "King received [Baudin] and his men, nursing, feeding and entertaining them in the next five months with an extraordinary generosity".<sup>5</sup> Of course, it is true that the governor did offer vital assistance to the expedition; yet, a close look at the early communications between Baudin and King reveals that the commander also deserves some credit for this "entente cordiale".

Contact was made between the Commander and the Governor immediately after the *Géographe* anchored in Port Jackson on 20 June 1802. King welcomed his guests into port with a letter enclosing four important documents: the proclamation announcing that peace had been established between "His Britannick Majesty and the French Republic", a letter each from Milius and Hamelin, and the set of regulations to be followed by the Frenchmen during

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<sup>4</sup> See M. Sankey, "French Representation of Sydney at the Beginning of the Nineteenth Century: the Subversion of Modernism", *Literature and Aesthetics: The Journal of the Sydney Society of Literature and Aesthetics*, 15, 2 (December 2005), pp. 101-108 and Fornasiero and West-Sooby, "Taming the Unknown", pp. 59-80.

<sup>5</sup> S. Hunt and P. Carter, *Terre Napoléon: Australia through French Eyes, 1800-1800* (Sydney: Historic Houses Trust of NSW, 1999), p. 23.

their stay in Port Jackson.<sup>6</sup> That evening, Baudin sent his engineer, François-Michel Ronsard, ashore to meet the governor on his behalf. Ronsard was welcomed graciously just as Pierre Milius and Desiré Breton had been the previous April. Over dinner, King informed Ronsard that Baudin could choose to moor either in Sydney Cove or Neutral Bay, although he recommended the latter as there, he explained, the crew could be more easily supervised. On this point King showed greater trust than he had upon the arrival of the *Naturaliste*, which he did not allow to enter Neutral Bay until he had met Hamelin. Perhaps he felt more at ease knowing that England and France were now at peace. Ronsard left Government House late that night with refreshments that King had given him to share with the commander and the officers.<sup>7</sup> It was most likely that night at dinner that King received his first letter from Baudin. Unfortunately this document appears to have been lost but it evidently inspired on the part of King what Scott enthusiastically describes as “a letter replete in every word of it with manly gentleness, generous humanity and hospitable warmth”.<sup>8</sup> On 21 June, King declared:

I had the honour of receiving yours of yesterday’s date, and altho’ last night I had the pleasure of announcing that a peace had taken place between our respective countries, yet a continuance of the war would have made no difference in my reception of your ship, and affording every relief and assistance in my power.<sup>9</sup>

That morning, with some assistance from a group of sailors provided by the port, the *Géographe* reached its anchorage in Neutral Bay.<sup>10</sup> Early that evening, Baudin went ashore,<sup>11</sup> where he undoubtedly familiarised himself with the resources available in the colony, then visited Flinders aboard the *Investigator*.<sup>12</sup> The next morning he laid out his requirements in a

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<sup>6</sup> Letter from Philip Gidley King to Nicolas Baudin, written in Sydney and dated 20 June 1802, ANF, SM, 5JJ53.

<sup>7</sup> *Journal nautique tenu pendant la campagne de découvertes commandée par le Capitaine de vaisseau Nicolas Baudin, à bord de la corvette le Géographe, par Monsieur Ronsard, officier du génie maritime et lieutenant de vaisseau*, tome I, ANF, SM, 5JJ29, entry dated 1<sup>er</sup> messidor an X [20 June 1802].

<sup>8</sup> E. Scott, *The Life of Matthew Flinders* (Sydney: Angus and Robertson, 2001), p. 178.

<sup>9</sup> Letter from Philip Gidley King to Nicolas Baudin, written in Sydney and dated 21 June 1802, ANF, SM, 5JJ53. This letter has been reproduced in *HRNSW*, vol. IV, p. 949, but therein has been presumed incorrectly to be a reply to Baudin’s letter of 23 June 1802.

<sup>10</sup> The *Naturaliste* had also required assistance for this manoeuvre. It does not appear that any sailors from the port needed to board her but Saint-Cricq reports that she had to be towed to her moorage. See *Journal de S<sup>t</sup> Cricq, Enseigne de Vaisseau sur la Corvette Le Naturaliste, commandée par le Citoyen Hamelin Cap<sup>ne</sup> de freg<sup>te</sup> Voyage de découvertes du Cap<sup>ne</sup> Baudin*, ANF, SM, 5JJ48, entry dated 5 floréal an X [25 April 1802].

<sup>11</sup> Ronsard, *Journal*, t. I, ANF, SM, 5JJ29, entry dated 3 messidor an X [22 June 1802].

<sup>12</sup> M. Flinders, *Journal on the Investigator, Jan. 1801-July 1802*, vol. I, entry dated 22 June 1802, p. 499, Mitchell Library, Sydney, safe 1/24.

letter to King. This approach clearly differs from that taken by Hamelin, who made his requests before stepping ashore and, indeed, before any other direct contact with the governor had been made. The letters, wherein the two French captains made their initial requests, are also dissimilar. While Hamelin's first letter to King has a diffident style,<sup>13</sup> the letter written by Baudin on 22 June conveys a sense that the commander knew exactly what he was doing and what he wanted. In describing the poor health of his crew and requesting that they receive treatment in the colony's military hospitals, Baudin appealed to King's sense of humanity and also acknowledged the governor's experience in such matters, for example, by commenting: "this disease, as you know, requires only some nursing, tranquillity, and a dietetic change". His following requests were phrased more directly and indicate the type of information he had been gathering on shore or from Flinders:

I should also wish, subject to your approval, to establish a few tents on shore to facilitate the work of our astronomers, whose observations shall be communicated to you. The place where Mr Flinders is located appears to be the most convenient provided you see no objection.

It is interesting to note, here, Baudin's diplomatic astuteness in offering to share with King the astronomers' observations. Continuing with his confident approach, Baudin ended:

As I shall be compelled to take some provisions such as biscuits, flour, salt meat, spirituous liquors, fresh meat, vegetables etc. etc. I shall have the honour of forwarding you the list of quantities, praying that they should be supplied to me from the Government or private stores, if there exist any.<sup>14</sup>

King responded, granting Baudin's requests, in equally direct style.<sup>15</sup> The frank tone of the letters between Baudin and King seems to reflect their respective characters and also to set the tone for their relationship and for the Port Jackson sojourn more generally.

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<sup>13</sup> Letter from Emmanuel Hamelin to Philip Gidley King, written at Port Jackson and dated 25 April 1802, *HRNSW*, vol. IV, p. 942.

<sup>14</sup> Letter from Nicolas Baudin to Philip Gidley King, written in Port Jackson and dated 22 June 1802, *HRNSW*, vol. IV, pp. 947-948: "Comme je serai dans la nécessité de faire plusieurs remplacements de vivres, tels que biscuit, farine, viande salée, liqueurs [p. 948] fortes, viande fraîche, légumes, etc., etc., j'aurai l'honneur de vous présenter la note des quantités, en vous priant qu'elles me soient fournies des magasins du gouvernement ou de ceux des particuliers, dans le cas qu'ils se trouvent."

<sup>15</sup> Letter from Philip Gidley King to Nicolas Baudin, written in Port Jackson and dated 23 June 1802, *HRNSW*, vol. IV, p. 948.

Baudin sent an officer to deliver his letter to the governor and, again, left the ship for the day, during which time he made a second visit to Flinders.<sup>16</sup> However, before leaving the *Géographe*, he handed Ronsard the regulations compiled by King – the same as those previously issued to the *Naturaliste* – as well as a list of complementary orders that he had put together himself. Baudin’s orders relating to his men’s movements and conduct on the harbour and in town were very precise; so much, in fact, that it is likely that at least some were based on advice from members of authority in the colony. He stipulates, for example, that:

no boats on fishing expeditions may pass to the west of the ship but only to the east, we may fish in any of the harbours to the north or south, in the last case it is expressly prohibited to go ashore without written and signed permission from the Governor, who will designate where it is permitted to go ashore [...].<sup>17</sup>

He also indicates that “a location where the laundry may be washed and firewood gathered will be designated”. Baudin ordered that anyone who wanted to move into lodgings ashore needed to put their request in writing to King and, once ashore, if by their “conduct or indiscreet curiosity” they received a reprimand, they would be required to return to the ship.<sup>18</sup> Scott and many historians since his time have noted that, despite warmly receiving the French expedition, King was acutely conscious of the caution required in this situation.<sup>19</sup> We can see that Baudin was equally cautious. The Minister of Marine and the Colonies had instructed him on how to behave in foreign ports<sup>20</sup> and he was evidently aware of the strict protocol that must be followed, particularly in a port that belonged to France’s greatest rival and that was located in a region of considerable strategic importance to that nation. Unlike Hamelin, whose

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<sup>16</sup> Flinders, *Journal on the Investigator*, vol. 1, entry dated 23 June 1802, p. 499.

<sup>17</sup> “Aucune embarcation destinée pour la pêche ne passera à l’ouest de la corvette mais seulement à l’est, on pourra pêcher dans toutes les anses qui sont au nord et au sud, dans ce dernier cas il est expressément défendu de mettre à terre sans une permission écrite et signée du Gouverneur, laquelle désignera les lieux où il sera permis d’aborder”. Ronsard, *Journal*, t. I, ANF, SM, 5JJ29, entry dated 3 messidor an X [22 June 1802].

<sup>18</sup> “Il sera désigné un endroit pour laver le linge ainsi que pour faire du bois à brûler” and “Tous ceux qui par leur conduite ou curiosité indiscreète se mettront dans le cas d’être réprimandé seront renvoyés à bord et consignés”. Ronsard, *Journal*, t. I, ANF, SM, 5JJ29, entry dated 3 messidor an X [22 June 1802].

<sup>19</sup> Scott, *Terre Napoleon: A History of French Explorations and Projects in Australia* (London: Taylor and Francis, 1910), p. 204.

sense of caution was the result of a secretive and distrustful attitude, Baudin sought to build King's trust and respect for the expedition.

The following day, 23 June, Baudin wrote to King offering to show him all of the paperwork relating to his voyage.<sup>21</sup> Accordingly, he went ashore that afternoon with Ronsard and met with the governor as well as the lieutenant governor, William Paterson.<sup>22</sup> Scott claims that it was at this point, when King had had the opportunity to examine Baudin's papers and was thereby assured that the expedition presented no threat to the colony, that he entered upon a friendly relationship with Baudin.<sup>23</sup> This particular event does seem to mark the end of the initial and most important formal negotiations between King and Baudin; subsequently, their association did indeed become more relaxed.

It was also after this date that Baudin and some of his men installed themselves and their effects on shore.<sup>24</sup> On 25 June, tents were erected on Bennelong Point – one for the sailmakers and two for the observatory – and the astronomer, Pierre-François Bernier, set up the astronomical instruments. The next day, Bernier established himself at the observatory where he would stay for the duration of the sojourn and where, at Baudin's strict orders, the officers of the *Géographe* would ensure that he received his meals every day.<sup>25</sup> Baudin rented a house in Sydney<sup>26</sup> for a total cost of 25 pounds sterling.<sup>27</sup> At his orders, sailors from the *Géographe* brought daily supplies of bread and vegetables to the governor's dock for him.<sup>28</sup>

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<sup>20</sup> Letter from the Minister of Marine and the Colonies to Nicolas Baudin, written in Paris and dated 2 vendémiaire, an IX [29 September, 1800], ANF, SM, 5JJ25, translated by C. Cornell in *Journal of Post-Captain Nicolas Baudin* (Adelaide: Librairies Board of South Australia, 1974), pp. 8-9.

<sup>21</sup> Letter from Nicolas Baudin to Philip Gidley King, written at Port Jackson and dated 23 June 1802, reproduced in *HRNSW*, vol. IV, p. 949.

<sup>22</sup> Ronsard, *Journal*, t. I, ANF, SM, 5JJ29, entry dated 4 messidor, an X [23 June 1802].

<sup>23</sup> Scott, *Terre Napoléon*, p. 206.

<sup>24</sup> *Journal de Hyacinthe de Bougainville*, entry dated 6 messidor an X [25 June 1802], ANF, 155 AP6; Ronsard, *Journal*, t. I, ANF, SM, 5JJ29, entry dated 6 messidor an X [25 June 1802] and *Table de loch*, of the *Géographe*, 8 prairéal to 13 messidor, an X, ANF, SM, 5JJ25, entry made by H. Freycinet and dated 6 messidor an X [25 June 1802].

<sup>25</sup> *Table de loch* of the *Géographe*, 13 messidor to 4 fructidor, an X, entry made by Ronsard and dated 13 messidor [2 July 1802].

<sup>26</sup> Bougainville, *Journal*, entry dated 6 messidor an X [25 June 1802]; Ronsard, *Journal*, t. I, ANF, SM, 5JJ29, entry dated 6 messidor an X [25 June 1802] and *Table de loch*, of the *Géographe*, 8 prairéal to 13 messidor, an X, entry made by H. Freycinet and dated 6 messidor an X [25 June 1802].

<sup>27</sup> N. Baudin, "Compte général des dépenses relatives aux bâtiments de la République, le *Géographe*, le *Naturaliste* et le *Casuarina* pendant la relâche au Port Jackson, Nouvelle-Hollande", ANF, SM, 5JJ53.

<sup>28</sup> *Table de loch*, of the *Géographe*, 8 prairial to 13 messidor an X, entry made by L. C. G. Bonnefoy and dated 7 messidor an X [26 June 1802].



Evidently some of the other men, including Péron and Jérôme Bellefin, the surgeon, also stayed in town but there does not appear to have been any charge for their accommodation – perhaps they were billeted with inhabitants of the colony, as Anthony Brown suggests,<sup>29</sup> or they may have lodged with Baudin. At the end of this first week the crew began to disembark the natural history collection: initially, the plants were taken ashore, some to be placed in the sailmakers’ tent and others at Baudin’s residence, and later the zoological crates were also unloaded.<sup>30</sup>

One of Baudin’s highest priorities upon reaching Port Jackson was to arrange medical care for his men. Yet, in studies of the sojourn thus far, we have tended to consider the treatment of the French patients within the context of British hospitality, using the fact that most of the men improved “with astounding speed as soon as they returned to a rich diet of fresh produce”<sup>31</sup> as another example of King’s generous spirit. However, while it is true that assistance provided by King and the principal surgeon, James Thomson, was vital to the patients’ recuperation, various French sources demonstrate that in fact Baudin and the French doctors also played a significant and active role in caring for the sick from the *Géographe*.

Once the men had settled into hospital, Baudin ordered some of his sailors to supply them with hammocks,<sup>32</sup> set up the bath for them on shore<sup>33</sup> and deliver their rations.<sup>34</sup> Midshipman Hyacinthe de Bougainville reported that the ration consisted of one pound of bread, ½ pound of meat and a quart of wine.<sup>35</sup> These rations appear to have been provided in addition to the regular diet instituted by Thomson, which consisted mainly of vegetables and

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<sup>29</sup> Brown, *Ill-Starred Captains*, p. 254.

<sup>30</sup> *Table de loch* of the *Géographe*, 8 prairial to 13 messidor an X, entry made by Ronsard and dated 9 messidor an X [28 June 1802]; *Table de Loch* of the *Géographe*, 13 messidor to 4 fructidor an X, entry made by Ronsard and dated 24 thermidor an X [12 August 1802] and *Table de Loch* of the *Géographe*, 4 fructidor to X au 24 vendémiaire an XI, entry made by H. Freycinet and dated 21 fructidor an X [8 September 1802].

<sup>31</sup> “avec une vitesse stupéfiante dès qu’ils peuvent reprendre une nourriture riche en produits frais”. Voir G. Rigondet, *François Péron 1775-1810 et l’expédition du commandant Nicolas Baudin: les Français à la découverte de l’Australie* (Charroux: Éditions des Cahiers Bourbonnais, 2002), pp. 223-234.

<sup>32</sup> *Table de loch*, of the *Géographe*, 13 messidor to 4 fructidor, an X, entry made by H. Freycinet and dated 13 messidor an X [2 July 1802].

<sup>33</sup> *Table de loch* of the *Géographe*, 13 messidor au 4 fructidor, an X, entry made by C. Baudin and dated 14 messidor, an X [3 July 1802].

<sup>34</sup> *Table de loch*, of the *Géographe*, 7 prairial au 13 messidor, an X, entry made by Bonnefoy and dated 12 messidor an X [1 July 1802].

<sup>35</sup> Bougainville, *Journal*, entry dated 8 messidor an X [27 June 1802].

included daily servings of lemonade.<sup>36</sup> However, as Baudin's account of hospital expenses lists refreshments to a total cost of 20 pounds and vegetables, 15 pounds,<sup>37</sup> we can conclude that this diet was provided at the commander's expense. As was customary during a sojourn in a port of call, Baudin also played a role in obtaining medicines for his men: he purchased bark, "Glauber salts",<sup>38</sup> Epsom salts, lint,<sup>39</sup> glyster pepis,<sup>40</sup> and 72 bottles of lime juice to a total of 76 pounds,<sup>41</sup> but it seems he made a particular effort during this sojourn: a letter addressed to Baudin from Matthew Flinders indicates that Baudin had been seeking a medicine named "cincona"<sup>42</sup> and had hoped that the surgeon travelling with Flinders could provide him with some.<sup>43</sup> Moreover, Baudin's attention to health concerns went beyond providing for the immediate needs of the French patients. Medical historians Thierry Guicheteau and Jean-Pierre Kérneis have noticed that the *Géographe*'s health record improved markedly during the second campaign. They therefore conclude that Baudin used his time in Sydney to improve his knowledge about the prevention of scurvy.

Moreover, Baudin did not leave the supervision and treatment of the patients entirely to the British surgeon, but put them under the care, also, of Hubert Taillefer and François-Etienne Lharidon.<sup>44</sup> Indeed, the French doctors compiled a collection of documents – comprising medical reports, inventories of medicines purchased, tables recording the daily movements of patients in and out of hospital, and death certificates – entitled "Service de santé" to be submitted to Baudin. Amongst these papers was a series of daily reports produced

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<sup>36</sup> See H.-J. Taillefer, *Sur la Dysenterie observée dans les pays chauds*, (Paris: Didot Jeune, 1807), p. 22, cited in J. Southwood and D. Simpson, "Baudin's Doctors: French Medical Scientists in Australian Waters, 1801-1803", *Australian Journal of French Studies*, XLI, 2 (2004), p. 158.

<sup>37</sup> Baudin, "Compte général des dépenses".

<sup>38</sup> Sodium sulfate, used as a laxative.

<sup>39</sup> Lint was used as a medical dressing.

<sup>40</sup> This product seems to have been used as an enema.

<sup>41</sup> T. Jamison, "Supplied the French Corvette *Géographe* Commanded by Commodore Baudin on discovery with the following Medicines from His Majesty's Stores", compiled in Sydney and dated November 2 1802, ANF, SM, 5JJ24 and Baudin, "Compte général des dépenses".

<sup>42</sup> Usually spelt "cinchona" and refers to the bark from any of several trees or shrubs of the genus *Cinchona*. It is a source of quinine and used to treat malaria.

<sup>43</sup> Letter from Matthew Flinders to Nicolas Baudin, written in Port Jackson and undated, ANF, SM, 5JJ53.

<sup>44</sup> *Table de loch* of the *Géographe* 8 prairéal to 13 messidor an X, entry made by Ransonnet and dated 3 messidor an X [22 June 1802]. Matthew Flinders also commented that the British and French doctors cooperated to treat the patients from the expedition, see M. Flinders, "Handwritten extract from the Madras Gazette of March 15 1806", The Flinders Papers: letters and documents about the explorer Matthew Flinders (1774-1814), National Maritime Museum, Greenwich, FLI07.

by Taillefer on the progress of the individuals in hospital. Therein he commented upon such matters as their level of pain, the fading of their sores and the severity of their fevers.<sup>45</sup> One of the most interesting documents is a letter from Lharidon to Baudin, written two weeks after their arrival in port, in which the French doctor criticises the care that the *Géographe*'s patients had been receiving in hospital and suggests an alternative approach. The patients had not progressing as well as they ought to have been, declared Lharidon; those most in need of care had complained of not receiving the attention they required while “the others appear to be leading a life that will not allow them to enjoy” their improved health for long. Lharidon believed that he would be able to treat the patients with greater success if two thirds of them were returned to the ship, leaving in hospital only those who were genuinely bedridden: “without these precautions”, warned Lharidon, “debauchery and greed will convert the mildest conditions to interminable diseases”.<sup>46</sup>

How did Baudin react to this dire warning? We have no record of his response, and there is no evidence to suggest he took any immediate action. Despite Lharidon's prediction, however, the patients do not appear to have developed any diseases through their activities ashore nor does their condition seem to have worsened. Taillefer's reports indicate that, in fact, their health was generally improving. If Baudin did have concerns about the situation, it would most likely have related to what Lharidon suggested was the inappropriate conduct of the men who were supposed to be in hospital. As we observed earlier, when considering the regulations compiled by Baudin, he was eager to keep his men under control during the sojourn. In any case, on 24 August the 13 patients remaining in the Sydney hospital returned on board.<sup>47</sup> Thereafter, it appears that members of the expedition were treated by the French

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<sup>45</sup> These reports are each entitled “Situation des hommes actuellement à l'hôpital de Sidney” and are dated daily from 12 messidor to 26 messidor an X [1 July – 15 July 1802] and signed M<sup>r</sup> Taillefer, ANF, SM, 5JJ24.

<sup>46</sup> “les autres me paraissent mener une vie qui ne les fera pas jouir longtemps de la santé que leur ont d'abord rendue une nourriture meilleure”, “sans ces précautions le libertinage et la gourmandise convertiront les plus légères indispositions en des maladies interminables”. Letter from François Lharidon to Nicolas Baudin, written in Sydney and dated 15 messidor an X, ANF, SM, 5JJ24.

<sup>47</sup> *Table de loch* of the *Géographe*, 4 fructidor an X to 24 vendémiaire an XI, entry made by Ronsard and dated 6 fructidor an X [24 August 1802].

doctors in a tent erected and set up as a hospital on shore.<sup>48</sup> Presumably, given that the records do not indicate that there were any health concerns beyond this date, the condition of these patients were no longer considered to be serious enough to warrant the expense of hospital care.<sup>49</sup>

It was only days after Baudin had placed the patients from the *Géographe* into the Sydney hospital, and he and his men had settled into their lodgings, that the *Naturaliste* returned to Port Jackson. Baudin had already been informed about Hamelin's earlier visit to the colony. King had passed on to him letters from both Emmanuel Hamelin and Milius and this would undoubtedly have been a topic of conversation between him and Baudin. Moreover, Milius, whose ill health had caused him to stay behind in Port Jackson when the *Naturaliste* departed, had paid a visit to Baudin on 23 June and explained to him why Hamelin had decided to leave the colony instead of waiting for the *Géographe*. Recounting the meeting afterward, Milius wrote that none of the reasons he gave seemed to please Baudin very much.<sup>50</sup> Indeed, it is not difficult to imagine just how displeased the commander must have felt; however, if he was angry with Hamelin, his papers only hint at it. He was critical, yet brief, when wrote to Jussieu of the incident: "I regret the departure of the *Naturaliste*", he wrote, "which could not have met us but by a very unlikely chance given the season in which we found ourselves".<sup>51</sup> In another letter to Jussieu, in which Baudin pointed out that Hamelin had actually intended to reach Mauritius, he refrained from expressing an opinion.<sup>52</sup>

As a number of commentators suggest, while Baudin may have been perplexed or even taken aback by Hamelin's decision, such feelings do not appear to have affected their

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<sup>48</sup> Hyacinthe de Bougainville noted that the hospital was packed up around one month before the expedition departed from Port Jackson. See Bougainville, *Journal*, entry dated 6 Messidor an X [2 August 1802], p. 21.

<sup>49</sup> Baudin paid a total of 167 pounds and 17 shillings for the medical care provided from 22 June until 24 August. See, Baudin, "Compte Général des dépenses".

<sup>50</sup> J. Bonnemains and P. Haughel (eds), *Récit du voyage aux Terres australes de Pierre-Bernard Milius* (Le Havre : Société havraise d'études diverses, 2000), p. 43.

<sup>51</sup> "elles me firent regretter le départ du *Naturaliste* qui ne pouvait nous rencontrer que par un hasard bien peu réfléchi eu égard à la saison où nous nous trouvions alors." Letter from Nicolas Baudin to Antoine-Laurent de Jussieu, written at Port Jackson and dated 20 brumaire an X [11 November 1802], MNHN, ms2082, pièce no. 8.

<sup>52</sup> Letter from Nicolas Baudin to Antoine Laurent de Jussieu, written at Port Jackson and dated 20 brumaire an X [11 November 1802], MNHN, ms2082, pièce no. 5.

relationship.<sup>53</sup> We should note, however, that Baudin was later to decide to exclude Hamelin from the second campaign and, instead, send him back to France with the responsibility of delivering, aboard the *Naturaliste*, the natural history collection from the first campaign. If, indeed, Hamelin had long been eager to “escape a dependence on Baudin that injured his pride”, as Saint-Cricq claimed,<sup>54</sup> perhaps Baudin respectfully recognised his unsuitability for his role in the expedition and decided to allow him to return with dignity.<sup>55</sup>

It has been proposed that Baudin’s reunion with Hamelin seems to have restored some of his energy.<sup>56</sup> He certainly must have been relieved to have the *Naturaliste* and her men with him again, and to be assured of their well-being. Of course, the return of the *Naturaliste* happened also, by chance, to be timely. At this point, as noted above, Baudin had just finished establishing himself and his men on shore and he was therefore ready to commence preparations for the remainder of the voyage. At this stage, with the entire expedition at hand, he was in a better position to plan and prepare for the second campaign. Thus, with the *Naturaliste* moored alongside the *Géographe* in Neutral Bay and her tents erected with the others on Bennelong Point, the Baudin expedition turned to the work at hand and settled into daily life in Port Jackson.

The sailors’ days during the sojourn were, naturally, different from those at sea, but Baudin nevertheless ensured that they were busy and closely supervised. Under the immediate direction of the officers, who were, in turn, managed by Baudin, the sailors tended to regular daily chores as well as preparations for the second campaign.<sup>57</sup> Of course, the sailors did not leave us any written records of their activities or experiences. We have only the accounts, in

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<sup>53</sup> See, for example, Brown, *Ill-Starred Captains*, p.254 and Fornasiero, Monteath and West-Sooby, *Encountering Terra Australis*, p. 203.

<sup>54</sup> “il éviterait aussi de rentrer dans une dépendance qui blessait son orgueil”. Saint-Cricq, *Journal*, entry dated 27 floréal an X [17 May 1802].

<sup>55</sup> Fornasiero, Monteath and West-Sooby propose that Baudin genuinely liked Hamelin, which may have played a part in this issue. For their discussion of the relationship between Baudin and Hamelin, see *Encountering Terra Australis*, p. 203.

<sup>56</sup> Fornasiero, Monteath and West-Sooby, *Encountering Terra Australis*, p. 203.

<sup>57</sup> For an overall illustration of this line of command, as well as the variety of tasks and other activities undertaken by the sailors, see the entries recorded during the Port Jackson sojourn in the logbook aboard the *Géographe*: *Table de loch*, 8 prairial to 13 messidor an X [28 May to 2 July 1802], 13 messidor to 4 fructidor an X [2 July to 22 August 1802], 4 fructidor an X to 24 vendémiaire an XI [22 August to 16 October 1802] and 25 vendémiaire to 7 frimaire, an XI [17 October to 28 November 1802].

journals and logbooks, of their superiors who, naturally, only mentioned the sailors in certain circumstances: generally, when their actions influenced conditions or relationships aboard the ship and, typically, resulted in punishment. Consequently, it is difficult to develop an accurate picture of the daily life Baudin's sailors led in Port Jackson. It is also largely for this reason that histories of the expedition tend to leave them out of the narrative. Yet, while the sources provide very little detail, they do clearly demonstrate, by the nature and frequency of their references to these men, that the sailors played a central role in life aboard the *Géographe* and the *Naturaliste* while they were in port. It is therefore worth briefly examining their part in the sojourn.

An impression of the sailors' various responsibilities and a hint of their lifestyle may be gained by looking at the list of items that Baudin purchased at Port Jackson for the boatswains. It includes mainly work-related items, such as nails, fishing line and hooks, tar, brushes, black and white paints and a wooden frame for holding plants, and only a few personal products, such as soap and candles. We noted earlier that the sailors were responsible for delivering provisions to Baudin, to the patients in hospital in Sydney and also to the astronomer and the guard watching over the tents on Bennelong Point. In addition to these tasks, a group of sailors were required to row to shore each day to collect provisions for the men aboard the ship, others regularly collected water and gathered firewood, while every two days sailors brought on board the ships' rations of fresh bread.<sup>58</sup> For certain tasks, such as refitting, repairing and stowing supplies onto each ship, teams of sailors from the *Naturaliste* and the *Géographe* worked together.<sup>59</sup>

After they had worked together for over a month to replace the copper sheathing on the *Géographe*, for which purpose she had been careened in Sydney Cove, it was time for the sailors to receive their pay. However, Ronsard and Hamelin, in the absence of Baudin who

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<sup>58</sup> The entries in the logbook of the *Géographe* regularly note the departure of sailors to collect bread and provisions. On 3 July midshipman Charles Baudin wrote that, due to the rations ordered by the governor, the French could only have fresh bread five times in each period of 10 days. See *Table de loch* of the *Géographe*, 13 messidor to 4 fructidor an X, entry made by C. Baudin and dated 14 messidor [3 July 1802].

<sup>59</sup> Couture's daily journal entries, covering the first month of the Port Jackson sojourn, and the *Géographe*'s logbooks illustrate this cooperation most clearly.

had left for Parramatta, felt it would be wise to delay payment until all of the equipment that had been placed ashore while the *Géographe* was being repaired had been loaded back on board. “It would have been impossible to get anything done once the sailors had been paid”, remarked Ronsard. He gave them their money the following morning and “that evening the whole crew was drunk”. At 9.30pm, after returning from Sydney in a drunken state, petty officer Pierre Ector was killed by a fall from the gang-way on to the gun-deck.<sup>60</sup>

Nevertheless, the sailors were given many opportunities for recreation. Frequently, groups of around 10 were sent ashore to enjoy a day in town and they certainly took advantage of this privilege. The officers aboard the *Géographe* frequently reported that certain sailors had not returned to the ship before the curfew, which was prescribed by King in the regulations he gave to each ship and reinforced by Baudin’s own orders. Moreover, there were frequent incidents of misconduct – usually related to drunkenness – while they were on shore and, to a lesser extent, aboard the ships. Baudin’s style of discipline was quite consistent and rarely violent. In accordance with his direction, the officer on duty typically disciplined sailors by either confining them to the ship or locking them in irons for a length of time.<sup>61</sup>

However, some crimes required more severe punishment, and the way in which Baudin dealt with these gives us some indication of his eagerness to maintain discipline on board his ships and to comply with the regulations of the colony. The incident that provides the most fitting example occurred less than a month into the sojourn. On the night of 15 July, Baudin summoned the officer on duty, Henri Freycinet, to the governor’s dock. He informed Freycinet that several pieces of sailcloth and some gunpowder from the French ships had been

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<sup>60</sup> Il fut impossible de rien faire dès que les matelots eurent de l’argent [...]. Le soir tout l’équipage était ivre”. Ronsard, *Journal*, t. I, ANF, SM, 5JJ29, entry dated 26 thermidor [14 August 1802]. See also *Table de loch* of the *Géographe*, du 13 messidor au 4 fructidor, an X, entry made by Bonnefoy and dated 26 thermidor [14 August 1802].

<sup>61</sup> For examples of the sailors’ misconduct, punishment and Baudin’s management of discipline aboard the *Géographe*, see *Table de loch* of the *Géographe*, 8 prairial to 13 messidor, an X [28 May to 2 July 1802], 13 messidor to 4 fructidor an X [2 July to 22 August 1802], 4 fructidor an X to 24 vendémiaire an XI [22 August to 16 October 1802] and 25 vendémiaire to 7 frimaire an XI [17 October to 28 November 1802]. For examples of punishments issued aboard the *Naturaliste*, see *Journal tenu à bord de la Corvette le Naturaliste par J.V<sup>r</sup> Couture Aspirant de 1<sup>ère</sup> Classe*, ANF, SM 5JJ57, entry dated 4-5 floréal an X [24-25 April 1802], and *Journal*

sold on shore. He ordered him to conduct a thorough search throughout the *Géographe*, but excluding the locked chests, in order to find any further items that may have been hidden. Freycinet carried out the order immediately but the search was unsuccessful.<sup>62</sup> The next day, the Sydney police arrested the suspected thieves on shore: master-gunner Valentin Kleinne and gunners Yves Menou and Vinard Barbier from the *Géographe*, and master-gunner François David from the *Naturaliste*.<sup>63</sup> Baudin consequently ordered another search, which, this time, was to include the chests belonging to Kleinne. With the assistance of the sub-commissary, the first and second boatswains and two master-gunners, the officer on duty found two pieces of sailcloth and 35 pounds of gunpowder.<sup>64</sup> With permission from King, and in accordance with British naval ordinances, Baudin then made arrangements for a court martial to be held aboard the *Géographe* on 20 July.<sup>65</sup> Hamelin and midshipman François Heirisson came aboard to form the jury, soon followed by the harbourmaster, John Harris, with the witnesses and the accused. Ronsard acted as the president of the jury and declared the unanimous verdict, namely, that Kleinne and Barbier were guilty of stealing four pieces of cloth and that David and Menou were not guilty. Kleinne and Barbier were then placed in the Sydney prison where they stayed for the remainder of the sojourn.<sup>66</sup>

The officers, who were in charge of the crewmen and responsible for all the work to be carried out aboard the ships, were supervised by Baudin with particular care. Their days were regimented and they were constantly held to account for their own actions and for those of the men working with them. The logbook that was kept aboard the *Géographe* throughout this episode provides valuable insights into the daily lives of these men. Early in the sojourn,

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[*Nautique*] du *Naturaliste Giraud aspirans de la marine pendant les années 9. 10 & 11*, ANF, SM, 5JJ57, entry dated 4-5 floréal an X [24-25 April 1802].

<sup>62</sup> *Table de loch*, of the *Géographe*, 13 messidor to 4 fructidor an X, entry made by H. Freycinet and dated 26 messidor an X [14 July 1802].

<sup>63</sup> *Table de loch*, of the *Géographe*, 13 messidor to 4 fructidor, an X, entry made by Ronsard and dated 27 messidor an X [15 July 1802] and *Journal de Breton, aspirant de 1<sup>ère</sup> Classe à bord du Géographe*, ANF, SM 5JJ57, entry dated 26 messidor an X [14 August 1802].

<sup>64</sup> *Table de loch*, of the *Géographe*, 13 messidor to 4 fructidor, an X, entry made by Ronsard and dated 27 messidor an X [15 July 1802].

<sup>65</sup> Letter from Nicolas Baudin to Philip Gidley King, written on board the *Géographe* at Port Jackson and dated 17 July 1802, *HRNSW*, vol. IV, p. 954 and letter from Philip Gidley King to Nicolas Baudin, written in Sydney and dated 17 July 1802, *HRNSW*, vol. IV, p. 954.



as Horner mentions,<sup>67</sup> Baudin gave the lieutenants, Henri Freycinet and Ronsard, and the sub-lieutenants, Gaspard Bonnefoy and Joseph Ransonnet, individual responsibilities related to the maintenance and movements of the ship. They also took turns acting as the officer on duty aboard the *Géographe*, and at the end of each day, in this role, they submitted to Baudin a report, entered into the ship's logbook, concerning the day's events. They recorded therein the departures and arrivals of each boat party and their purposes: taking men to Sydney or returning them, fetching or delivering provisions or cases of natural history objects, or visiting another ship such as the *Naturaliste* or one of the foreign merchant vessels. They commented on the work being carried out that day, such as moving the ship's fittings to the tent on shore or careening the *Géographe*. Finally, they included in their reports notes concerning orders, reminders and visits from Baudin. Baudin required the officers on duty to send these reports to him daily, but there are entries in the log and in the journal of Ronsard showing that they often submitted them in person. This gave the officers an opportunity to discuss with their commander any particular concerns that had arisen that day.<sup>68</sup>

Among the aforementioned regulations that Baudin set for his men at the beginning of the sojourn was one requiring that there always be two officers present on the ship. However, the officers still had ample time for leisure and frequently rowed to shore to spend the day in Sydney Town. After six long and laborious months at sea,<sup>69</sup> the French officers and savants took advantage of these opportunities to indulge their gentlemanly sensibilities with European luxuries. From the accounts of expenses that the expedition accrued during the sojourn, we can see that Baudin permitted the officers and scientific staff to spend certain amounts of money, upon request, and most of their purchases appear to have been made at the warehouse

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<sup>66</sup> *Table de loch*, of the *Géographe*, 13 messidor to 4 fructidor, an X, entry made by Ransonnet and dated 1 thermidor an X [20 July 1802]; Ronsard, *Journal*, t. I, ANF, SM, 5JJ29, entry dated 1 thermidor an X [20 July 1802]; Breton, *Journal*, entries dated 1 and 2 thermidor an X [20 and 21 July 1802].

<sup>67</sup> Horner, *French Reconnaissance*, p. 255. Horner also states that "as usual [Baudin] tried to settle everything by his pen" and argues that this was the cause of arguments between the officers and of resentment towards Baudin. In fact, the daily entries in the *Géographe*'s logbook show that Baudin had frequent contact with his officers. Horner's claim is therefore debatable. This issue will be discussed at length in Part II, Chapter II of this study.

<sup>68</sup> *Table de loch* of the *Géographe*, 8 prairial to 13 messidor an X [28 May to 2 July 1802], 13 messidor to 4 fructidor an X [2 July to 22 August 1802], 4 fructidor an X to 24 vendémiaire an XI [22 August to 16 October 1802] and 25 vendémiaire to 7 frimaire an XI [17 October to 28 November 1802].

<sup>69</sup> That is, six months since their last port of call, Timor.

of Sydney merchant Simeon Lord.<sup>70</sup> The items listed on the account that Baudin kept with Lord vary from utilitarian objects that were bought in large quantities, such as fish hooks, to personal products purchased in small quantities, probably by the officers, scientists and artists, such as “fine” hats, green tea, combs and stockings. These types of purchases were numerous: over one month, a total of 93 silk handkerchiefs and 67 yards of hair ribbon were added to Baudin’s account.<sup>71</sup> In addition to monitoring their spending, Baudin was also careful to manage the way in which the officers conducted themselves while on their outings in Sydney. Over the duration of the sojourn, each of the officers spent some time confined to the *Géographe* for various types of misconduct, such as returning to the ship after the curfew or going ashore in civilian dress.<sup>72</sup>

Unfortunately, the records kept by Ronsard, Henri Freycinet, Bonnefoy and Ransonnet provide us with little insight into their social lives. We do know, however, that as the *Géographe* was moored alongside the *Investigator* and the tents from these two ships were together on Bennelong Point, there was some interaction between the officers of the Baudin expedition and those of the Flinders expedition. John Franklin, midshipman aboard the *Investigator*, wrote to his sister that “we were in company at Port Jackson with the French Discovery ship, and, „unfortunate me“, was obliged to converse with their officers in Latin”.<sup>73</sup> The two expeditions were together at Port Jackson for one month, during which time, if language difficulties did not prohibit their communication too much, the officers would have had the opportunity to compare notes on their work and on their respective commanders.<sup>74</sup> The French officers were also in regular contact with the officers of the New South Wales

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<sup>70</sup> N. Baudin, “Note de l’argent que j’ai donné aux états majors et naturalistes faisant partie de l’expédition / relâche au Port Jackson”, ANF, SM, 5JJ24; N. Baudin, “Etat détaillé des sommes donnés aux officiers pendant le cours de la campagne”, ANF, SM, BB4997; N. Baudin, “Recensement de l’argent donné pendant la relâche au Port Jackson”; and N. Baudin, “Note des billets que j’ai donnés aux naturalistes et autres à payer par Mr Simeon Lord”, ANF, SM, 5JJ24.

<sup>71</sup> N. Baudin, “1802, Commodore Baudin to Simeon Lord”, ANF, SM, 5JJ24.

<sup>72</sup> Bougainville, *Journal*, entry dated 24 messidor an X [13 July 1802].

<sup>73</sup> Letter from John Franklin to his sister Ann, written on board the *Investigator* and dated 18 October 1802, in *Franklin family – letters from John Franklin to family members, 1802-1803*, Mitchell Library, citation no. C 231.

<sup>74</sup> In their article “A Cordial Encounter?”, p.60, Jean Fornasiero and John West-Sooby suggest that, through the interaction between these two expeditions, Louis and Henri Freycinet may have influenced Flinders’ critical perspective of Baudin.

Corps. In fact, one particularly interesting incident demonstrates how their interaction led to the development of friendships and, also, to the entanglement of French officers in colonial politics. Around mid-way through the sojourn, Captain Anthony Fenn Kemp falsely accused French officers of selling liquor – in violation of King’s ban on liquor trading in the colony and of Baudin’s order prohibiting his officers from landing any of the expedition’s campaign spirits.<sup>75</sup> Baudin was alarmed at the accusation and stated to King:

every matter which attacks the honour of an officer is a very delicate one. You well know, also, that suspicion, even if unfounded, is an insult not easily forgiven, and I shall not conceal from you the fact that I have been compelled to make use of all my authority to avoid a scene.<sup>76</sup>

After investigations by King and Baudin, it was concluded that Kemp’s allegations had been aimed at discrediting King, with a view to restoring the liquor trading rights of the British officers. Indeed, in his letter of apology, dated 8 October, which Baudin had requested, Kemp declared that he had had no intention of dishonouring the Frenchmen:

I had no intention of attacking their honour, that is as far from my purpose as contrary to my opinion of them all. I believe I have proven this by my conduct toward those amongst them with whom I have the honour of being acquainted. My brothers in arms, the officers of the garrison, insist that I tell you that they will not cease to hold the French officers in the esteem that was inspired upon their arrival and throughout their stay in the colony. I am sir your most humble and obedient servant.<sup>77</sup>

At least, this was how the affair was formally resolved. Informally, the French officers had sought justice – for themselves and for King – in a more confronting manner, which was based on principles of honour commonly understood by both the French and the British officers. In his journal, Ronsard explained that he and his comrades spread the news of Kemp’s dishonest conduct through the town, causing considerable controversy and

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<sup>75</sup> *Journal de Navigation Du L.<sup>t</sup> de V.<sup>au</sup> h<sup>ty</sup>. Freycinet, embarqué sur la Corvette de La republique f.<sup>se</sup> Le géographe. An 11 dela R.<sup>que</sup> f.<sup>se</sup>*, entry dated 16 vendémiaire an XI [8 octobre 1802], ANF, SM, 5JJ34.

<sup>76</sup> “Toute affaire qui attaque l’honneur d’un officier est délicate. Vous savez que le soupçon, même sans fondement, est une injure qui se pardonne difficilement, et je ne vous dissimulerai pas que j’ai été obligé d’employer l’autorité pour éviter une scène”. Letter from Nicolas Baudin to Philip Gidley King, written aboard the *Géographe* at Port Jackson and dated 4 October 1802, in *HRNSW*, vol. IV, pp. 975-976.

<sup>77</sup> Letter from Anthony Fenn Kemp to Nicolas Baudin, reproduced in Ronsard, *Journal*, t. I, ANF, SM, 5JJ29, entry dated 16 vendémiaire an XI [8 October 1802].

frightening Kemp: “each of us seemed to him to be a spadassin”, declared Ronsard.<sup>78</sup> Eventually, Paterson and the officers of the regiment assembled at Kemp’s home and, though he resisted, demanded that he make the official apology cited above.<sup>79</sup> The French officers officially pardoned him, but their sense of justice had not been entirely satisfied. Word reached them, possibly through their friend Francis Barrallier, of the New South Wales Corps, that Kemp had “dared to say that he was angry at having had to apologise and that he would have preferred to fight”.<sup>80</sup> Thus, Baudin’s men took further action to humiliate him, this time based on their knowledge of his personal life. As Horner and Brown have explained,<sup>81</sup> the Frenchmen worked together to produce a caricature of Kemp, which derided not only his honour but also his courage and his pride. He was depicted in uniform with a large padlock on his sword-hilt and wearing an enormous pair of stag’s antlers on his head. In the background were two scenes representing Kemp’s typically conceited behaviour. In his journal, Ronsard explained at some length that Kemp was well known for boasting about his house and his vehicle and that his new wife was rumoured to be having an affair with ex-convict lieutenant George Bellasis, with whom Ronsard had developed a friendship. The caricature was circulated throughout Sydney Town and widely appreciated; Ronsard notes that it was well known even to King.<sup>82</sup> Assuredly, Baudin, too, was abreast of the actions his men had taken and presumably saw fit to allow the officers to avenge themselves in this way. In his role as commander of the expedition, Baudin had managed the situation and secured the honour of his officers, as Fornasiero, Monteath and West-Sooby point out.<sup>83</sup>

Evidently, Baudin was closely involved in the day-to-day life of his military staff; of course, he needed to be, because their work was integral to the continuation of the expedition. But what role did he play in relation to the scientific staff? A considerable amount of

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<sup>78</sup> “chacun de nous lui parut un spadassin”. Ronsard, *Journal*, t. I, ANF, SM, 5JJ29, entry dated 16 vendémiaire an XI [8 October 1802].

<sup>79</sup> Ronsard, *Journal*, t. I, ANF, SM, 5JJ29, entry dated 16 vendémiaire an XI [8 October 1802].

<sup>80</sup> “Il s’avisait de dire qu’il était fâché d’avoir fait des excuses et qu’il eut préféré se battre”. Ronsard, *Journal*, t. I, ANF, SM, 5JJ29, entry dated 16 vendémiaire an XI [8 October 1802].

<sup>81</sup> Horner, *French Reconnaissance*, p. 255 and Brown, *Ill-Starred Captains*, p. 267.

<sup>82</sup> For a full account of this incident, see Ronsard, *Journal*, t. I, ANF, SM, 5JJ29, entry dated 16 vendémiaire an XI [8 October 1802].

<sup>83</sup> Fornasiero, Monteath and West-Sooby, *Encountering Terra Australis*, p. 209.

Baudin's time was undoubtedly absorbed by preparations for the second campaign, but we can surmise that he also interacted frequently with the savants. They were all lodging in Sydney, they attended social gatherings, and Baudin, both as their commander and as an enthusiastic amateur scientist, was deeply interested in their work. It is uncertain whether Baudin gave the scientific staff any close direction during this period but there is evidence that he provided them with materials and opportunities to pursue their research.

During their time in Port Jackson, each of the naturalists – zoologist Péron, botanist Théodore Leschenault de la Tour (presumably with the gardener Antoine Guichenot) and mineralogists Charles Bailly and Louis Depuch – took opportunities to venture beyond Sydney Town. They explored Botany Bay, Parramatta, Castle Hill, Hawkesbury and the fields, forests and rivers in between, up to the foot of the Blue Mountains. To facilitate the Frenchmen's research, colonists provided transport, guides and accommodation for these excursions. However, it is not clear whether or not they did so at their own expense. Baudin's "Compte Général des dépenses relatives aux bâtiments de la République, le *Géographe*, le *Naturaliste* et le *Casuarina* pendant la relâche au Port Jackson, Nouvelle-Hollande" lists payments made for a voyage to Hawkesbury (ten pounds), another to Parramatta (three pounds) and one to the Blue Mountains (ten pounds).<sup>84</sup> Yet, these are places that Baudin visited himself on an excursion with the governor in August and, therefore, may relate to his own expenses. If the naturalists' excursions did incur any costs, then, they may have been paid upon request and been included in the expenses accrued by each individual during the sojourn. Baudin's "Recensement de l'argent donné pendant la Relâche au Port Jackson" shows that Péron spent 25 pounds and eight shillings over this period, Depuch 40 pounds and eight shillings, Bailly 20 pounds, Leschenault 38 pounds and Guichenot 18 pounds, five pence and three shillings.<sup>85</sup> However these excursions were financed, and even though British naturalists had been studying the environment of the County of Cumberland since the arrival

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<sup>84</sup> Baudin, "Compte Général des dépenses".

<sup>85</sup> Baudin, "Note de l'argent que j'ai donné aux états majors et naturalistes faisant partie de l'expédition / relâche au Port Jackson".

of the First Fleet in 1788, they allowed the French naturalists to amass many specimens over the course of this sojourn.<sup>86</sup> In fact, more equipment was required in order to hold these additions to the expedition's scientific collection, and Baudin made several purchases of articles such as bird cages, glass cases, pots and "garden stuff" in Sydney.<sup>87</sup> From the way in which he described the collection to Jussieu, it is clear that Baudin was delighted with the results. His use of the term "nous" in reference to the natural history endeavour, shows that he considered this to be the result of a collective effort and that he felt a considerable amount of pride in the naturalists' (and his own) achievements.

The artists, Charles-Alexandre Lesueur and Nicolas Martin Petit, had far fewer requirements, the sum of their expenses being only half that of the naturalists,<sup>88</sup> yet the work they produced at Port Jackson was equally significant. Spending time in the British colony not only gave them an extended period of time on shore to concentrate on their drawings but also provided opportunities to depict scenes that they would not witness anywhere else during the expedition. For example, Lesueur produced a series of sketches of Sydney and of Aboriginal artefacts particular to the Port Jackson region, while Petit drew a number of detailed portraits. Baudin and King evidently permitted the artists to roam throughout the township of Sydney, and perhaps beyond the colony,<sup>89</sup> thereby giving them the opportunity to produce a comprehensive collection of colonial scenes. Given that Baudin, as his regulations for the sojourn demonstrate, was eager to prevent his men from showing "indiscreet curiosity",<sup>90</sup> it is interesting that he gave his artists this much freedom. Whether he had the opportunity to become directly involved in the artists' work, though, is almost impossible to gauge, as

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<sup>86</sup> N. Starbuck, "La Collection scientifique du Port Jackson", in *A la conquête des Terres australes (1800–1804): de la découverte à la collecte*, Muséum d'histoire naturelle, Le Havre, and l'Université du Havre, 6-8 December 2007 (in press).

<sup>87</sup> N. Baudin, "Commodore Baudin to J. Underwood, 1802", ANF, SM, 5JJ53.

<sup>88</sup> Baudin, "Note de l'argent que j'ai donné aux états majors et naturalistes faisant partie de l'expédition / relâche au Port Jackson".

<sup>89</sup> Lesueur also produced several sketches of the townships of Parramatta and Brickfield and of Aborigines in natural settings; however, scholars believe that these are copies of, or were at least heavily influenced by, similar illustrations published in D. Collins, *An Account of the British Colony in New South Wales, with Remarks on the Dispositions, Customs, Manners, etc. of the Native Inhabitants of that Country*, vols. I and II (London: AH & AW Reed, 1802). See, Jones, "Images of Natural Man", p. 58.

<sup>90</sup> Ronsard, *Journal*, t. I, ANF, SM, 5JJ29, entry dated 3 messidor an X [22 June 1802].

Fornasiero and West-Sooby point out;<sup>91</sup> yet, even if he did not, it is likely that he at least had some knowledge of the type of sketches they were producing and tacitly approved.

The geographers Pierre Faure and Charles-Pierre Boullanger and the astronomer Pierre-François Bernier were very quiet during this period. Neither Faure nor Boullanger made any journal entries during their stay at Port Jackson and we do not know whether Baudin assigned them any responsibilities.<sup>92</sup> However, Boullanger found an opportunity to utilise his skills by updating an existing plan of the town of Sydney.<sup>93</sup> Bernier, for his part, clearly worked assiduously throughout the sojourn: his journal entries relate almost entirely to his astronomical observations. Moreover, Baudin recognised the importance of Bernier's work. He granted the astronomer's request for the expedition's departure to be delayed until he had had the opportunity to observe the transit of Mercury,<sup>94</sup> which was previously going to be performed during the survey of the south coast.<sup>95</sup>

For the scientific staff, the Port Jackson sojourn represented a respite from life at sea and an opportunity to enjoy the comforts of a European settlement, as well as to pursue their research. By contrast, for Hamelin it was a chance to focus on shipboard tasks. It is important to remember certain points about Hamelin and Port Jackson: this was his second visit to the colony, he had been rather unsettled during the first sojourn, and, eager to return to Mauritius, he had returned to Port Jackson with considerable reluctance. Moreover, although it was some time until Hamelin was informed of it, he was to be sent by Baudin directly back to France. His approach to this sojourn is therefore of considerable interest, all the more so as it has been somewhat overlooked in accounts of the Port Jackson episode – even in Horner's

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<sup>91</sup> Fornasiero and West-Sooby, "Taming the Unknown", p. 66.

<sup>92</sup> C. P. Boullanger, *Registre tenu par le C<sup>en</sup> Boullanger, l'un des ingénieurs géographe, employé dans l'expédition du Capitaine de vaisseau Baudin aux Terres australes*, ANF, SM, 5JJ44 and P. Faure, *Journal de M. Faure, ingénieur géographe, 1801-1803*, ANF, SM, 5JJ56.

<sup>93</sup> C.-A. Lesueur and L. Freycinet, *Plan de la ville de Sydney (Capitale des colonies Anglaises aux Terres australes), levé par Mr. Lesueur & assujetti aux relèvements de Mr. Boullanger (Novembre, 1802)* plate no. 30 in L. Freycinet, *Voyage de découvertes aux Terres australes exécuté par ordre de Sa Majesté l'Empereur et Roi, sur les corvettes le Geographe, le Naturaliste; et la goélette le Casuarina, pendant les années 1800, 1801, 1802, 1803, et 1804, Navigation et géographie, Atlas, 1<sup>ère</sup> édition* (Paris: Imprimerie Royale, 1812).

<sup>94</sup> P.-F. Bernier, *Observations Astronomique faites pendant l'expédition de Découvertes commandée par le Capitaine Baudin par Pierre François Bernier, Astronome sur la Corvette le Naturaliste*, ANF, SM, 5JJ47.

comprehensive *French Reconnaissance*. As noted, during this period Hamelin became preoccupied with life aboard the *Naturaliste*, despite the opportunity to spend time on shore. Almost one month after arriving in Port Jackson, he was still living aboard the ship. On 22 July, he noted in his journal that Baudin had ordered him “to spend night and day on shore to assist him in his work, consequently I had my bed brought ashore and I went aboard each day”.<sup>96</sup> The remainder of his journal entries relate entirely to the various tasks undertaken on the *Naturaliste*. And although, where appropriate, he notes the orders that he received from Baudin, he makes no mention of his interaction with the commander nor, indeed, of any of his activities on shore. The only allusion to the latter is his entry noting that Baudin had provided him with 36 pots of rum to replace the same amount that he had used on shore to procure natural history objects for the expedition’s collection.<sup>97</sup> The fact that he spent time collecting is, in itself, interesting, considering that he did not do this during his first visit to Port Jackson. Perhaps he was influenced by Baudin, who was an enthusiastic collector of natural history objects. It is tempting to surmise that Hamelin kept mainly to the ship in a desire to avoid Baudin’s command and also to avoid the British colonists, whom he so distrusted during his previous visit. However, there is no evidence that his relationship with Baudin or the colonists was unfriendly. Rather, it seems that he was more comfortable in this shipboard role. Although, in some ways, it appeared that, prior to this sojourn, he had wished to escape from his subordinate position, it is also true that, in explaining to his commander his decisions to sail for Port Jackson and then leave for Mauritius, he seemed eager to be at Baudin’s orders.<sup>98</sup> During his sojourn in the British colony, under the command of Baudin, the relaxed tone of his journal entries suggests that he was more at ease than during his first stopover in the colony. Indeed, with Baudin present to manage the expedition, Hamelin had orders to follow

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<sup>95</sup> In October 1802, King reported to Joseph Banks that Baudin was planning “to pass thro’ Bass’s Straits, and in some part of them he means to land for the purpose of observing the transit of Mercury”. See letter from Philip Gidley King to Joseph Banks, written in Sydney and dated 2 October 1802, in *HRNSW*, vol. IV, p. 844.

<sup>96</sup> “Le Commandant m’a donné l’ordre de rester à terre nuit et jour pour l’aider dans ses occupations, en consequence j’ai fait descendre mon lit à terre et je viendrai à bord chaque jour”. Hamelin, *Journal*, t. II, ANF, SM, 5JJ42, entry dated 3 thermidor an X [22 July 1802].

<sup>97</sup> Hamelin, *Journal*, t. II, ANF, SM, 5JJ42, entry dated 11 vendémiaire an XI [3 October 1802].



and markedly less responsibility, which, if he had lost enthusiasm for the expedition, would naturally have eased his mind. Baudin also provided for him, giving him 281 pounds, two pence and eight shillings to cover meal expenses.<sup>99</sup> Thus, Hamelin could immerse himself in shipboard tasks – his preferred milieu.

Life aboard the *Naturaliste* during the first half of the sojourn was reasonably quiet. Throughout July, Hamelin's men were mainly occupied in rendering assistance to their counterparts aboard the *Géographe*, who were working on repairing the copper sheathing of the ship. On 2 August, Baudin informed Hamelin that he was intending to send the *Naturaliste* back to France with the natural history collection.<sup>100</sup> Upon learning this news, Hamelin set about arranging for the ship to receive new rigging; otherwise, his journal remains rather quiet over the following few weeks, containing only brief notes relating mainly to the weather. From late August until mid September, Hamelin's journal entries describe the attempts his men made, under his supervision, to rid the *Naturaliste* of her infestation of rats.<sup>101</sup>

By the time this task had been accomplished, as far as was possible at least, the *Casuarina*, which was to replace the *Naturaliste* in the second campaign, was afloat in the harbour and Hamelin appears to have taken pleasure in helping to fit her out for her impending voyage. He points out that he gave her captain, Louis Freycinet, all the charts and plans that he had received from the French government for the expedition and allowed Freycinet to take his choice of books from the library aboard the *Naturaliste*.<sup>102</sup> Moreover, he declared that "it is the *Naturaliste* that supplied the *Casuarina* with her rigging, sails, jetsam, half of water, her biscuit and generally all her armament for more than a year's campaign".<sup>103</sup> However, while Hamelin's notes may give the impression that he was personally responsible

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<sup>98</sup> Hamelin, *Journal*, t. II, ANF, SM, 5JJ42, entry dated 27-28 germinal an X [17-18 April 1802] and letter from Emmanuel Hamelin to Nicolas Baudin, written at Port Jackson and dated 27 floréal an X in Hamelin, *Journal*, t. II, ANF, SM, 5JJ42, entry dated 27 floréal an X [17 April 1802].

<sup>99</sup> Baudin, "Recensement de l'argent donné pendant la relâche au Port Jackson".

<sup>100</sup> Hamelin, *Journal*, t. II, ANF, SM, 5JJ42, entry dated 14 thermidor an X [2 August 1802].

<sup>101</sup> Hamelin, *Journal*, t. II, ANF, SM, 5JJ42, entries dated 1-10 and 20-30 fructidor an X [19-28 August and 7-17 September 1802].

<sup>102</sup> Hamelin, *Journal*, t. II, ANF, SM, 5JJ42, entry dated 1-5<sup>ème</sup> complémentaire an X [18-22 September 1802].

<sup>103</sup> Hamelin, *Journal*, t. II, ANF, SM, 5JJ42, entry dated 19 vendémiaire an XI [11 October 1802].

for fitting out the *Casuarina*, and, while he would indeed have supervised the transfer of the equipment, it was actually the commander who decided what the new ship required and how these requirements were to be fulfilled.

Nevertheless, Hamelin must have been kept quite busy for the remainder of the sojourn, as many of his staff members transferred to the *Casuarina* and the *Géographe* to undertake the second campaign, while some of the *Géographe*'s men boarded the *Naturaliste* to return to France. The natural history collection was packed and supplies that the *Naturaliste* would no longer require, such as oil, salt, paint and sail cloth, were passed on to the *Géographe*.<sup>104</sup> On 14 November, shortly before the expedition's departure from Port Jackson, Governor King, Captain Kent<sup>105</sup> and George Bass came on board the *Naturaliste*. As the ship did not carry any canons, Hamelin saluted King with three cries of "Vive la République".<sup>106</sup> Thus, Hamelin's final experience of Australia seems to have been a positive one and, moreover, he was to make an honourable return to France.

As far as Hamelin was concerned, the expedition was reaching an end, but for Baudin, it was far from over. He needed to design the itinerary and determine the objectives for the second campaign; and, as Horner points out, he did not waste any time.<sup>107</sup> We know that Baudin's purpose in visiting Port Jackson was to prepare for a re-examination of the south coast. The first attempt had been affected by inclement weather and the inability of the *Géographe* to manoeuvre close to shore, and Baudin was unsatisfied with the results. He felt that the *Naturaliste*, which was just as bulky as the *Géographe* and was also very slow, would only hinder the work he intended to undertake. Sending the *Naturaliste* back to France would also allow him to deliver the already immense natural history collection to the French authorities and, at the same time, return to France the men who were unfit or unsuitable for the remaining voyage. This decided, his next step was to purchase a smaller vessel, which would be able to draw nearer to the coastline than either the *Géographe* or the *Naturaliste* and

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<sup>104</sup> Hamelin, *Journal*, t. II, ANF, SM, 5JJ42, entry dated 5 vendémiaire an XI [27 September 1802].

<sup>105</sup> Captain William Kent was a naval officer and, in 1802, had been made a magistrate. He was a nephew of John Hunter, the previous governor of New South Wales.

<sup>106</sup> Hamelin, *Journal*, t. II, ANF, SM, 5JJ42, entry dated 23 brumaire an XI [14 November 1802].

thereby enable his men to produce more accurate charts than they had done thus far.<sup>108</sup> It was therefore very soon after his arrival at Port Jackson that Baudin set about procuring such a vessel. Finding one in the dockyards that was newly constructed and appeared to suit his purpose, he made enquiries with its owners, Sydney shipbuilder and merchant James Underwood and his partner Henry Kable. On 7 July they wrote to him with their proposals for her completion and a list of the articles they expected for the purchase.<sup>109</sup> Being happy, presumably, with these conditions, Baudin then sought permission from the governor to make the purchase and, on 11 July, received King's acquiescence, "as it [was] for the advancement of science and navigation".<sup>110</sup>

It was probably once these decisions had been made that Baudin began to concentrate on the itinerary for the second campaign, although we do not know at which point it was finalised. Upon his arrival at Port Jackson, according to the accounts he gave in his journal and in his letters to Paris, Baudin planned to return to the south coast to examine King Island ("the land that is said to exist to the north of the Hunter Islands") and the southern part of Kangaroo Island as well as to rechart the St Francis and St Peter Islands.<sup>111</sup> While at Port Jackson, though, his plan became more detailed and ambitious. Before leaving the colony, he explained to Jussieu and the Minister of Marine that he intended also to examine the coastline between the St Peter and St Francis Islands, return to the St Vincent and Spencer Gulfs, and re-examine Géographe Bay and the north-west coast from Shark Bay onward, finishing, finally, at the Gulf of Carpentaria.<sup>112</sup> Clearly, his new plan was based on a determined desire to perfect the geographical work at hand. Yet, he had not forgotten the scientific objectives of

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<sup>107</sup> Horner, *French Reconnaissance*, p. 251.

<sup>108</sup> Letter from Nicolas Baudin to Antoine-Laurent de Jussieu, written at Port Jackson and dated 20 brumaire an XI, MNHN, ms2082, pièce no.8.

<sup>109</sup> Letter from Henry Underwood and James Kable to Nicolas Baudin, dated 7 July 1802, ANF, SM, 5JJ53.

<sup>110</sup> That Baudin decided to return the *Naturaliste* to France before determining to buy the *Casuarina*, as he explained to Jussieu and the Minister of Marine, is questioned by Horner, *French Reconnaissance*, p. 251. However, there is no evidence, nor, it seems, really any reason, to suggest that it was otherwise. Baudin's detailed account of these decisions does seem to be valid. See letter from Philip Gidley King to Nicolas Baudin, written in Sydney and dated 11 July 1802, in *HRNSW*, vol. IV, p. 953.

<sup>111</sup> "des terres qu'on dit exister au Nord des Isles Hunter". Letter from Nicolas Baudin to Antoine-Laurent de Jussieu, written at Port Jackson and dated 20 brumaire an XI, MNHN, ms2082, pièce no.8.

<sup>112</sup> Letter from Nicolas Baudin to Antoine-Laurent de Jussieu, written at Port Jackson and dated 20 brumaire an XI, MNHN, ms2082, pièce no.8.

the expedition: “I will do my best to gather a new collection as large as that which you are going to receive by the *Naturaliste*”, he declared to Jussieu.<sup>113</sup>

Baudin’s days in Port Jackson seem to have been devoted mainly to preparation for what Louis Freycinet referred to as the “new expedition”.<sup>114</sup> He needed to prepare the *Géographe* and the *Casuarina*, along with their men, for at least another 12 months at sea. He also needed to get the *Naturaliste* ready to return to France with her precious load of natural history objects. As we have seen, in order to facilitate the sojourn that was now essential to his improvised plan, he closely supervised his officers and crews in their work and in their conduct as guests of the British colonial administration. He also undertook a revision of his staff and announced the results near the end of the sojourn, in early November. He allocated all of the naturalists who were fit to continue to the *Géographe*, and Louis Freycinet, first lieutenant aboard the *Naturaliste*, was given the command of the *Casuarina* with Léon Brèvedent as his midshipman and 14 “elite” sailors from the *Naturaliste* as his crew. Fitting out the *Casuarina* and preparing Louis Freycinet for the task ahead appears to have absorbed a considerable amount of Baudin’s time. There were lengthy negotiations with Freycinet concerning the equipment with which he was to be provided and on-going discussions concerning both his new position and the role of the *Casuarina* in the second campaign.<sup>115</sup>

Acquiring the necessary campaign supplies for each vessel was one of Baudin’s most important and, it seems, difficult tasks. He needed to build relationships with various merchants in the colony and negotiate with them concerning the quantities he could obtain and, most importantly, the method of payment to be utilised. Over the duration of the sojourn, he traded with many merchants residing in the colony: James Underwood and Henry Kable, Simeon Lord, William Cox, Samuel Enderby and Thomas Palmer, as well as some farmers such as Andrew Thompson and Samuel Skinner. He also traded with fellow mariners, Richard

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<sup>113</sup> “Je [...] vais faire tous mes efforts pour compléter de nouveau une collection aussi nombreuse que celle que vous allez recevoir par le *Naturaliste*.” Letter from Nicolas Baudin to Antoine-Laurent de Jussieu, written at Port Jackson and dated 20 brumaire an XI, MNHN, ms2082, pièce no.5.

<sup>114</sup> “la Nouvelle expédition”. *Journal Tenu Par le lieutenant de V<sup>au</sup> L<sup>is</sup> Freycinet commandant la goëlette Le Casuarina. Mois de Vendémiaire et de Brumaire an XI*, entry undated, ANF, SM 5JJ49.

Brooks, captain of the convict ship the *Atlas*, and George Bass, aboard the *Venus*. By the end of the sojourn, the quantity of livestock and produce that Baudin had procured for his vessels must have been immense; one purchase alone, from Skinner, consisted of 20 pigs, 80 full-grown and 20 half-grown fowls, 12 ducks, two goats, and 38 bushells of maize.<sup>116</sup> Most of the campaign provisions were purchased with letters of exchange, which came to a total of 9,374 pounds, seven shillings and 11½ pence.<sup>117</sup> However, barter being a customary method of payment in the colony at this time, Baudin also traded quantities of rum, to a total of 122 gallons, for various objects, products and services from local individuals.<sup>118</sup> Moreover, “far from giving the rum for its own value in the country, I have quoted it at 10s, so that those who have procured me specimens of natural history and provisions should get a profit which would induce them to serve us well”, he stated to King.<sup>119</sup> During the first campaign, the expedition had struck problems with supplies running short and perishing, which affected the strength of the crew and, therefore, the quality of their work. Baudin was anxious to prevent this from occurring again: before embarking on the second campaign, he wrote to Jussieu saying: “I fear that all this work will last longer than the provisions that I have obtained here, because the geographic observations require a great deal of time; and surveys completed too quickly will be superficial, imperfect and full of errors”.<sup>120</sup>

Although much of Baudin’s time in Port Jackson must have been consumed by his various responsibilities, he did pause to look around and engage with his surroundings. He gathered and recorded information about the administration of the colony, as did several of his men, noting, in particular, its remarkable growth and prosperity. His observations did not

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<sup>115</sup> L. Freycinet, *Journal*, entries 1-8, 22-26 vendémiaire, 3-11, 23-25 brumaire an XI [23-30, September, 14-18 October, 25 October – 2, 14-16 November [1802].

<sup>116</sup> S. Skinner, “Commodore Baudin, Account of Samuel Skinner”, ANF, SM, 5JJ53.

<sup>117</sup> N. Baudin, “Copie des lettres d’échange tirés au Port Jackson o/c de l’Expédition”, ANF, SM, BB4997.

<sup>118</sup> Anon., “Commodore Rum Account”, ANF, SM, 5JJ53.

<sup>119</sup> “vous savez que, bien loin de donner du rum à sa valeur dans le pays, je l’ai placé sur le prix de 10 schelin, afin que les personnes qui m’ont procuré des objets d’histoire naturelle ou des remplacements en vivres y trouvaissent un bénéfice qui put les engager à nous bien servir”. Letter from Nicolas Baudin to Philip Gidley King, written on board the *Géographe* at Port Jackson and dated 4 October 1802, *HRNSW*, vol. IV, pp. 976-977. “je crains que tant d’ouvrages ne prennent beaucoup plus de temps que ne le permettront les provisions que nous avons faites ici, car les observations géographiques exigent beaucoup de temps; et toutes reconnaissances faites trop promptement seront superficielles, imparfaites et remplies d’erreurs”. Letter from Nicolas Baudin to Antoine-Laurent de Jussieu, written at Port Jackson and dated 20 brumaire an XI, MNHN, ms2082, pièce no. 5.

have the military flavour that characterised those recorded by some of the other Frenchmen, nor did they focus upon the penal system: instead, they concerned Port Jackson's commercial and strategic potential. He assessed the agricultural productivity and mercantile enterprises of the colony and pointed out to the Minister of Marine that "the colony should fix the attention of the Government and even the other powers of Europe especially Spain".<sup>121</sup>

In August, when the replacement of the *Géographe's* copper sheathing had been completed, King escorted Baudin on a tour, over five days, around the colony; they journeyed up the Hawkesbury River to the township of Parramatta and to the foot of the Blue Mountains. On his travels, Baudin was given some native seeds from inhabitants of the colony and he collected some others himself, which, altogether, filled a crate.<sup>122</sup> In fact, while this was his only opportunity to collect specimens in the field, Baudin did procure a considerable number of natural history objects by other means during the Port Jackson stay. The expense accounts show that he purchased several live animals and plants, and through his correspondence we discover that he received some substantial donations from members of the colony.<sup>123</sup> Baudin also clearly admired the local landscape: "as I write, the whole countryside is in flower, the sight and beauty of which are unparalleled; for variety, I know only the Cape of Good Hope that could be compared to it", he exclaimed to Jussieu.<sup>124</sup> Moreover, Baudin took time to consider and note, with a certain sense of sadness, the situation of the indigenous inhabitants of the Port Jackson area. "Most have retreated far into the interior of the country to live in their own way; others usually wander through the town and the countryside".<sup>125</sup>

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<sup>121</sup> "la colonie du Port Jackson doit fixer l'attention du Gouvernement et même des autres puissances de l'Europe surtout de l'Espagne". Letter from Nicolas Baudin to the Minister of Marine and the Colonies, written at Kupang, Timor, and dated 9 Prairial an XI [29 May 1803], ANF, SM, BB4995.

<sup>122</sup> Letter from Nicolas Baudin to Antoine-Laurent de Jussieu, written at Port Jackson and dated 20 brumaire an XI [11 November 1802], MNHN, ms2082, pièce no.5.

<sup>123</sup> See the comprehensive collection of expense accounts and correspondence relating to the Port Jackson sojourn held by the ANF, SM, 5JJ53.

<sup>124</sup> "Toute la campagne dans le moment où je vous écris est en fleurs dont rien n'égale la beauté et le coup d'œil; je ne connais pour la variété que le Cap de Bonne Espérance qui puisse lui être comparé". Letter from Nicolas Baudin to Antoine-Laurent de Jussieu, written at Port Jackson and dated 20 brumaire an XI, MNHN, ms2082, pièce no. 5.

<sup>125</sup> "La plupart et c'est le plus grand nombre se sont retirés très avant dans l'intérieur du pays où ils continuent de vivre à leur manière; d'autres se promènent habituellement dans la ville et dans la campagne". Letter from Nicolas Baudin to the Minister of Marine and the Colonies, written at Port Jackson and dated 20 brumaire an XI [11 November 1802], ANF, SM, BB4995.

As historians lament, Baudin left behind few records of his experiences at Port Jackson. It was only in his letters to Jussieu and the Minister of Marine that he gave an account of the sojourn and he naturally focused therein on his preparations for the impending voyage, with some description and observations on the colony. These letters give the impression that, throughout the sojourn, he remained focused on his goal of perfecting the expedition's work and that, accordingly, he took advantage of every opportunity in Port Jackson to contribute to the scientific, geographic and strategic objectives of the expedition. Of course, this was undoubtedly the impression Baudin would have wanted to give his superiors. Was it a realistic reflection of his approach to the sojourn? Our analysis suggest that it was. The various other sources – expense accounts, logbooks, officers' journals, colonial correspondence – each a tiny piece in the jigsaw, together form a somewhat disjointed but nevertheless convincing picture of purposeful, enthusiastic and determined activity. We see, in fact, the part that Baudin took in every aspect of this sojourn: supervising and assisting his men according to their particular needs, building productive relationships with individuals and authorities in the colony, contributing to the expedition's scientific research, and using his maritime experience and knowledge to design a new campaign. Clearly, this sojourn was to make a critical contribution to the expedition, so it seems safe to conclude that it was not because "Baudin [...] did not think its events worth record"<sup>126</sup> that he chose not to set them down in his journal. On the contrary, this decision was related to his proud and perfectionist approach to the expedition. Baudin would have wanted to present his superiors not with the small and often intricate daily steps in his preparations but, rather, with the final result: a carefully considered and precisely planned voyage of discovery.

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<sup>126</sup> Jose, "Nicolas Baudin", p. 360.





## *Conclusions*

From the Normandy port of Le Havre to the English colony in New South Wales, we have sketched the voyage of the *Géographe* and the *Naturaliste*, paying particular attention to the reasons that led Baudin to decide to visit Port Jackson and to the lessons he had drawn from his three previous ports of call. We have considered the Frenchmen's experiences on shore and at sea, their attitudes and decisions concerning the voyage and the important changes that occurred aboard the ships. It has become clear in the process that the sojourn at Port Jackson would constitute a turning point for the Baudin expedition. The main developments that emerged during the course of the first campaign – developments concerning the mission of the expedition and its politics – allow us to define the fundamental reasons why the unscheduled Sydney episode came to play such a significant role in Baudin's voyage.

The Port Jackson stay marked the end of the first campaign and, as such, it divided the expeditioners into two groups: those who in Baudin's view were compatible with his mission, and those who were not. We observed, when studying the previous stopovers, how lack of enthusiasm for the objectives of the voyage and dissatisfaction with their subordinate roles had been influencing the conduct of several of Baudin's men. Emmanuel Hamelin, in particular, treated the Port Jackson stay as the conclusion of his Australian voyage. At Baudin's orders, he led a number of senior and junior officers as well as some crewmen directly back to France. The expedition that set out from Port Jackson on the second campaign therefore consisted of men who were motivated and able to pursue with advantage the aims of the voyage ahead.

As certain members of the expedition were anticipating their homeward journey, Baudin was planning the second campaign. Since the *Géographe* and the *Naturaliste* had departed from the French colony at Mauritius bound for Australia, his command over the expedition had been strengthening. He made the first critical change to the course of the voyage when, at the onset of winter, he decided to head north along the western coast of

Australia instead of sailing south into potentially dangerous conditions. His increasing sense of confidence and control was, as we have noted, evident in his management of affairs at Timor. It was not long after this stopover, most likely during his time in Tasmania, that he raised the possibility of visiting Port Jackson, and the idea developed further as he sailed through Bass Strait and along the south coast of Australia. His efforts to study the region's geography and natural history were hampered by various circumstances, but he realised that the work could be more satisfactorily carried out if he returned when conditions were milder. Moreover, he developed a familiarity with the waters and he learned of islands that still awaited thorough examination. It was clear that Baudin was deeply committed to his mission. He resolved to use the sojourn at Port Jackson to prepare another voyage – a voyage focused on a comprehensive, meticulous examination of the south coast – even if that meant spending several months at anchor.

Politics had a critical influence on the expedition's sojourn in Sydney: British colonial authorities were deeply interested in the French voyage and, in particular, in French imperial aspirations. While the governor was suspicious about the expedition's objectives, cooperation with Baudin offered mutual benefits. As we have noted, the administrators at previous ports of call had little or nothing to gain from assisting the commander and his men, other than some commercial business and the consolidation of peaceful foreign relations. By contrast, Governor King and the other colonists in Port Jackson shared with the French an interest in scientific and strategic information concerning Australia. Baudin, having learned from his experiences on the outward voyage, was astute in his dealings with the British governor. He began the relationship by showing him all of the expedition's papers. King thereafter allowed the French ships to lie at anchor in the harbour for several months and permitted Baudin to repair the *Géographe* in Sydney Cove, obtain supplies from individuals throughout the colony and purchase a new ship. He also shared geographic knowledge with the commander and discussed with him British colonial plans. This political relationship facilitated Baudin's efforts to prepare for the second campaign.

From June until November in the colony, the commander was able to work on reconstructing the expedition under his command. He replaced the *Naturaliste* with the smaller *Casuarina*, stocked and fitted out the three ships for the voyages ahead, reorganized the staff and obtained valuable medical and navigational information. Still, he was not so preoccupied with these preparations that he did not maintain direct command of shipboard affairs nor ensure that these months at anchor advanced the expedition's scientific research. By carefully managing all aspects of the sojourn, he could more easily prepare his scientists, naval staff and ships for the second campaign. His plans and arrangements fell steadily into place. By the summer of 1802, he was in command of a new expedition.

In many respects, then, the Port Jackson stay was the culmination of both the troubles and the triumphs of the first campaign, and it marked the beginning of a new French voyage of discovery in Australian waters. What remains to be determined is more precisely how and with what aspirations Baudin used the Port Jackson sojourn to design this new voyage. We will address this question in the following chapters by analysing in its fine detail the French and English records relating to the sojourn. It is only through Baudin's own words, and the words of his men and his acquaintances in the colony that we can probe more deeply into the significance of the expedition's time at Port Jackson and determine to what extent the new voyage might correspond to the perfect voyage to which the commandant aspired.

*In Pursuit  
of the  
“Perfect” Voyage?*

## *Negotiating a French Expedition in British Territory*

Baudin's plan to use his time in Sydney to prepare for a more thorough exploration of the south coast, came to fruition with cooperation from a number of individuals at Port Jackson who were vitally interested in that region themselves: sealing captains, English explorers, entrepreneurs and colonial authorities. This cooperation has become the most celebrated aspect of the Port Jackson sojourn, yet it still remains one of the least understood. It was a cooperation afforded despite "undercurrents of suspicion and distrust"<sup>1</sup> – "a rather curious event", remark René Bouvier and Edouard Maynial.<sup>2</sup> As many commentators have noted, Philip Gidley King, in accordance with Enlightenment tradition and encouraged by news of peace between France and Britain, offered assistance to the Baudin expedition and its scientific endeavours, and others in the colony followed his lead. They welcomed the Frenchmen into Port Jackson, gave them access to medical care and supplies and allowed them to pursue their scientific research throughout the region. This picture, however, is partial and imprecise: it leaves the impression that Baudin was essentially a passive recipient of British generosity.<sup>3</sup> Cooperation involves joint effort and therefore is shaped by relationships – relationships affected by personal attitudes, motivations and behaviours as much as national or international concerns. It was shown earlier that Baudin himself played a key role in ensuring both a harmonious and productive stay in port. This part now remains to be determined in more precise terms: how did the commander's diplomatic, commercial and social conduct help to obtain the assistance upon which his new voyage depended?

<sup>1</sup> M. Sankey, "The Baudin Expedition in Port Jackson, 1802: Cultural Encounters and Enlightenment Politics", *Explorations*, 31 (December 2001), p. 20.

<sup>2</sup> "un événement assez curieux", R. Bouvier and E. Maynial, *Une aventure dans les mers australes: l'expédition du commandant Baudin (1800-1803)* (Paris: Mercure de France, 1947), p.178.

<sup>3</sup> See A. J. Brown, *Ill-Starred Captains: Flinders and Baudin* (Fremantle: Fremantle Arts Centre Press, 2004), pp. 252-254; E. Duyker, *François Péron: An Impetuous Life* (Melbourne: The Miegunyah Press, 2006), p. 137; F. Horner, *The French Reconnaissance: Baudin in Australia, 1801-1803* (Carlton: Melbourne University Press, 1987), pp. 240-241, 247; S. Hunt and P. Carter, *Terre Napoléon: Australia Through French Eyes 1800-1804* (Sydney: Historic Houses Trust of NSW, 1999), p. 23.

This question may be dealt with most effectively by studying how Baudin approached certain key relationships in port. These include, in particular, his complex association with Governor Philip Gidley King and his commercial transactions with commissary John Palmer and agent Simeon Lord. To appreciate the background to these relationships, it is important also to consider a more distant connection to the expedition: Joseph Banks. Before examining these particular relationships, however, let us look more generally at the type of conduct required of a commander in a foreign port and at Baudin's ability to meet these requirements.

### *Navigating Relationships in Port*

A successful scientific voyage required a captain with the skills and attributes not only to command his men effectively, within the world of his ship, but also to associate both congenially and productively with local authorities, colonists and other captains in the cosmopolitan environments of ports around the world. His behaviour on shore, in fact, could vitally influence the fortunes of his expedition. Yet, in histories of exploration, including those relating to the Baudin expedition, this aspect of a captain's function is often overshadowed by descriptions of shipboard behaviour. The analysis of Baudin's on-shore conduct at Port Jackson will benefit, therefore, from a discussion of how Baudin was expected to behave among foreigners and from a consideration of his ability to fulfil such expectations.

The Minister of Marine and the Colonies saw fit to direct Baudin, explicitly, on his conduct among the foreigners he would encounter during the course of his voyage. He was most anxious that Baudin "observe the most complete neutrality and not give rise to a single doubt as to [his] scrupulous attention to confining [him]self to the object of [his] mission".<sup>4</sup> Trust was naturally a critical factor, particularly given the tense political climate in Europe at the time of Baudin's Australian voyage. Cordial relations would be further promoted through

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<sup>4</sup> Letter from the Minister of Marine and the Colonies to Nicolas Baudin, written in Paris and dated 7 vendémiaire an X [29 September 1802], reproduced in Cornell (trans.), *The Journal of Post-Captain Nicolas Baudin* (Adelaide: Libraries Board of South Australia, 1974), p. 8; letter from the Minister of Marine and the Colonies to Nicolas Baudin, written in Paris and dated 7 vendémiaire an X [29 September 1802], ANF, SM 5JJ25: "vous devez observer la plus parfaite neutralité, ne faire naître aucun doute sur votre exactitude à vous renfermer dans l'objet de votre mission".

regard for local customs and beliefs: “see to it that the religious practices, the political institutions and even the prejudices of the people are respected”, Forfait instructed Baudin.<sup>5</sup> The commander was generally to demonstrate “propriety and reserve”, not only in an effort to avoid offending his hosts but also to earn their approval.<sup>6</sup> He was also to ensure that his men conducted themselves in the same way. Forfait instructed Baudin to give his men “active employment” in order to prevent them from indulging in “frivolities or dissipations” or wallowing in “idleness”.<sup>7</sup> Indeed, in his official capacity as government envoy, Baudin was expected to “make France’s name honoured in all the countries that [he] visit[s]”.<sup>8</sup> Forfait believed that the means to accomplish this would be provided to Baudin by “the glorious success of our armies, the power and wisdom of the government, the great and liberal designs of the First Consul for the pacification of Europe, and the tranquillity that he has restored to France”.<sup>9</sup> Overall, the conduct of the commander should give port authorities, and other foreigners, no reason to refuse to accommodate Baudin and his men, and, by exemplifying the glory and virtue of France, it should in fact inspire others to contribute to French endeavour by supporting the expedition.

There is a body of evidence which suggests that, over the course of his life at sea, Baudin had acquired skills that would equip him well for the performance of this diplomatic role. According to botanist and contemporary, André-Pierre Ledru, who accompanied the commander on his voyage to the West Indies, Baudin seemed to demonstrate the knowledge

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<sup>5</sup> Cornell, *Journal of Baudin*, p. 8; letter from the Minister of Marine and the Colonies to Nicolas Baudin, written in Paris and dated 7 vendémiaire an IX [29 September 1800]: “veillez à ce que les pratiques religieuses, les institutions politiques et jusqu’aux préjugés des peuples soient respectés”.

<sup>6</sup> Cornell, *Journal of Baudin*, p. 8; letter from the Minister of Marine and the Colonies to Nicolas Baudin, written in Paris and dated 7 vendémiaire an IX [29 September 1800]: “la décence et la réserve”.

<sup>7</sup> Cornell, *Journal of Baudin*, pp. 8-9; letter from the Minister of Marine and the Colonies to Nicolas Baudin, written in Paris and dated 7 vendémiaire an IX [29 September 1800]: “Ne permettez jamais que vos officiers ou ceux qui vous accompagnent se livrent pendant leur séjour sur les rades à ces frivolités ou dissipations dont ils ne jouissent qu’aux dépens de leur santé. En les employant par un service actif, vous remplirez les vœux du gouvernement à éviter les conséquences toujours fâcheuse qui naissent de la suite de l’oisiveté”.

<sup>8</sup> Cornell, *Journal of Baudin*, p. 9; letter from the Minister of Marine and the Colonies to Nicolas Baudin, written in Paris and dated 7 vendémiaire an IX [29 September 1800]: “faites honorer le nom français dans tous les pays où vous aborderez”.

<sup>9</sup> Cornell, *Journal of Nicolas Baudin*, p. 8; letter from the Minister of Marine and the Colonies to Nicolas Baudin, written in Paris and dated 7 vendémiaire an IX [29 September 1800]: “les succès glorieux de nos armées, la force et la sagesse du gouvernement, les vues grandes et généreuses du Premier Consul pour la pacification de l’Europe, le calme qu’il a ramené dans l’intérieur de la France”.

and refined behaviour that comes with the best education.<sup>10</sup> Certainly, in letters to patron and friend Antoine-Laurent de Jussieu, in which he reported on the progress of the expedition and reflected on the scientific and political significance of its discoveries, he showed sophistication both in language and thought.<sup>11</sup> Furthermore, his feat in persuading Professors of the Museum, members of the Institut National, and even Napoléon Bonaparte, to fund and support his voyage to Australia signifies, as Jean-Paul Faivre states, that Baudin possessed significant charm and persuasiveness<sup>12</sup> – as well as considerable political skills, as Jean Fornasiero points out.<sup>13</sup>

Geoffrey Ingleton comments that Baudin's "charm and tact" impressed not only his superiors and friends but also the English officers he met in Sydney.<sup>14</sup> At relaxed moments during the sojourn, the commander revealed, moreover, the lively spirit of a bon vivant. One of his Sydney acquaintances, English explorer, doctor and entrepreneur George Bass, informed his wife:

I am however now getting smoothened down with a drenching of P. Pinders' *Oil of fool*<sup>15</sup> administered by the hand of M. Baudin, the French Commodore, who is collecting curiosities for the national Museum and has threatened me with a niche in the Glass case.<sup>16</sup>

The capacity for such charm and wit, as will be shown, was integral to Baudin's handling of relationships throughout the Port Jackson stay.

In order not only to be accepted in the British colony but, more importantly, to obtain assistance for the expedition, Baudin would need to abide by the instructions issued to him

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<sup>10</sup> F. Horner, *The French Reconnaissance: Baudin in Australia, 1801-1803* (Carlton: Melbourne University Press, 1987), p. 42.

<sup>11</sup> Baudin correspondence, MNHN, ms2082.

<sup>12</sup> J.-P. Faivre, "Foreword", in Baudin, *Journal of Nicolas Baudin*, p. xi.

<sup>13</sup> J. Fornasiero, "Of Rivalry and Reputation: Nicolas Baudin and Matthew Flinders", in M. S. Rivière and K. R. Issur (eds), *Baudin – Flinders dans l'océan Indien: voyages, découvertes, rencontre, Actes du colloque international organisé par l'Université de Maurice, octobre 2003* (Paris: Harmattan, 2006), p. 167.

<sup>14</sup> G.C. Ingleton, *Matthew Flinders: Navigator and Chartmaker* (Surrey: Genesis Publications in association with Hedley Australia, 1986), p. 69.

<sup>15</sup> "Oil of fool" is a phrase that satirical poet John Wolcot (pen name, Peter Pindar) used in his poem entitled "Lyric Odes to the Royal Academicians, for 1782". According to its context and to the definition provided by Eric Partridge, "oil of fool" means flattery. See P. Pindar [J. Wolcot], *The Works of Peter Pindar*, vol. I (London: J. Walker, 1794), pp. 107-110 and E. Partridge, *A Dictionary of Slang and Unconventional English*, 8<sup>th</sup> edition, ed. P. Beale (London: Routledge, 1984), p. 820.



and exert his political skills with the utmost care. By visiting a British port, he was entering into particularly fraught foreign relations and he would be asking for more than basic respite and replenishment: he required the means to construct a second campaign.

### *The Baudin Expedition through British Eyes*

It has been well established that Anglo-French relations, as they concerned voyages of discovery, were complicated by the conflicting forces of imperial rivalry and scientific cooperation. However, precisely where the cooperation ended and the rivalry began, in relation to the Baudin expedition, is unclear. National interests and the spirit of the republic of letters clashed at every turn, which made it especially difficult for Baudin to establish trusting and peaceful relationships with the British at Port Jackson while at the same time demonstrating the power and wisdom of France.<sup>17</sup> At the centre of this intricate web of cosmopolitan ideals and imperial ambitions was Joseph Banks, President of the Royal Society in London and “Father of Australia”.<sup>18</sup> Although he did not have direct contact with Baudin, his association with the expedition was significant in a number of ways – not least through men such as Matthew Flinders and Governor King. His influence both facilitated and complicated Baudin’s mission at Port Jackson.

In accordance with the Enlightenment tradition of international cooperation in support of scientific discovery, Banks helped the Institut National to obtain British passports for the Baudin expedition. However, he stated that he would continue to provide assistance to the French ships only on the condition that it did not “interfere with the necessary precautions which every nation must adopt for the security of their Colonies and the consequent prosperity of the Realm.”<sup>19</sup> From the outset, he perceived Baudin’s voyage as a potential

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<sup>16</sup> Letter from George Bass to Elizabeth Bass, written in Port Jackson and dated November 15 1802, in the collection of papers held by the Mitchell Library and grouped under the title: Waterhouse Family – papers, 1782-1819; Elizabeth Bass Papers, MLMSS 6544.

<sup>17</sup> Letter from the Minister of Marine and the Colonies to Nicolas Baudin, written in Paris and dated 7 vendémiaire an X [29 September 1802], p. 8; ANF, SM, 5JJ25.

<sup>18</sup> J. H. Maiden, *Sir Joseph Banks: the “Father of Australia”* (Sydney: William Applegate Gullick, 1909).

<sup>19</sup> Letter from Joseph Banks to Louis-Guillaume Otto, dated 13 June 1800, reproduced in G. de Beer, *The Sciences Were Never at War* (London: Thomas Nelson and Sons, 1960), p. 94.

threat to his colonial project in New South Wales.

He was anxious indeed. Just two months after the *Géographe* and the *Naturaliste* set sail from Le Havre, Banks wrote to the Earl of Spencer, First Lord of the Admiralty, to propose the route and schedule for the circumnavigation of Australia by Matthew Flinders.<sup>20</sup> This proposal was based, explicitly, on the proposed itinerary of the Baudin expedition and his suspicions about the actual intentions of the French. Banks found Baudin's itinerary to be so ill-conceived that he thought it could not be genuine. The real business of the expedition, he believed, was to be carried out at Mauritius and La Réunion – Australia's north-west coast was in his view only the expedition's "alleged destination", intended as an excuse in case the ships encountered British cruisers near the French islands.<sup>21</sup> This "political manoeuvre" on the part of the Baudin expedition would provide, according to Banks, a crucial advantage to Matthew Flinders.<sup>22</sup> If the French voyage transpired as he expected, Flinders, should he leave in January 1801, would reach the coast of Australia around the same time as Baudin.<sup>23</sup> From this point onward, as far as Banks was concerned, the race was on. He suggested that Flinders and his men commence their exploration on the south-west coast, "in order to secure themselves from being anticipated by the French", and that they make a rough survey "sufficient to anticipate" the Baudin expedition.<sup>24</sup> It was clear that, though Banks had helped to make the French voyage possible, he was determined to protect British interests by limiting Baudin's discoveries.

It was this plan that prompted biographer Harold B. Carter to declare that "the sciences were as much at war as the battleships they were seeking to avoid."<sup>25</sup> Indeed, in this context, science for Banks was inextricably tied to the colonial project in New South Wales. His commitment to nation, therefore, unquestionably overruled his allegiance to the

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<sup>20</sup> Letter from Joseph Banks to George John Spencer, written at Soho Square and dated December 1800, reproduced in N. Chambers (ed.), *The Letters of Sir Joseph Banks: A Selection, 1768-1820*, (London: Imperial College Press, 2000), pp. 219-221.

<sup>21</sup> Letter from Joseph Banks to George John Spencer, p. 219.

<sup>22</sup> Letter from Joseph Banks to George John Spencer, p. 219.

<sup>23</sup> Letter from Joseph Banks to George John Spencer, p. 219.

<sup>24</sup> Letter from Joseph Banks to George John Spencer, p. 220.

<sup>25</sup> H. B. Carter, *Sir Joseph Banks, 1743-1820* (London: British Museum [Natural History], 1988), p. 370.

international cause of scientific endeavour.<sup>26</sup> Furthermore, while David Mackay argues that strategic aims played a very small part in the voyage of Matthew Flinders,<sup>27</sup> it is clear that, in their relation to the fate of the Baudin expedition, Flinders' strategic aims were significant. Flinders himself was acutely conscious that his voyage was intended to forestall Baudin's geographical discoveries. As Jean Fornasiero and John West-Sooby explain, this was evident in his reluctance to share navigational knowledge during his "manifestly unwelcome brush with his rival" in Encounter Bay.<sup>28</sup> Baudin, for his part, did not show any affection or admiration for Flinders but neither did he perceive himself to be in a "race" with the Englishman. As Fornasiero and West-Sooby remark, he was preoccupied with his scientific mission.<sup>29</sup> Accordingly, he recognised that a cooperative relationship with Flinders could be beneficial to his expedition. On the south coast, he readily gave the Englishman information about his voyage and, upon arriving at Port Jackson, Flinders was one of the first people with whom he sought contact. He exchanged further navigational knowledge and obtained from him useful information about the resources of the colony as well as medical treatments. While Baudin would have realised that Flinders had been sent to the south coast with the purpose of anticipating his own arrival there, he took advantage of the situation to benefit his mission rather than let himself be distracted by the imperial contest.

Shortly after Banks composed the itinerary for the Flinders expedition, he took up his pen again to write to an old friend, Governor King. Banks assumed that the *Géographe* and the *Naturaliste* would visit Port Jackson, though it was not planned in Baudin's itinerary, and he instructed King to obtain certain information from the Frenchmen. Curiously, this information did not concern the expedition's scientific discoveries or their plans. He wrote:

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<sup>26</sup> John Gascoigne, explains that Banks played a number of conflicting roles. When the cause of science came up against national interests, he argues, it was his role as a patriot that tended to prevail. See J. Gascoigne, *Science in the Service of Empire: Joseph Banks, the British State and the Uses of Science in the Age of Revolution* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998), p. 147.

<sup>27</sup> D. Mackay, "In the Shadow of Cook: The Ambition of Matthew Flinders", in J. Hardy and A. Frost (eds), *European Voyaging Towards Australia* (Canberra: Australian Academy of the Humanities, 1990), p.103.

<sup>28</sup> J. Fornasiero and J. West-Sooby, "A Cordial Encounter? The Meeting of Matthew Flinders and Nicolas Baudin (8-9 April, 1802)", in I. Coller, H. and J. Kalmann (eds), *History and Civilization: Papers from the George Rudé Seminar*, vol. 1 (2005), p. 61.

<sup>29</sup> Fornasiero and West-Sooby, "A Cordial Encounter?", p. 61.

I suspect their principal view is to visit the Isles of France and Bourbon and to come after the inhabitants to prevent them from giving up their allegiance to the Republic [...]. [I]t will be very desirable that you pick out of any of their people, who will tell you, the history of their visit to the French islands and learn as much as you can of what they have done there.<sup>30</sup>

It was this “business” that Banks had had in mind when he wrote to Spencer. It was integral to his plan for Flinders’ voyage and the limitation of Baudin’s discoveries. His interest in events at the French colony of Mauritius was undoubtedly influenced by concern for Port Jackson: it was the closest French base to the British settlement and was perceived as a threat to the general well-being and indeed the security of Port Jackson.<sup>31</sup> Banks, in informing King of the Baudin expedition in this manner, could only encourage the governor to perceive his guests and their activities in a political context. Furthermore, it must be observed that, while Banks did point out to King that the French ships carried “men of science of all descriptions”, he did not express any interest in the work of these men, nor did he instruct King to facilitate their work – as might be expected from a leading figure in the international scientific community. When King first met Hamelin at Port Jackson, he declared that Banks had sent him a “pressing recommendation” concerning the expedition.<sup>32</sup> If it was the recommendation quoted above to which he was referring, and indeed no other has yet come to light, it certainly was not what Hamelin would have imagined.<sup>33</sup>

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<sup>30</sup> Letter from Joseph Banks to Philip Gidley King, written at Soho Square and dated 1 January 1801. King family – Correspondence and memoranda, 1775-1806, Mitchell Library, reference A 1980/2 CY 906, p. 37.

<sup>31</sup> The French colony at Mauritius troubled British mariners and colonists throughout the period of the Revolutionary and Napoleonic wars. French men of war and privateers based on the island had been obstructing British ships bringing supplies to Port Jackson (see G. Blainey, *The Tyranny of Distance: How Distance Shaped Australia’s History*, (Melbourne: Sun Books, 1966), p.50) and merchants from the French colony had attempted to sell spirits at Port Jackson when King was attempting to curb the liquor trade. In addition, King feared that, from their base at the Ile de France, the French would make an attack on Port Jackson (see letter from Philip Gidley King to Lord Hobart, written at Sydney and dated 7 August 1803, reproduced in F. Watson, *Historical Records of Australia*, series I, vol. IV (Sydney: Library Committee of the Commonwealth Parliament, 1915), pp. 357-358). If the island were to come under British control, however, it would prove to be of immense strategic advantage to Britain. Indeed, the behaviour of the colonial administrators toward the Baudin expedition in 1801 demonstrated that they themselves were keenly aware of the desirability of their settlement to their rivals. The British finally invaded and took possession of the Ile de France in 1810.

<sup>32</sup> *Jacques Félix Emmanuel Hamelin des Essarts, Capitaine de Frégate, Commandant le Naturaliste, Corvette destinée avec celle du Géographe sous les ordres du Capitaine Nicolas Baudin pour une expédition de découvertes, armée et équipée pour 4 ans*, tome II, ANF, SM 5JJ42, entry dated 7-8 floréal an X [27 April 1802].

<sup>33</sup> Hamelin refers to King’s comment in the context of the warm reception he found at Government House. See Hamelin, *Journal*, t. II, ANF, SM, 5JJ42, entry dated 7-8 floréal an X [27 April 1802].

Banks' desire to protect the welfare and advancement of New South Wales by hindering French discoveries in the region was made abundantly clear through his plan for the Flinders expedition and his instructions to Governor King. While it was only natural that national rivalry would play some part in Anglo-French relations during the Port Jackson stay, the influence of Joseph Banks would undoubtedly strengthen its effect.

### ***The Pivotal Connection: the Commander and the Governor***

Suspicion and friendship, rivalry and cooperation – it was with Governor King that Baudin developed his most complex and significant relationship of the Port Jackson stay. King's attitude towards the expedition was rather ambivalent: he saw some potential for mutual benefit in rendering his assistance to the French but he was eager, too, to defend the interests of the colony. Baudin had to earn the governor's respect and establish a certain level of trust. By examining how the French commander handled his relationship with King – with particular consideration to issues of authority, instances of conflict between the expeditioners and the colonists, exchange of strategic information and declarations of friendship – we may clarify the true nature of that relationship and its influence upon this sojourn.

Baudin's initial communication with Governor King was courteous and self-assured; as shown earlier, Baudin asserted his authority and expressed his competence as commander of the expedition, while showing due deference to his host. This set a tone of mutual respect between himself and King. However, while the French ships lay in Sydney Harbour, Baudin was obliged to share his authority, to a degree, with the governor, and coordinating their respective roles was not going to be a simple task.

Even before the *Géographe* had reached her mooring, the commander received from his host a set of regulations to be followed by the Frenchmen during their sojourn, making it apparent that Governor King meant to supervise the expedition very closely while it remained in his territory. Engineer François-Michel Ronsard soon noticed that King was tending to treat Baudin as his subordinate despite the fact that the French commander was more highly

ranked.<sup>34</sup> Ronsard was greatly insulted on his commander's behalf by King's initial directions to Baudin: "I find that he takes the tone of a master and as one would use toward a merchant captain rather than the Commander of an expedition", he declared.<sup>35</sup>

It was important that Baudin, while respecting King's status as governor, should resist being subordinated to him. It would facilitate his negotiations for assistance as well as his ability to maintain order amongst his men. Over the course of the voyage, Baudin had experienced problems establishing his command, particularly over the officers. The influence of a competing authority could have irreparably damaged his leadership. When Baudin gave his men King's regulations, his awareness of this danger led him to issue them with a set of his own corresponding, but more numerous, rules.<sup>36</sup> Honour and authority – asserting his own, respecting King's, and balancing the two – were of fundamental importance in Baudin's association with the governor.

This approach was critical, particularly when discord arose between the French and British officers. It helped Baudin to maintain his authority as the commander of the expedition, to defend the honour of his men and to restore harmony when necessary. There were two incidents that demonstrate this particularly well. One occurred on the first day of the Republican New Year. To celebrate the occasion, the French officers had dressed ship and, in compliment, officers aboard the British ships in port followed suit. A misunderstanding soon arose. The Scottish captain of the *Harrington*, William Campbell, was offended by the fact that, on the *Géographe* and the *Casuarina*, the British flag was not flying at the head of the mainmast, where it should have been according to the custom of the British navy.<sup>37</sup> He brought it to the attention of the harbourmaster, John Harris, who in turn informed Governor King.<sup>38</sup> King ordered Harris to deliver a message to Baudin:

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<sup>34</sup> Ronsard, *Journal*, t. I, ANF, SM, 5JJ29, entry dated 3 messidor an X [22 June 1802]. Ronsard is correct, in that Baudin was a post-captain and King was a commander. For definitions of these ranks see I.C.B. Dear and P. Kemp, *The Oxford Companion to Ships and the Sea* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1976), pp. 125 and 440.

<sup>35</sup> "Je trouve qu'on y parle trop en maître et comme on ferait à un capitaine marchand et non à un Commandant d'expédition". Ronsard, *Journal*, t. I, ANF, SM, 5JJ29, entry dated 3 messidor an X [22 June 1802].

<sup>36</sup> Ronsard, *Journal*, t. I, ANF, SM, 5JJ29, entry dated 3 messidor an X [22 June 1802].

<sup>37</sup> See the letter from John Harris to Nicolas Baudin, written in Sydney and dated 25 September 1802, *HRNSW*, vol. IV, p. 964.

<sup>38</sup> Letter from John Harris to Nicolas Baudin, 25 September 1802, *HRNSW*, vol. IV, p. 964.

His Excellency the Governor was sorry to say that it had been reported to him that the British flag had been hoisted at the main yard-arm on board the *Géographe* and equally as low on board the *Casuarina*; that being the case, he did not suppose it was done by the knowledge of you, but thro' the mistake of the officers on board, and he was sorry it had not been put in a more conspicuous situation.<sup>39</sup>

It was soon found that the French officers had simply been ignorant of this custom and, as soon as the *faux pas* had been explained to them, they rearranged the flags accordingly. However, Baudin complained to King that “the thoughtless and careless manner” in which harbourmaster John Harris had reported this incident to the governor had “caused, on [Baudin’s] part, a letter of reproach and reprimand to his officers who were far from having deserved it”.<sup>40</sup> To Harris himself, Baudin claimed that, “through trusting what you told me, I have sent a bitter and reproachful letter to all of my officers, though it appears from their answers, the truthfulness of which cannot be doubted, that they have scrupulously adhered to the laws of honour, loyalty, and politeness, upon which their conduct is based”.<sup>41</sup> King, assuming that the commander had in fact reprimanded his officers as he had said in his letter, replied with some condescension: “I cannot help lamenting your anxiety to show the attention you wished to pay the English nation should have been the cause of your writing the officers on board your ship a letter of reproach and reprimand for an affair that might have been explained in the same manner as the message was conveyed.”<sup>42</sup> It would appear that Baudin had overreacted. However, there is an inconsistency in this affair that merits consideration. Contrary to what he asserted to Harris, the letter that Baudin wrote to his officers does not in fact accuse them of misconduct but, instead, calmly seeks an explanation.<sup>43</sup> Moreover, the

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<sup>39</sup> Letter from John Harris to Nicolas Baudin, 25 September 1802, *HRNSW*, vol. IV, p. 964.

<sup>40</sup> Letter from Nicolas Baudin to Philip Gidley King, written at Port Jackson and dated 1 vendémiaire an XI [23 September 1802], *HRNSW*, vol. IV, p. 957: “La lettre que j’ai adressé à M. Harris, et dont je joint ici une copie, vous mettra à même de juger combien j’ai lieu de me plaindre de la conduite légère et peu réfléchie qu’il a tenu dans le rapport qu’il vous a fait; conduite qu’il a occasionné de ma part une lettre de reproche et de réprimande à des officiers qui étoient loin de l’avoir mériter”.

<sup>41</sup> Letter from Nicolas Baudin to John Harris, written in Sydney and dated 2 vendémiaire an XI [23 September 1802], *HRNSW*, vol. IV, p. 959; p. 958: “par trop de confiance en ce que vous m’avez dit, j’ai adressé une lettre amère et de reproches à tous mes officiers, tandis que par leur réponse, dont la véracité ne peut être contestée, ils se sont scrupuleusement conformés aux lois d’honneur, de loyauté, et de politesses qui sont la base de leur conduite”.

<sup>42</sup> Letter from Philip Gidley King to Nicolas Baudin, written in Sydney and dated 23 September 1802, *HRNSW*, vol. IV, p. 963.

<sup>43</sup> Letter from Nicolas Baudin to the officers of the *Géographe*, written in Sydney and undated, in the *Table de loch* of the *Géographe*, ANF, SM 5JJ25, at entry dated 2 vendémiaire an XI [24 September 1802].

officers themselves do not appear to have been affronted. Their replies were correspondingly straightforward.<sup>44</sup> Of the written records of these officers that are available, only that of the midshipman on the *Casuarina*, Léon Brèvedent, refers to Baudin's "reprimand". The two lieutenants on the *Géographe*, Ronsard and Henri Freycinet, who did at other times during the sojourn receive harsh criticisms from Baudin and complained about them in their journals in no uncertain terms, wrote not one word of protest on this occasion. They recorded the incident only in passing and made no mention of the manner in which Baudin handled it. To King and Harris, Baudin had deliberately exaggerated the severity with which he had addressed his officers – officers whose honour, he made a point of emphasising, was beyond reproach.

Why would he do that? The answer appears to be that it was a shrewd manoeuvre, designed to display his loyalty to King and to assert his own authority. This is not to suggest that his indignation was entirely feigned – it was certainly based on a sense of injustice. His own perspective, often too hastily passed over, deserves to be noted. He wrote to Harris:

If you will glance over the laws of honour of the French Navy, laws to which we have always adhered, you will see at *article 11, chapter 17, page 268, that the place of honour for the flag of a foreign nation which we intend to distinguish must be on the starboard of the main yard arm*. The same law further says: *When it will be necessary to make such distinction, this place will only be occupied by a French flag*. You will therefore see that after having strictly adhered to this rule, I have the right to complain bitterly of the way in which you have proceeded in this matter, as well as the persons who accompanied you, and of the indiscreet tales circulated on the subject. In ignorance of our customs, these tales should at least have been withheld until further information had been obtained. In excuse for yourself and those who complained, you may say that your way of dressing the English vessels is different from ours; but in that case I could answer you that not knowing that way I should never have taken the liberty of passing any remarks, and I could never have imagined that it was out of contempt or other reasons of disrespect that you have not hoisted the French flag at the place assigned by our regulations to that of the nation to which distinction is due.<sup>45</sup>

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<sup>44</sup> The letters were recorded in the *Table de loch*, of the *Géographe*, 4 fructidor to X au 24 vendémiaire Year XI, entry dated 1 vendémiaire an X [23 September 1802], and Baudin's letter together with Ronsard's response is reproduced in Ronsard's *Journal*, t. I, ANF, SM, 5JJ29, entry dated 1 vendémiaire an X [23 September 1802].

<sup>45</sup> Letter from Nicolas Baudin to John Harris, written at Port Jackson and dated 23 September 1802, *HRNSW*, vol. IV, pp. 959-960; pp. 958-959: "Si vous voulez avoir la complaisance de parcourir les lois d'honneur de la Marine Française, lois que nous avons toujours respectés, vous y virez à l'article 11, chapitre 17, page 268, que la place d'honneur que doit occuper le pavillon d'une nation étrangère qu'on veut distinguer doit être placé du côté de Stribord à la grande vergue. La même loi ajoute, quand on ne sera pas dans le cas de faire cette distinction, cette même place ne sera jamais occupée que par un pavillon français. Jugez donc Monsieur, si après avoir strictement remplis cette formalité, je n'ai pas le droit de me plaindre amèrement de votre procédé,



If “tales” concerning this incident had indeed been spreading through Sydney to the detriment of the Frenchmen’s reputation, it is not surprising that Baudin felt justified in loudly declaring that an injustice had been done. It was apparent that there were certain members of the New South Wales Corps who were intent on behaving disrespectfully towards the officers of the expedition. To a large extent, Baudin’s angry protest was intended to protect his officers. He showed, firstly, that any attack on them was to be considered as an attack on him.<sup>46</sup> Secondly, he made it clear that he alone was responsible for their conduct. More broadly, though, it is evident that Baudin intended to respect the customs of his hosts as Forfait had instructed him to do, and he felt it was of equal importance that they, in turn, respect French practices and, by extension, the French nation.

In dealing with the second incident, Baudin’s attitude was similar, although he was more composed. Shortly after the flag affair, it came to his attention that Captain Kemp of the New South Wales Corps had been spreading rumours about certain French officers selling spirits, in contravention of King’s prohibition on liquor trading. The letter by which King initially informed Baudin of these rumours has, unfortunately, not yet come to hand, but the commander’s response is available.<sup>47</sup> In this letter, it is interesting to note that Baudin not only highlighted his position as commander of the expedition but also made a point of referring to the orders that had allegedly been disobeyed as emanating from himself as well as from King.<sup>48</sup> He intended to determine to what extent the rumours were founded and “to

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comme de celui de ceux qui vous ont accompagné, ou aux propos indiscrets qu'on a tenu a ce sujet, propos que l'ignorance de nos usages auroient au moins dû suspendre jusqu'à une plus [p. 959] ample information. Vous pourriez me dire pour vous excuser, ainsi que ceux qui se sont plaints, que votre façon de pavoiser les bâtiments n'est pas la même; mais dans ce cas j'aurois à vous répondre que ne la connoissent pas, je ne me serois jamais permis la moindre observation, et que je n'aurois pu m'imaginer que ce fut par mépris ou tout autre raisons aussi peu concéquentes que vous n'auriez pas placé le pavillion français dans le lieu établis par nos règlements pour le pavillion de toute nation à laqu'elle on doit des égards”.

<sup>46</sup> Baudin expressed this view clearly when he commented to Harris that “What happened to the *Casuarina*, which, *like me*, flew the English flag on the starboard of her main yard arm, and not in the place it pleased you to point out, is too public to be revoked in case of doubt” [Baudin’s italics]. See the letter from Nicolas Baudin to John Harris, written at Port Jackson and dated 1 vendémiaire an XI [23 September 1802], *HRNSW*, vol. IV, p. 960; p. 959: “Ce qui est arrivé au Casuarina qui portoit comme moi *le pavillon anglais à sa grande vergue du côté de Stribord*, et non pas dans le lieu qu'il vous a plu d'indiquer, est trop publique pour être révoqué en doute”.

<sup>47</sup> Letter from Nicolas Baudin to Philip Gidley King, written at Port Jackson and dated 4 October 1802, *HRNSW*, vol. IV, pp. 975-976.

<sup>48</sup> Letter from Nicolas Baudin to Philip Gidley King, written at Port Jackson and dated 4 October 1802, *HRNSW*, vol. IV, pp. 975-976; pp. 974.

ascertain [...] who could be those of the officers serving in the expedition, the commanding of which is entrusted to me, who had dared to disobey your orders and mine in a manner so contrary to the laws of honour of our Navy – laws with which you are fully acquainted”.<sup>49</sup> In this way, he reminded King of his rank, his thorough understanding of navy protocol and the fact that it was he who was in command of the French officers. Finally, it should also be noted that, while he defended his men, Baudin showed that he had nothing to hide and in fact was willing to facilitate King’s own investigation. He wrote:

The information I have collected from all sides has convinced me that no French officers, either on *Le Géographe*, *Le Naturaliste* or *Le Casuarina*, are guilty of the offence they have been charged with committing; but as that information is only personal to me, and did not satisfy the accuser of my officers, I have ordered Messrs. Saint Cric and Freycinet to go at once and see you to answer personally for their conduct. As these two officers had been particularly pointed out, what they have to say will enable you to see whether they have merited being thus called before the tribunal of public opinion.<sup>50</sup>

This direct but conciliatory approach was undoubtedly intended to uphold, once more, the honour due to himself and to his expedition. It also appears to have added to the considerable embarrassment that this entire affair caused Governor King. This time, King was on the back foot. He pointed out to Paterson that Kemp’s actions had caused a

misunderstanding between the Commodore and the French officers with myself, and every other military officer in the garrison, a misunderstanding which can only tend to do away with the sense they may entertain of the attentions they have hitherto acknowledged, cause an opinion but little honourable to the character of the British officers, and ultimately become the subject of representation between His Majesty and the French Republic, a circumstance that cannot be pleasing to any.<sup>51</sup>

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<sup>49</sup> Letter from Nicolas Baudin to Philip Gidley King, 4 October 1802, *HRNSW*, vol. IV, pp. 976-977; p. 975: “je ferois tous mes efforts pour découvrir [...] qu'ils pouvoient être ceux des officiers qui servent dans l'expédition dont le commandement m'est confié qui avoient osé enfreindre vos ordres et les miens d'une manière si contraire aux lois d'honneur de notre marine militaire, lois qui vous sont parfaitement connues”.

<sup>50</sup> Letter from Nicolas Baudin to Philip Gidley King, 4 October 1802, *HRNSW*, vol. IV, pp. 977; pp. 975-976: “Les renseignements de toutes espèces que je me suis procuré m'ont convaincu qu'aucun officier français, soit à bord du *Naturaliste* ou du *Casuarina*, ne s'est rendu coupable du délit dont il a été accusé; mais comme des informations qui m'étoient personnelles ne satisfaisoient l'accusateur de mes officiers, j'ai donné ordre à Messieurs St. Cric et Freycinet de se rendre immédiatement chez vous, pour répondre en personne de leur conduite, ces deux officiers ayant été particulièrement désigné. Ce qu'ils ont de vous dire vous aura mis à même de juger s'ils ont mérité d'être cités en public”.

<sup>51</sup> Letter from Philip Gidley King to William Paterson, written at Sydney dated 4 October 1802, *HRNSW*, vol. IV, p. 980. It is worth noting that this affair caused some conflict between King and Paterson, whose relationship had already begun to deteriorate as they battled to bring about changes within the privileged NSW officer corps.

King would already have been conscious of the need to maintain cordial relations with the French, particularly given the unstable political climate in 1802, yet it does appear that Baudin's dignified response to the accusations made against his officers encouraged him to recognise his guest's status as a representative of the Republic of France.

The subtle jostling over authority that was on-going between Baudin and King extended from the details of the sojourn to the imperial interests of their respective governments. Their correspondence with each other, as well as Baudin's letters to Paris, indicate that they had ventured to debate the legitimacy of French and British claims to Tasmania.<sup>52</sup> In a letter to the Minister of Marine and the Colonies, the commander noted with regret that "the English" (this seems to refer to King) were in fear of the French establishing a settlement at D'Entrecasteaux Channel. The British government had claimed sovereignty, he explained, over Van Diemen's Land and, out of fear of having the French as neighbours as well as to strengthen their claim, they intended to occupy this part of the island.<sup>53</sup> Later, from King Island, Baudin wrote to the governor explaining that the French government in fact had no intention, to his knowledge, of settling Tasmania. Nevertheless, the claims of his nation to the region were considerably stronger, he argued, than those of the British: French explorers had examined the island more thoroughly and produced more accurate charts of it than had their English counterparts.<sup>54</sup> This view was of great interest to King and he wrote of it to Banks soon after the Baudin expedition had set sail from Port Jackson.<sup>55</sup> In fact, his correspondence from this period shows that he harboured strong concerns about French intentions in the region. As Bouvier and Maynial state, however, any suspicions he had about

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See D. S. Macmillan, "Paterson, William (1755-1820)", in *Australian Dictionary of Biography*, vol. 2 (Carlton: Melbourne University Press, 1967), p. 318.

<sup>52</sup> See the letter from Nicolas Baudin to the Minister of Marine and Colonies, written at Port Jackson and dated 20 brumaire an XI [11 November 1802], ANF, SM, BB4995, and the letter from Nicolas Baudin to Philip Gidley King, written at Sydney and dated 23 December 1802, reproduced in *HRNSW*, vol. V, p. 826.

<sup>53</sup> Letter from Nicolas Baudin to the Minister of Marine and the Colonies, written at Port Jackson and dated 20 brumaire an XI [11 November 1802].

<sup>54</sup> Letter from Nicolas Baudin to Philip Gidley King, written at Sydney and dated 23 December 1802, reproduced in *HRNSW*, vol. V, p. 826-827.

<sup>55</sup> Letter from Philip Gidley King to Joseph Banks, written at Sydney and dated 9 May 1803, *HRNSW*, vol. V, p. 133.

the purpose of Baudin's voyage itself were quelled by the commander.<sup>56</sup> Baudin was open about the objectives of his expedition and about the plans of his government, as far as he was aware of them, throughout the sojourn. As mentioned earlier, when he arrived in the colony he gave King access to all of the papers and charts relating to the voyage. King mentioned this, also, to Banks.<sup>57</sup> No doubt, Baudin's openness and honesty helped to maintain positive relations between himself and the governor: it indicated that he was trustworthy and it enabled King to gain from the sojourn himself by obtaining valuable information about the expedition's scientific discoveries and French views regarding Australia.

The discussions between Baudin and King about colonial expansion were diplomatic discussions; however, the records indicate that they were carried out with candour indicative of friendship. The two men were drawn together by similar age, rank and backgrounds, a common interest in natural history and the fact that they both knew the "loneliness of authority".<sup>58</sup> Their friendship was not, however, simply a fortuitous development. A.W. Jose remarks that at Port Jackson the French commander "behaved impeccably, and – this is worth noting – was accepted by King, no hail-fellow-well-met man, not only as a distinguished visitor, but as a personal friend."<sup>59</sup> He demonstrated his affection for King with a degree of warmth that leaves no doubt as to his sincerity, and expressed a desire to continue the friendship, following his departure from Port Jackson, through a regular correspondence.<sup>60</sup> In response, the "moody, maudlin and gout-ridden" Englishman, so Manning Clark describes him,<sup>61</sup> showed his regard for Baudin through actions rather than the written word. He kept a souvenir of the Frenchman's visit: a portrait sketched at his request. He also issued Baudin with a letter of "introduction to [the] protection and good offices" of Sir Joseph Banks in his

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<sup>56</sup> Bouvier and Maynial, *Une aventure dans les mers australes*, p. 179.

<sup>57</sup> Letter from Philip Gidley King to Joseph Banks, written at Sydney and dated 9 May 1803, *HRNSW*, vol. V, p. 133.

<sup>58</sup> Horner, *The French Reconnaissance*, p. 253.

<sup>59</sup> A. W. Jose, "Nicolas Baudin", *Royal Australian Historical Society: Journal and Proceedings*, vol. 20 (1934), p. 360.

<sup>60</sup> Letter from Nicolas Baudin to Philip Gidley King, written on board the *Géographe* at Port Jackson and dated 16 November 1802, *HRNSW*, vol. IV, pp. 1005-1006.

<sup>61</sup> C. M. H. Clark, *A History of Australia*, vol. I *From the Earliest Times to the Age of Macquarie* (Melbourne: University of Melbourne Press, 1968), p. 161.

position as President of the Royal Society.<sup>62</sup> It informed Banks that King had “taken the liberty of introducing a worthy and respectable officer to [Banks’s] list of scientific and literary acquaintances”.<sup>63</sup> While he clearly held Baudin in high esteem, however, King was first and foremost a politician. In 1803, he remarked to Lord Hobart that he deemed the establishment of a British settlement at Van Diemen’s Land “the more essential from the inclination the French have shewn to keep up a correspondence here”.<sup>64</sup> Did he truly suspect that Baudin had an ulterior motive in maintaining contact with him? It is more than likely that he wanted to avoid appearing as though he was aiding the French in their supposed attempt to prepare a claim on Tasmania. A friendship established in circumstances so fraught with imperial concerns as these was bound to become entangled in politics and, in any case, King’s suspicions lay with the French government rather than with Baudin personally.

As Forfait had instructed, the French commander behaved towards his host with “propriety” and honourably represented his nation. His conduct was, perhaps, not as “reserved” as the minister had advised, but that was because, as his stay in Sydney lengthened, he was able to relate to King as a close friend. His authoritative behaviour served to maintain his control over the expedition and was exercised judiciously, complementing King’s own efforts to ensure a harmonious sojourn. It was also balanced by a high degree of honesty and openness, which helped to prevent King’s political concerns – and the influence of the omnipresent Joseph Banks – from inhibiting Baudin’s access to accommodation and resources in the port.

### ***Getting Down to Business: Negotiating the Purchase of Supplies***

With authorisation from King to carry out his campaign preparations in the colony, Baudin set about establishing contacts throughout Port Jackson and entering into negotiations over biscuit, liquor and other shipboard necessities. The expedition’s provisions had been depleted

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<sup>62</sup> Letter from Philip Gidley King to Joseph Banks, written at Sydney and dated 10 November 1802, ANF, SM 5JJ53.

<sup>63</sup> Letter from Philip Gidley King to Joseph Banks, 10 November 1802.

during the first campaign; before returning to sea, and with scarce funds at his disposal, Baudin needed to purchase supplies for almost 200 men on three ships, one sailing to France and two setting out on perhaps another 12 months of exploration. While it is known that he succeeded in this task, we are yet to learn precisely how he approached and handled his commercial exchanges to that end. Fortunately, records of two of his particularly significant deals offer such insight.

The first of these deals concerned the commissary of Port Jackson, John Palmer. While the position of commissary was not highly respected in the colony, Palmer was one of Port Jackson's principal civil officers and a widely esteemed "gentleman". He is described as enterprising, active and adventurous<sup>65</sup> – qualities which would have given him much in common with Baudin. Nonetheless, in negotiating with him over the purchase of campaign supplies, Baudin showed no hesitation in challenging Palmer and imposing demands on him as his subordinate. An example of this is provided by a letter in which Palmer responds to complaints made by the commander. Baudin, acknowledged the commissary, had "been obliged by Duty and by Honour to complain" that the quantity of biscuit he had ordered was not ready by the time Palmer had promised "according to his word of honour", but also that the commissary had been supplying other ships with biscuit intended for the French and, finally, that Palmer had taken on additional engagements that would put him further behind schedule.<sup>66</sup> All this, Baudin had complained, would delay the expedition's departure. Further, the commander had stated further that if his ships were detained, he would inform the British government that it had been Palmer who occasioned the delay.<sup>67</sup> Not surprisingly, given such a threat, Palmer responded defensively but with clear deference to Baudin. He explained the cause of the delay and made a point of thanking Baudin for his cooperation – "I admit Sir,

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<sup>64</sup> Letter from Philip Gidley King to Lord Hobart, written at Sydney and dated 7 August 1803, *HRNSW*, vol. IV, pp. 199-201.

<sup>65</sup> M. Steven, "Palmer, John (1760 - 1833)", *Australian Dictionary of Biography*, vol. 2 (Carlton: Melbourne University Press, 1967), pp. 309-311.

<sup>66</sup> Letter from John Palmer to Nicolas Baudin, written at Sydney and dated 13 September 1802, ANF, SM, 5JJ53. It is to be noted that in much of Baudin's correspondence with the merchants of Sydney, communication took place in English, which means that for this and other such letters in this chapter, there is no original French version of the letters in question. This accounts for the occasional awkwardness of Baudin's expression.

<sup>67</sup> Letter from John Palmer to Nicolas Baudin, 13 September 1802.

you have on all occasions assisted me in anything I have required of you, to favour the baking of the biscuit” – and even accepted Baudin’s threat with grace, perhaps even complicity: “you certainly must be the best judge of what is necessary for you to do, to do away any censure that may be made by your Government for your detention in this Port”.<sup>68</sup> He concluded with the promise that, as requested, he would have 20,000 pounds of biscuit, or 25,000 if possible, ready for Baudin in 20 days from the date of this letter.<sup>69</sup> Baudin’s authoritative approach clearly worked: the officers on the *Géographe* were kept busy throughout the first half of October collecting, embarking and storing supplies of biscuit.<sup>70</sup>

Baudin’s negotiations with H.Weld Noble, agent of the American merchant ship *Fanny*, were carried out in an equally resolute manner. This time, though, it was not supply but the method of payment that was the cause of contention. Having ordered a large quantity of campaign supplies, Baudin offered to pay Noble with bills of exchange on the French government, but Noble had some reservations. He explained to the commander:

your bills must be drawn at ninety days – and you must allow me 10 percent discount – this is but just, for, tho’ I really think your bills as good as any paper in the universe; and if I were going to America would readily take them without discount yet, as I must negotiate them in a British settlement, where probably you have no public agent; if I sell them at all, it must be at a great loss [...]. To convince you that I want no advantage, if you or myself can change the property into Government Bills, or those of the payments, before I go away I shall prefer the method to carrying on your bills at so great risk.<sup>71</sup>

Baudin was clearly displeased with Noble’s suggestion: “I am unused to making bargains”, he declared.<sup>72</sup> Instead of pursuing the issue, he commissioned Palmer to transact the purchases he required from the *Fanny* and told Noble, firmly, that he would take his offer concerning the purchase of spirits but would pay six shillings per gallon, the price King had mentioned, rather than seven. Further, he indicated that he was ready to pay Noble either by an order on the British commissary or by a bill of exchange on the French government. In concluding, Baudin pointed out that he would be “obliged to request the protection of the Gov<sup>t</sup>. as a

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<sup>68</sup> Letter from John Palmer to Nicolas Baudin, 13 September 1802.

<sup>69</sup> Letter from John Palmer to Nicolas Baudin, 13 September 1802.

<sup>70</sup> *Table de loch* of the *Géographe*, 4 fructidor an X au 24 vendémiaire an XI.

<sup>71</sup> Letter from H. Weld Noble to Nicolas Baudin, written at Sydney and dated 24 July 1802, ANF, SM, 5JJ53.

French Officer Commanding a national frigate distressed for provisions which it is in your power to supply, but which you appear to evade”.<sup>73</sup> Perhaps Baudin over-reacted, for Noble was willing to supply him with the requested articles, but was simply limited in the type of payment he could accept. It must be remembered, though, that the expedition was in urgent need of the requested supplies – rum, beef, pork – and Baudin, having run short of funds and with no contacts in the colony, was not in a position to compromise. He sought the most efficient solution to the problem. Noble’s prompt response shows that he had been offended by Baudin’s letter and, understandably, he was defensive. However, he acquiesced to Baudin’s demands and even proposed that the commander himself nominate the discount he was willing to make.<sup>74</sup> Moreover, although Noble and Baudin had both taken offence, the disagreement does not appear to have caused any wider hostility: Noble later gave Baudin two birds to add to the expedition’s natural history collection.<sup>75</sup> In the end, the deal was transacted not without discord but to the satisfaction of Baudin and the benefit of the expedition.

The commander’s correspondence with Noble and Palmer, which clearly expresses the pressures and sentiments on each side, demonstrates that to fulfil his requirements for the next voyage Baudin was required to be constantly resourceful and at times uncompromising. His task was not easy. Clearly, it is inadequate to claim simply that the expedition was “fortunate” to receive King’s assistance in revictualling the ships – without reference to Baudin’s tireless efforts.<sup>76</sup> A cooperative attitude on the part of King and others in the colony was, of course, valuable, but the *Géographe*, the *Naturaliste* and the *Casuarina* would not have left Port Jackson heavily laden with supplies had it not been for Baudin’s negotiating skills and determination.

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<sup>72</sup> Letter from Nicolas Baudin to H. Weld Noble, written at Sydney and undated, ANF, SM 5JJ53.

<sup>73</sup> Letter from Nicolas Baudin to H. Weld Noble, undated.

<sup>74</sup> Letter from H. Weld Noble to Nicolas Baudin, written at Sydney and dated 24 July 1802.

<sup>75</sup> Letter from H. Weld Noble to Nicolas Baudin, written at Sydney and dated 29 September 1802 ANF, SM, 5JJ53.

<sup>76</sup> See Duyker, *François Péron*, p. 138.



## ***Conclusion***

From the moment the *Géographe* sailed into Sydney Harbour and Baudin asked after Flinders, until it set out from the port followed by the *Naturaliste* and the *Casuarina*; from the governor, to fellow explorers, to mercantile agents, Baudin developed relationships that would help to ensure a cordial sojourn and facilitate his preparations for the next stage of the voyage. He asserted his authority forcefully at times and thereby perhaps risked provoking hostility on the part of the colonists. And, while he dispelled any ideas that his expedition sought to claim territory, he could not dismiss deeper fears, held particularly by King and Banks, of French interference in the British colonial project. However, Baudin clearly had adequate experience and political skill to manage the situation. The good will of the colonists and others in the port played a fundamental role in the renewal of the Baudin expedition, but the results would not have been remarkable – indeed the second campaign may not have transpired – without the diplomatic efforts of the commander.



## *Discipline, Honour & Command*

While lodging ashore in Sydney, attending to mercantile and diplomatic duties, Baudin resolutely maintained direct command of the *Géographe*. For this, he has been severely criticised. Frank Horner argues that Baudin should have delegated responsibility for shipboard matters to one of his senior officers, because his efforts to manage the vessel from ashore were “ineffective”, even “hopeless”.<sup>1</sup> He claims that there was no recognised line of authority and sets a scene of overall disarray and discontent aboard the *Géographe*.<sup>2</sup> Since the publication of Horner’s *The French Reconnaissance* in 1987, this view has gone unquestioned; yet, if it is true that Baudin failed to control his men, would not the sojourn have been plagued by serious disciplinary issues – unruly, even mutinous, conduct, such as occurred at Mauritius and Timor? In fact, sources show that, while there were disagreements and instances of misbehaviour, the five-month sojourn at Port Jackson passed relatively smoothly. Baudin’s command could not have been entirely ineffectual. This issue therefore needs to be studied in greater depth and within a broader context. By analysing the records of daily life aboard the *Géographe*, considering Baudin’s views on leadership and his mission, and drawing on recent scholarship about shipboard politics during this era of Pacific voyaging, it will be possible to clarify the state of order that existed aboard the *Géographe* and to develop an understanding of Baudin’s style of command during the Port Jackson stay.

An appreciation of the nature and details of shipboard life is integral to this study. In port, just as at sea, order aboard the ship was closely linked to a system of hierarchy. At each level there were particular responsibilities, routines and boundaries. There was also a particular naval culture which further defined a man’s place in the hierarchy and, simultaneously, affected how he saw his role and how he was seen by others. Each of these

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<sup>1</sup> F. Horner, *The French Reconnaissance: Baudin in Australia, 1801-1803* (Carlton: Melbourne University Press, 1987), pp. 255-256.

factors influenced how men related to their peers, subordinates and superiors. Fundamentally, the smooth running of the ship depended on each man fulfilling his given duties and keeping his place. When the ship called into port, however, circumstances changed and the regular dynamics on board were disrupted and replaced by a new set of relationships. These aspects of shipboard life formed the basis of the state of discipline, honour and command aboard the *Géographe* and they consequently provide a useful basis for examining the level of order that existed upon the ship at Port Jackson. Therefore, we will first consider how life aboard the *Géographe* changed after it anchored in Port Jackson, before studying, in turn, the conduct and experiences of the sailors, the officers and, finally, the commander.

### **The *Géographe* at Anchor**

Greg Denning states that a ship in port is an ambivalent, or liminal, space.<sup>3</sup> No matter how much the captain – typically preoccupied with business on shore – attempted to maintain a sense of order on board, routine inevitably slipped, activity slowed, formalities were neglected, and the limits defining the world of the ship faded and merged with the less stringent conditions of life on shore. It was difficult in port to continue imposing these limits, which were based on routine, responsibilities and regulations. That is one reason why commanders usually tried to keep their stopovers as short as possible. Denning points out that Captain James Cook “would never have stayed five months in one place. He would have been off „discovering“”.<sup>4</sup> He describes, too, the disaster that resulted when Captain Bligh, preoccupied with “diplomacy and the botany of his breadfruit”, failed to keep “an eye for maintenance and for busyness, the busyness that good order required”.<sup>5</sup> Baudin, unlike Cook, did choose to stay in one place for five months, yet, unlike Bligh, he endeavoured to preserve the world, or space, of the ship while he did so. To understand the degree to which life aboard the *Géographe* changed at Port Jackson while at the same time, through the commander’s

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<sup>2</sup> Horner, *The French Reconnaissance*, p. 255.

<sup>3</sup> G. Denning, *Mr Bligh’s Bad Language: Passion, Power and Theatre on the Bounty* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1992), pp. 85 and 121.

<sup>4</sup> Denning, *Mr Bligh’s Bad Language*, p. 85.

efforts, remaining under control, it will be useful to consider how Baudin dealt with matters of space, hierarchy, regulations and activity.

Within a week of arriving in the port, Baudin, the scientists, the patients and the doctors all moved ashore, creating significantly more space on the ship. At the same time, the men remaining on board were allowed to venture beyond the confines of the *Géographe*: officers frequently spent a day in town, sometimes the sailors did too, and teams of men left the ship each day to carry out various tasks. These movements further extended the personal space of the officers and crew, and undoubtedly gave them a sense of freedom. This situation also blurred the boundaries that separated each rank, which led to certain men attempting to assume more power or privilege than they were actually entitled to or, conversely, avoiding their responsibilities.

In fact, it would seem that there was not only more space on the *Géographe* but also less authority – particularly given the absence of the commander. However, Baudin took measures to impose an authoritative presence aboard his ship. He put in place a chain of command with himself clearly at its head, closely supervising shipboard affairs, and he demanded that at least two senior officers remain on deck at all times.<sup>6</sup> These measures also served more broadly to preserve what John Gascoigne refers to as the “lilliputian polity”<sup>7</sup> or hierarchical ordering which, as mentioned, was an important part of shipboard life but which, during the sojourn, must have been disturbed by the many absences and the regular comings-and-goings between ship and shore.

This framework of authority and responsibility was supported by regulations that Baudin designed specifically for the Port Jackson stay. An expedition at anchor for five months in British territory required different rules from those of an expedition at sea, and a copy of his instructions from the Minister of Marine, which was kept in the logbook of the *Géographe*, authorised Baudin to handle this situation by using his discretion:

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<sup>5</sup> Dening, *Mr Bligh's Bad Language*, p. 85.

<sup>6</sup> *Table de loch* of the *Géographe*, 8 prairial to 13 messidor, An X, entry made by Ronsard and dated 3 messidor [22 June 1802], ANF, SM, 5JJ25.

<sup>7</sup> J. Gascoigne, *Captain Cook: Voyager between Worlds* (London: Continuum Books, 2007), p. 60.

The First Consul, considering that the sole way to achieve complete success on your glorious expedition is to oblige you to follow only those laws and regulations of the military marine that are in keeping with the circumstances in which you will find yourself, leaves you at liberty to establish on board the ships entrusted to you whatever form of service, regulation and discipline that you believe appropriate to maintain subordination and punctiliousness in the duties that each one of those accompanying you will have to carry out.<sup>8</sup>

It is appropriate to note, at this point, that there exists another version of these instructions which, though it is dated the same, does not include this clause.<sup>9</sup> This has prompted Edward Duyker to make the serious accusation that Baudin “forged” the above passage.<sup>10</sup> There is as yet no evidence to support this charge, and, in any case, the version of the regulations that Baudin introduced at Port Jackson was hardly controversial. Indeed, the rules set out in the ship’s log were critical in counterbalancing the negative effects of staying in a foreign port. As discussed in the previous chapter, the act of imposing a special set of regulations which complemented the rules laid out for the expedition by Governor Philip Gidley King served to uphold Baudin’s status as commander of the expedition. Furthermore, these regulations offset the freedom created by the increased amount of space which the naval staff enjoyed in the port by limiting the men’s movements, setting constraints on their conduct ashore and

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<sup>8</sup> “Le Premier Consul ayant pensé que le seul moyen d’obtenir un succès complet dans votre glorieuse expédition était de ne vous assujettir à suivre des lois et règlements de la marine militaire que ce qui s’accordera avec les circonstances où vous vous trouverez, vous laisse la liberté d’établir à bord des vaisseaux qui vous sont confiés, telle forme de service, règlement et discipline que vous croyez propre à maintenir la subordination et l’exactitude dans les devoirs que chacun de ceux qui vous accompagnent aura à remplir”, letter from the Minister of Marine and the Colonies to Nicolas Baudin, written in Paris and dated 7 vendémiaire an IX [29 September 1800], in *Table de loch* of the *Géographe*, ANF, SM 5JJ25, inserted at the opening for 16-17 ventôse an IX [7 March 1801].

<sup>9</sup> This other version states, in contrast to the clause quoted above, that Baudin must simply “observe, on all points, the laws and regulations of naval service”. While much of this version, which is held in the Archives Nationales de France, is identical to the one which appears in the logbook of the *Géographe*, there are a number of differences. In addition to the clause quoted above, there are other instructions in the logbook copy that do not appear in this other version, or are phrased differently. These instructions concern the midshipmen, the behaviour required of the officers and other expeditioners in port, Baudin’s right to replace officers whose conduct he deems detrimental to the expedition, rules prohibiting speculation and ordering that journals, reports and scientific collections be submitted to the commander at the end of the voyage, advice concerning discipline and about not staying too long at anchor. See the letter from the Minister of Marine and the Colonies, written in Paris and dated 7 vendémiaire an IX [29 September 1800], ANF, SM, BB4995. This letter has also been reproduced in J. Bonnemains (ed.), *Mon voyage aux Terres australes: journal personnel du commandant Baudin, illustré par Lesueur et Petit* (Paris: Imprimerie Nationale Éditions, 2001), pp. 98-100.

<sup>10</sup> E. Duyker, *François Péron: An Impetuous Life* (Melbourne: The Miegunyah Press, 2006), p. 67.

restricting the number of expeditioners who took lodgings in Sydney.<sup>11</sup> The regulations were presented by lieutenant François-Michel Ronsard to the officers in the *chambre du conseil*, and to the crew on the rear forecabin. They were therefore made clear to all on board.<sup>12</sup> Over the duration of the sojourn, they were followed by regular reminders and additions which were likewise read out to the staff by the officer on duty. Although these regulations were different from those the men were used to following at sea, and they might consequently have taken some time to become used to them, they played a vital role in reinforcing the line that separated the ship from the shore.

Further changes to life aboard the *Géographe* concerned ritual, duties and activity. As Denning explains, continuity and busyness were essential to the maintenance of order: “on a ship [...] every event needed to be predictable, every instinct instinctual.”<sup>13</sup> During the Port Jackson sojourn, however, many of the men’s usual daily duties were unnecessary. Baudin quickly established new routines to replace them. The need to refit the ship, careen and repair her, and embark and stow supplies, among many other tasks, meant that the sailors, midshipmen and officers were almost constantly occupied. Instead of a collapse in routine and activity, then, there was only a brief period of transition to a new set of activities.

These measures would seem to have successfully counteracted the ambivalent nature of life on the *Géographe* in port. Baudin established clear boundaries, restricting movement between the ship and the shore, and kept in place a distinct shipboard lifestyle, regulated by routine, duties and a familiar hierarchy. This was essential to maintaining successful and effective command. However, it remains to be determined how well this approach actually functioned on deck.

### ***A Matter of Discipline: The Crew***

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<sup>11</sup> *Journal nautique tenu pendant la campagne de découvertes commandée par le Capitaine de vaisseau Nicolas Baudin, à bord de la corvette le Géographe, par Monsieur Ronsard, officier du génie maritime et lieutenant de vaisseau*, ANF, SM 5JJ29, entry dated 3 messidor, an X [22 June 1802].

<sup>12</sup> *Table de Loch* of the *Géographe*, 8 prairial to 13 messidor, an X, entry made by Ronsard and dated 3 messidor [22 June 1802].

<sup>13</sup> Denning, *Mr Bligh’s Bad Language*, p. 82.

The crew was central to the running of the ship. It constituted the largest part of the ship's complement and was responsible for the innumerable and fundamental everyday tasks without which the ship could not sail. However much of a cliché it may be, the crew was the engine of the ship, and the midshipmen, the officers and the commander were responsible for keeping it running smoothly. In another sense, the sailors tended to be viewed by their superiors almost as children. They were supervised carefully and their conduct, particularly their misconduct, was one of the most common topics of discussion among the officers. The way in which the officers shared supervision of the sailors and their affairs was determined according to the ship's hierarchical system. Midshipmen oversaw most of the sailors' daily tasks, but the responsibility for their behaviour and well-being fell most heavily upon the senior officers, who were in turn accountable to the commander.<sup>14</sup> The level of order maintained "below deck", then, is a valuable indicator of how effectively the line of authority was working aboard the *Géographe*.

On this issue, the entries made in the logbook of the *Géographe* reveal an interesting fact. Despite not holding the highest naval rank, the sub-lieutenants were put in charge of the ship while on guard duty, and some sailors clearly respected their authority less than that of the lieutenants. The sailors appear to have rarely defied lieutenants François-Michel Ronsard and Henri Freycinet, but some frequently disobeyed sub-lieutenants Gaspard Bonnefoy and Joseph Ransonnet. The situation reached its most serious point when petty officer Jean-Pierre Billard hit Ransonnet in the face.<sup>15</sup> Bonnefoy and Ransonnet were less self-assured and assertive than Henri Freycinet and Ronsard. They had not long been promoted from the rank of midshipman and, at Port Jackson, they took charge of the ship, in Baudin's absence, for the first time. To make matters worse, there was evident discord between the sub-lieutenants and their immediate superiors. While the relationship between the officers will be discussed

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<sup>14</sup> This is evident in the entries made by the officers in the logbooks of the *Géographe*. See *Tables de loch* of the *Géographe*, 8 prairial to 13 messidor [28 May to 2 July 1802], an X, 13 messidor to 4 fructidor an X [2 July to 22 August 1802], 4 fructidor an X to 24 vendémiaire an XI [22 August to 16 October 1802] and 25 vendémiaire to 7 frimaire, an XI [17 October to 28 November 1802].

<sup>15</sup> *Table de Loch* of the *Géographe*, 25 vendémiaire to 7 frimaire, an X, entry made by Ransonnet and dated 30 vendémiaire [22 October 1802].



further on, there is one point that is useful to observe here. Bonnefoy and Ransonnet, when on guard duty, restrained disobedient sailors by placing them in irons for a set period of time; however, on occasion, Ronsard took it upon himself to release the men early.<sup>16</sup> He consequently undermined the authority of the sub-lieutenants with respect to their subordinates.

The sailors' tendency to challenge Bonnefoy and Ransonnet would undoubtedly have come to the attention of Baudin, given that he was shown a daily report of events on board. However, there is no indication that he tried to resolve the situation, presumably because it had not been significantly disrupting the running of the ship. It is also possible that he chose not to step in on behalf of his sub-lieutenants because it might discredit them further in the eyes of the crewmen. Equally, he may have wanted Bonnefoy and Ransonnet to use these opportunities of being in charge of the *Géographe* to develop their sense of authority and to improve their leadership skills. As Dening points out, it was important that a commander allow his men to "find their own levels of authority independent of his".<sup>17</sup> Bonnefoy and Ransonnet would be shown greater respect from their subordinates if they earned it independently.

Moreover, it is important to note that it was only *certain* sailors who were guilty of insubordinate behaviour towards the two sub-lieutenants. Most often, it was the same man: petty-officer Nicolas Gosselin. In fact, there were few serious incidents of misconduct among the members of the crew at Port Jackson and, as the sojourn drew to a close, it was only crew members, of all the men on the expedition, who received promotions.<sup>18</sup>

Much of the credit for the sound discipline that existed overall among the sailors must go to the commander. In addition to setting up clear, firm boundaries and ensuring that the sailors were kept busy, Baudin remained attentive to the well-being of his crew throughout

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<sup>16</sup> *Table de Loch* of the *Géographe*, 4 fructidor an X to 24 vendémiaire an XI, entry made by Bonnefoy and dated 8 fructidor [22 August 1802]; *Table de loch* of the *Géographe*, 25 vendémiaire to 7 frimaire an XI, entry made by Ransonnet and dated 30 vendémiaire [22 October 1802].

<sup>17</sup> Dening, *Mr Bligh's Bad Language*, pp. 71-72.

<sup>18</sup> *Journal de Navigation Du L.<sup>t</sup> de V.<sup>au</sup> H.<sup>ty</sup>. Freycinet, embarqué sur la Corvette de La république f.<sup>se</sup> Le géographe. An 11 de la R.<sup>que</sup> f.<sup>se</sup>*, ANF, SM 5JJ34, entry made 12 brumaire an XI [3 November 1802].

the sojourn. Despite his lack of funds, he purchased new clothes for the expedition's entire crew, including yards of scarlet cloth and serge,<sup>19</sup> gave the sailors money to spend during their leisure time on shore<sup>20</sup> and made their medical care one of his highest priorities. He assigned Ransonnet the responsibility for inspecting the sailors and informing them of when they needed to wash themselves, as well as deciding when it was time for them to clean their laundry.<sup>21</sup> Furthermore, the crew found no need to complain about the quality or quantity of their daily provisions. Baudin was evidently conscious, just as he had been during the previous stopovers,<sup>22</sup> of the fact that, as Dening puts it, "when it came to captains who were also pursers, sailors' stomachs were also spaces of power".<sup>23</sup> Finally, despite being on shore most of the time, he remained fully abreast of circumstances aboard the *Géographe*. Although the officer on guard duty was generally responsible for managing discipline, Baudin, who was determined to ensure that punishments were just and reasonable,<sup>24</sup> prohibited the officers from imposing any punishments without his direct order. When a sailor misbehaved, the officer on guard duty was required to restrain him aboard the ship and report the incident to Baudin. From time to time, the officers also received further orders instructing them to impose or end particular punishments.<sup>25</sup> Similarly, while it was usually up to the officers to organise the crew's shore leave, Baudin sometimes saw fit to order a group of sailors to be

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<sup>19</sup> N. Baudin, "Compte général de mes dépenses relatives aux bâtiments de la République, le *Géographe*, le *Naturaliste* et le *Casuarina*, pendant la relâche au Port Jackson, Nouvelle Hollande", ANF, SM, BB4997.

<sup>20</sup> Baudin believed in the importance of allowing the sailors time for relaxation when in port. C. Cornell (trans.), *The Journal of Post-Captain Nicolas Baudin* (Adelaide: Libraries Board of South Australia, 1974), p. 123; N. Baudin, *Journal du Cap<sup>ne</sup> de vaisseau N<sup>o</sup> Baudin, Commandant en chef Les Corvettes Le Géographe et le Naturaliste destinées par ordre Du Gouvernement à un voyage de découvertes*, entry made entry dated 27 ventôse an IX [18 March 1801], ANF, SM, 5JJ37.

<sup>21</sup> *Table de Loch* of the *Géographe*, 13 messidor to 4 fructidor, an X, entry dated 17 messidor an X [6 July 1802].

<sup>22</sup> At Mauritius, Baudin was acutely conscious that failing to provide the crew with good quality food in ample quantities would lead to desertions. See Baudin, *Journal of Baudin*, p. 125; Baudin, *Journal de mer*, ANF, SM, 5JJ37, entry made 2 germinal an IX [23 March 1801].

<sup>23</sup> Dening, *Mr Bligh's Bad Language*, p. 23.

<sup>24</sup> Jean Fornasiero, Peter Monteath and John West-Sooby point out that Baudin had few disciplinary problems, in general, with the seamen. The punishments he imposed, moreover, were reasonable for the time and he would not persist if he had any doubt about the allegations or the fitness of the seaman to receive the punishment. See J. Fornasiero, P. Monteath and J. West-Sooby, *Encountering Terra Australis: the Australian Voyages of Nicolas Baudin and Matthew Flinders* (Kent Town: Wakefield Press, 2004), p. 293.

<sup>25</sup> *Table de loch* of the *Géographe*, 13 messidor to 4 fructidor an X, entries made by Henri Freycinet and dated 19 messidor an X [8 July 1802] and by Bonnefoy, dated 2 fructidor an X [20 August 1802]; *Table de loch* of the *Géographe*, 4 fructidor an X to 24 vendémiaire an XI, entry made by Ransonnet and dated 22 fructidor [9 September 1802] by Bonnefoy, dated 25 fructidor an X [12 September 1802].

sent ashore for relaxation.<sup>26</sup> Horner points out, tentatively, that the *Géographe* does not seem to have been an unhappy ship below decks<sup>27</sup> but, given these details, it could be claimed with confidence that during the Port Jackson stay the crew had ample reason to be content, and by all accounts they were.

It was, in fact, by effectively balancing the personal well-being of the sailors with firm management of their activities that Baudin succeeded in maintaining a good level of order and discipline amongst the crew. Notably, he achieved this despite the fact that the sailors had discovered a certain weakness in the officers' authority and, in particular, how it was shared.

### ***Principles of Honour and Duty: The Officers***

It was not only the crew who were affected by the conduct of the officers, but also the commander. During the stay at Port Jackson, Baudin was more occupied with handling the *Géographe*'s small group of senior naval staff than with supervising the large crew. These officers played a central role on the ship: they were in an almost parental position of authority over the sailors and, at the same time, needed to be managed somewhat like children by Baudin. Their affairs were at the heart of shipboard politics and could accordingly have significant consequences for both the crew and Baudin, if not kept under control. Yet their experiences at Port Jackson remain to be examined in depth. Horner's analysis is based mainly on the journal entries of Ronsard; he therefore gives a rather one-sided view.<sup>28</sup> A wider range of records and perspectives needs to be drawn upon to determine how effectively Baudin managed the officers and whether the discord that did arise was the result of his actions<sup>29</sup> or of the attitudes and conduct of the officers themselves.

The least disciplined men on the *Géographe* were usually to be found among the midshipmen: the apprentice or junior officers. However, these young men seem neither to have caused much disruption nor to have played a significant role at Port Jackson. They

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<sup>26</sup> *Table de loch* of the *Géographe*, 4 fructidor an X to 24 vendémiaire an XI, entry made by Bonnefoy, dated 25 fructidor an X [12 September 1802].

<sup>27</sup> Horner, *The French Reconnaissance*, p. 70.

<sup>28</sup> Horner, *The French Reconnaissance*, pp. 255-257.

therefore need to be dealt with only briefly. At the beginning of the sojourn, there were just three midshipmen aboard the *Géographe*: Joseph Brue, who was transferred to the *Naturaliste* immediately following its arrival at Port Jackson in late June; Hyacinthe de Bougainville, transferred to the *Naturaliste* towards the end of the sojourn; and Charles Baudin, the only midshipman retained on the *Géographe* for the second campaign. The fact that Baudin managed to keep these men under control at Port Jackson is of particular note given that, throughout the voyage from France,<sup>30</sup> they had been the cause of considerable frustration – as midshipmen commonly were on such expeditions.<sup>31</sup> Moreover, during their time at Port Jackson, Brue and particularly Bougainville showed a clear lack of commitment to the objectives of the expedition. Bougainville had requested, early in the sojourn, to be transferred to the *Naturaliste* so that he could return to France. When Baudin refused,<sup>32</sup> he devoted the remaining period to feigning illness.<sup>33</sup> He therefore spent much of the sojourn in hospital and consequently kept out of mischief. Regular activity also seems to have kept Brue under control: he did not even have time to write in his journal, he remarked. It is conceivable that the cessation of Brue’s journal entries was also influenced by the fact that, for him, the expedition had come to an end, he was returning to France. The apathy of Brue and Bougainville and of certain midshipmen on the *Naturaliste*, was recognised many years later by their fellow midshipman, Charles Baudin. “It must be said”, he wrote in his memoirs, that they “did not, perhaps, put all the zeal possible into their service”.<sup>34</sup> By contrast, although the commander did need to discipline him on occasion,<sup>35</sup> Charles Baudin appears to have been

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<sup>29</sup> Horner, *The French Reconnaissance*, pp. 255-257.

<sup>30</sup> See Letter from Nicolas Baudin to Antoine-Laurent de Jussieu, written at Port Jackson and dated 20 brumaire an XI [11 November 1802], MNHN ms2082, pièce no. 8. Also see Horner, *The French Reconnaissance*, p. 66.

<sup>31</sup> Denning’s explanation of the attitude of the midshipmen aboard the *Bounty* may be applied equally to many of those on the *Géographe*: “they, to judge from their extravagant ineptitude, had a sense that they were owed, more than that they were owing”. See Denning, *Mr Bligh’s Bad Language*, p. 21.

<sup>32</sup> Baudin waited until it was time to carry out the staff review to give the order for Bougainville to join the *Naturaliste*.

<sup>33</sup> *Journal de Hyacinthe de Bougainville*, ANF, 155 AP6, p. 21.

<sup>34</sup> “il se montrait d’ailleurs beaucoup plus bienveillant pour moi que pour tous mes autres camarades qui, il faut bien le dire, ne mettaient peut-être pas dans leur service tout le zèle possible”, C. Baudin, *Souvenirs de jeunesse de l’amiral Baudin*, Service Historique de la Marine, Vincennes: CC7a125, ms 116, p. 86.

<sup>35</sup> *Table de loch* of the *Géographe*, 13 messidor to 4 fructidor an X, entry made by Henri Freycinet and dated 19 messidor an X [8 July 1802].

dedicated to the expedition and to have behaved and worked well;<sup>36</sup> he was even given an opportunity to act as the officer on duty while at Port Jackson.<sup>37</sup> In his memoirs, he mentions a particular and apparently anodine circumstance which in fact considerably facilitated Baudin's efforts to maintain control of the midshipmen, as well as the other officers and the crew: the *Géographe* was moored far from town.<sup>38</sup> Indeed, throughout most of the sojourn it was anchored in Neutral Bay, opposite Sydney Cove. There, the midshipmen remained at a distance from the temptations of Sydney, confined, most of the time, to the regulated, ritualistic world of the ship. As a result, commented Charles Baudin, the Port Jackson sojourn was for him and his companions "truly a happy time".<sup>39</sup>

If the ship, with its boundaries and rituals, was critical to controlling the conduct of the midshipmen, the responsibilities and degrees of authority within its space were equally important in regulating the behaviour of the senior officers. This is the crux of Horner's criticism about the chain of command Baudin implemented at Port Jackson. As mentioned earlier, rather than delegate his authority to either Henri Freycinet or Ronsard, Baudin chose to share the responsibility for shipboard affairs between them and the other two officers, Bonnefoy and Ransonnet. While the politics of delegation itself will be considered further on, it is appropriate to note here that, contrary to what Horner asserts,<sup>40</sup> it is not at all certain that this arrangement caused confusion among Ronsard, Henri Freycinet, Bonnefoy and Ransonnet regarding who was in command. Baudin made their rights and roles as individuals and in relation to each other abundantly clear through what Horner condemns as a "steady stream of orders and complaints":<sup>41</sup> he established a list designating to each senior officer

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<sup>36</sup> According to his memoirs, Charles Baudin was deeply disappointed when Baudin eventually made the decision to conclude the exploration of New Holland and return to France: "I had the success of the expedition at heart", he wrote. See C. Baudin, *Souvenirs de jeunesse*, p. 89.

<sup>37</sup> *Table de loch* of the *Géographe*, 13 messidor to 4 fructidor an X, entry made by Charles Baudin and dated 14 messidor [3 July 1802].

<sup>38</sup> C. Baudin, *Souvenirs de jeunesse*, p. 84.

<sup>39</sup> "une époque de véritable bonheur", C. Baudin, *Souvenirs de jeunesse*, p. 85.

<sup>40</sup> Horner claims that not having on board a second in command to Baudin resulted in "the want of a recognized line of authority", which inevitably led to quarrels among the officers and resentment towards Baudin. See Horner, *The French Reconnaissance*, p. 255.

<sup>41</sup> Horner, *The French Reconnaissance*, p. 256.

responsibility for a particular part of the ship,<sup>42</sup> an explanation of the duties of the officer on guard duty,<sup>43</sup> and some detailed supplementary instructions that were based on his observations of the officers' conduct over time.<sup>44</sup> He also acknowledged the difference in rank between the lieutenants and the sub-lieutenants, by authorising Henri Freycinet and Ronsard to give orders to Bonnefoy and Ransonnet.<sup>45</sup> He further instructed them to report to him about how well these orders had been obeyed. Baudin communicated each of these requirements, unambiguously, in writing, and the officer on guard duty posted each document in the log book. Ronsard also copied them into his journal.<sup>46</sup> Each senior officer had his own, distinct, space of authority aboard the ship and it was clear that Baudin himself ultimately remained in command. This arrangement did not cause problems amongst the midshipmen or the crew and there is no reason why, in itself, it would spark arguments amongst the men or resentment towards Baudin.<sup>47</sup> What may have played a more significant part in the contentious situations that nevertheless arose from time to time was the attitude of each officer to his own position, to his peers, and to the expedition. With this in mind, it is important to examine the three main occasions when they came into conflict.

A petty, but interesting, altercation occurred between Bonnefoy and Henri Freycinet on 25 September 1802, during dinner in the great cabin. As recorded by Ronsard,<sup>48</sup> Bonnefoy had shown disrespect towards his superior by deriding Henri's friend, zoologist François Péron, as "that peasant, your corporal Péron". In anger, Henri retorted that "a corporal like

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<sup>42</sup> *Table de Loch* of the *Géographe*, 8 prairial to 13 messidor, an X, entry made by Ronsard and dated 17 messidor [6 July 1802].

<sup>43</sup> *Table de Loch* of the *Géographe*, 8 prairial to 13 messidor, an X, entry made by Ronsard and dated 17 messidor [6 July 1802].

<sup>44</sup> *Table de Loch* of the *Géographe*, 13 messidor to 4 fructidor, an X, entry made by Ransonnet and dated 1 thermidor [20 July 1802].

<sup>45</sup> We should point out here that Ransonnet was made acting sub-lieutenant during the stopover at Timor on 20 October 1801. His promotion would not be made official until 26 October 1803, when he rejoined the *Géographe* (from the *Casuarina*) at Mauritius, on the journey home.

<sup>46</sup> It is not known whether the other senior officers also did this. The journals of Bonnefoy and Ransonnet are not available and the journal entries of Henri Freycinet commence midway through the sojourn, after these instructions had been issued.

<sup>47</sup> Horner, however, argues that this was the case. See Horner, *The French Reconnaissance*, p. 255.

<sup>48</sup> This description of the argument is based on Ronsard's journal entry and each of the quotations provided in this paragraph is taken from that entry. See Ronsard, *Journal*, t. I, ANF, SM, 5JJ29, entry made 4 vendémiaire an X [26 September 1802]. He wrote a more concise version in the logbook, see *Table de loch* of the *Géographe*, 4 fructidor an X to 24 vendémiaire an XI, entry made by Ronsard and dated 3 vendémiaire an XI [25 September 1802].

him is worth 10,000 officers like you” – a distinctly inappropriate remark for a lieutenant to make to his subordinate. Bonnefoy argued further that Péron had insulted him: “he is a pig”, he exclaimed. Henri responded childishly: “it is you who are a pig”. When Bonnefoy continued to criticise Péron, Henri Freycinet stood upon his rank and ordered him to his cabin. However, Bonnefoy refused to be punished. He argued that the lieutenant had no right to punish him for an affair that did not concern the service: “I hope, sir, that you intend to inform the commander of the motives for which you have punished me”, he remarked.<sup>49</sup> Henri Freycinet evidently realised that he did not have legitimate grounds on which to punish Bonnefoy, because he refused to explain to him the exact reason for it either in person or in writing. Instead, he took his complaint ashore to Baudin.

This argument is one of the most apt illustrations of the “infantile manner” in which Baudin’s officers often quarrelled during the voyage.<sup>50</sup> It also demonstrates two important points: firstly, Bonnefoy’s disrespect for Henri Freycinet and his determination to abide by naval regulations to the letter and secondly, Henri Freycinet’s immaturity and tendency to try to exploit his authority as a lieutenant. Equally interesting is how Baudin managed the affair. Initially, he acted upon the complaint from Henri Freycinet. Out of annoyance, perhaps, and certainly precipitously, he demoted Bonnefoy.<sup>51</sup> After obtaining further information, he concluded that Henri Freycinet and Bonnefoy had been almost equally at fault: Henri, for

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<sup>49</sup> “M. Freycinet en arrivant dans la grande chambre, pour y dîner, dit „Messieurs, il faut que je vous conte une impudence; M. Bonnefoy sans permettre à M. Freycinet d’aller plus avant dit : „pardieu, c’est sans doute de celle de ce paysan, votre caporal Péron, dont vous voulez parler“. M. Freycinet répondit : „un caporal comme lui vaut 10 000 officiers comme vous. Je lui suis attaché et je vous déclare que je ne souffrirai pas qu’on dise rien sur son compte“. Monsieur Bonnefoy a dit : „M. Péron peut se défendre lui-même, tout cela ne m’empêchera pas de dire que M. Péron m’a fait une impertinence et que c’est un cochon.“ „C’est vous qui êtes un cochon“ répondit M. Freycinet [...] „et je vous ordonne de vous taire“. M. Bonnefoy a continué ses apostrophes contre le citoyen Péron; alors M. Freycinet, quittant sa place avec emportement, s’est approché de M. Bonnefoy et là, s’arrêtant un instant, il lui a dit „M. Bonnefoy je vous ordonne de vous rendre à votre chambre“. Celui-ci quittant à l’instant son dîner est parti en disant „je n’ai rien répondu aux personnalités que vous m’avez adressées, vous n’avez pas le droit de me punir pour une affaire qui ne regarde pas le service et vous ne m’empêchez jamais de dire ce que je pense sur le compte de Péron“. Il se rendit de suite à sa chambre. Un instant après il est revenu dire à M. Freycinet, „j’espère Monsieur que vous voudrez bien rendre au Commandant compte des motifs pour lesquels vous m’avez puni“.” Ronsard, *Journal*, t. I, ANF, SM, 5JJ29, entry made 4 vendémiaire an X [26 September 1802].

<sup>50</sup> J. Fornasiero, “Of Rivalry and Reputation: Nicolas Baudin and Matthew Flinders”, in M. S. Rivière and K. R. Issur (eds), *Baudin - Flinders dans l’océan Indien: voyages, découvertes, rencontre, Actes du colloque international organisé par l’Université de Maurice, octobre 2003* (Paris: Harmattan, 2006), p. 170.

<sup>51</sup> This demotion was not actually carried out, although Ronsard was to make a habit of referring to Bonnefoy as “midshipman”.

engaging in the dispute on board, and Bonnefoy, for not knowing when to be silent and for leaving his cabin after being ordered there. He also blamed Ronsard, who had been the officer on guard duty at the time of the argument, for not intervening to resolve the situation. “As officer on guard duty [...], it was your duty, and you knew it, to impose silence on each man or at least to invite them to go and discuss elsewhere a matter that was absolutely foreign to the service of the ship and of pure opinion”,<sup>52</sup> he explained. It was because of Ronsard’s failure to carry out this duty that Baudin was “obliged to act as the mediator in an affair that [he] need not have even known about”.<sup>53</sup> Horner claims that the argument developed because there had been no-one in recognised authority on board except the officer on guard duty; however, there is no evidence that Ronsard’s authority was unrecognised. Ronsard simply did not attempt to intervene. Although the argument is interesting in what it reveals about the personalities involved, it was trivial in itself and only became a problem because the officer on guard duty failed to defuse the situation. It was resolved by Baudin with little fuss and such quarrels were not recorded again during the sojourn.

That does not mean that Henri Freycinet did not again push the boundaries of his position. On the next such occasion, his misbehaviour entangled Ransonnet. The regulations that King set for the Frenchmen clearly stated that all boats from the French ships were to disembark at the Governor’s dock, and that, when the officers wanted to stay ashore after nightfall, they must inform the officer on guard duty and return their boat to the ship before 8pm.<sup>54</sup> Nevertheless, from ashore one evening in late October, Henri Freycinet ordered the officer on guard duty, Ransonnet, to send a boat to him at Bennelong Point. This put Ransonnet in a difficult position. He was required to obey the lieutenant’s order but, in this case, it would mean contravening regulations. He sent the boat to Henri Freycinet, but

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<sup>52</sup> “comme officier de garde [...] votre devoir était, et vous ne l’ignorez pas, d’imposer silence à l’un et à l’autre ou au moins de les inviter à aller discuter ailleurs que dans la grande chambre une question absolument étrangère au service du bâtiment et de pure opinion”. Ronsard, *Journal*, t. I, ANF, SM, 5JJ29, entry made 5 vendémiaire an X [27 September 1802].

<sup>53</sup> “je me vois obligé d’être médiateur dans une aventure que je n’aurais pas dû connaître”. Ronsard, *Journal*, t. I, ANF, SM, 5JJ29, entry made 5 vendémiaire an X [27 September 1802].

<sup>54</sup> P. G. King, “Règlement à observer par le bâtiment français durant son séjour au Port Jackson par son Excellence Philippe Gidley King, Ecuyer, Capitaine général et Gouverneur en chef de sa Majesté dans la partie



recorded the event in the logbook. To this entry he added that the lieutenant had not reached the *Géographe* until midnight.<sup>55</sup> Baudin acted upon this news without delay. In a letter to the senior officers, he stipulated that, if the officer on guard duty failed once more to adhere to the regulations, he would be held personally responsible. He also made it clear that “no-one on board has the right to change the rules of the watch that I have established, whatever his rank and his pretensions”.<sup>56</sup> Henri Freycinet, recording the incident in his journal, claimed that he had misunderstood the regulation and that, in fact, he had returned on board before midnight; “but anyway, already too much has been said on that subject”,<sup>57</sup> he remarked haughtily. This comment was pure mischievousness on the part of Henri Freycinet. The incident had borne no relation to the line of authority, only an abuse on his part, which was duly recognised and acted upon. And, just as with the previous incident, following Baudin’s reprimand and instructions such a circumstance as this one did not occur again.

There was, however, misbehaviour of another order being carried out by a senior member of the *Géographe*. As noted earlier, Ronsard had shown a tendency to disregard and undermine the authority of the sub-lieutenants. The manner in which he refers to Bonnefoy and Ransonnet in his journal as simply “sub-lieutenant”, rather than by their name,<sup>58</sup> or even,

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sud de la Nouvelle Galle et ses dépenses etc., etc., etc.”, in *Table de loch* of the *Géographe*, 8 prairial to 13 messidor, an X, entry made by Ronsard and dated 3 messidor [22 June 1802].

<sup>55</sup> Ronsard remarked in his journal that Ransonnet had cited the regulation incorrectly. Ransonnet wrote: “the commander’s express prohibition conceived in these terms: boats are prohibited from docking anywhere at night but at the Governor’s dock”. The order was originally imposed by King, rather than Baudin, although Baudin did reinforce it, and it did not only apply at night but in general. Nevertheless, Ransonnet was right in stating that Henri Freycinet’s conduct contravened the regulations: “All boats, going to shore for refreshments or to bring or to take off officers, will be obliged to disembark at the Governor’s dock” and “No boats are permitted to remain on shore after sunset, except those that came with the officers, in which case the officer on guard duty must be informed and the French officers will be responsible for sending the boat to the ship before 8pm”. For Ransonnet’s record of the incident, see *Table de loch* of the *Géographe*, 25 vendémiaire to 7 frimaire, an XI, entry dated 30 vendémiaire an XI [22 October 1802]. Concerning Ronsard’s comments, see his *Journal*, t. I, ANF, SM, 5JJ29, entry dated 30 vendémiaire an XI [22 October 1802]. The regulations imposed by King may be consulted in *HRNSW*, vol. IV, p. 943.

<sup>56</sup> “Personne à bord n’a le droit de changer la forme du service que j’y ai établi, quel que soit son grade et ses prétentions”, letter from Nicolas Baudin to officers aboard the *Géographe*, reproduced in the *Table de loch* of the *Géographe*, 4 fructidor an X to 24 vendémiaire an XI, entry made by Bonnefoy and dated 1 brumaire an XI [23 October 1802].

<sup>57</sup> “Mais en voilà déjà beaucoup trop sur ce sujet”. H. Freycinet, *Journal*, entry made 1 brumaire an XI [23 October 1802].

<sup>58</sup> Ronsard referred to Baudin and Henri Freycinet, for example, as “M. Baudin” or “the commander” and “M. Freycinet”. When referring to a member of the crew he used his surname and prefaced it with “Citizen”. See Ronsard, *Journal*, t. I, ANF, SM, 5JJ29.

in the case of Bonnefoy, “midshipman” rather than “officer” on guard duty,<sup>59</sup> further expresses his disrespect for them and his resentment at having to share responsibility for shipboard affairs with men of inferior rank. In mid-October, the situation came to a head. Bonnefoy was the officer on guard duty and Ronsard, responsible for stowage, was supervising a team of sailors, including the baker, engaged in stowing campaign biscuit in the hold. Baudin had given Ransonnet the responsibility, for the duration of the sojourn, of ensuring that the baker went to shore each day to check on the production of biscuit at Sydney’s bakery; however, on this day, Ronsard ordered the baker to stay on board to help him. He sent the baker to inform Ransonnet of this change and, recognising that Ronsard had the right to issue orders to him, Ransonnet assented. Yet, Ronsard did not attempt to inform Bonnefoy, who, as officer on guard duty, was expected to ensure that all men carried out their duties – including the baker.<sup>60</sup> Therefore, Bonnefoy later ordered the baker to head ashore as usual. When the baker returned to the ship, Ronsard confronted him on the bridge and loudly reproached him. He declared, apparently within hearing of others aboard the ship, that he had been wrong to obey the officer on guard duty.<sup>61</sup> There followed a vehement war of words in the logbook of the *Géographe*: Ronsard did not believe that he should have kept the officer on duty informed of the change to the service, spitefully reminding Bonnefoy of his demotion, while Bonnefoy pointed out that, in the absence of an order to do otherwise, he was only following regulations.<sup>62</sup> As the officer on guard duty, Bonnefoy did need to remain informed of what was happening on the ship and Ronsard, by ignoring him and by publicly admonishing the baker, clearly behaved inappropriately. Had Ronsard observed the line of authority by telling Bonnefoy he needed the baker to stay on board, the conflict would almost certainly have been avoided. His disdain for the system Baudin had put into place was clearly perceived by the commander. Baudin reproached Ronsard angrily and, demonstrating that he

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<sup>59</sup> Ronsard, *Journal*, t. I, ANF, SM, 5JJ29, entry dated 1 brumaire an XI [23 October 1802].

<sup>60</sup> *Table de loch* of the *Géographe*, 4 fructidor an X to 24 vendémiaire an XI, entry made by Bonnefoy and dated 19 vendémiaire an XI [11 October 1802].

<sup>61</sup> *Table de loch* of the *Géographe*, 4 fructidor an X to 24 vendémiaire an XI, entry made by Ronsard and dated 20 vendémiaire an XI [12 October 1802].

had been observing both lieutenants for some time, criticised the incompetent leadership of Ronsard and Henri Freycinet.<sup>63</sup>

It was indeed the conduct of the two lieutenants, who both hoped to be promoted to second in command, that was the chief cause of each of these incidents.<sup>64</sup> This sojourn offered them an opportunity to demonstrate to Baudin how well they could carry out their duties in his absence. Yet, while they did manage to share the most senior position on board in Baudin's absence, they provided poor leadership. They were both expected to provide direction and to lead by example. Instead, Freycinet had been immature and unprofessional, while Ronsard had been disrespectful, arrogant and lacking in interpersonal skills. Is it any wonder that Baudin refused to promote either of these men to the rank of first lieutenant and delegate to him his shipboard authority? Clearly, it was best that Baudin himself retained the command.

Furthermore, Ronsard seems to have been less than completely committed to the expedition.<sup>65</sup> He was concerned, not unlike other officers of his era, with "questions of status", "nice codes of honour",<sup>66</sup> and his naval career, more with than the objectives of scientific endeavour. When, at Port Jackson, Baudin refused to act upon the "wishes or whims" of Ronsard by promoting him,<sup>67</sup> Ronsard threatened to quit the expedition to pursue his naval career. He wrote to Baudin: "I can go no further without having navigated on ships of the line, thus, the two years that I would pass in this second part of the expedition that you

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<sup>62</sup> *Table de loch* of the *Géographe*, 4 fructidor an X to 24 vendémiaire an XI, entries made by Bonnefoy and Ronsard and dated 20 vendémiaire an XI [12 October 1802].

<sup>63</sup> Ronsard, *Journal*, t. I, ANF, SM, 5JJ29, entries made 20 and 23 vendémiaire an XI [12 and 15 October 1802].

<sup>64</sup> Ronsard did accuse Bonnefoy and Ransonnet of insubordinate behaviour, which is exemplified in the argument between Bonnefoy and Henri Freycinet, and of attempting to avoid orders, of which there does not appear to be any clear example. In his letter of reprimand to the officers of the *Géographe*, Baudin makes the same accusation. Yet, it is phrased in the same manner as that which Ronsard uses in his journal, which suggests that his view of the sub-lieutenant's conduct was based on a complaint from Ronsard. Otherwise, Baudin's anger is usually aimed at the lieutenants. Furthermore, there are regular entries in the log book of the *Géographe* referring to orders from Ronsard and Henri Freycinet being carried out satisfactorily by Bonnefoy and Ransonnet.

<sup>65</sup> Henri Freycinet seems to have been more careful about what he wrote in his journal – he did not vent his frustration there as Ronsard did. Therefore, it is not possible to state what his feelings about the expedition, Baudin or his career were at the time of the Port Jackson stay.

<sup>66</sup> Gascoigne, *Captain Cook*, p. 118.

<sup>67</sup> "Soyez seulement bien convaincu que je ne me conforme jamais à la volonté ni au caprice des autres, quand ils ne peuvent se concilier avec mes devoirs ou à l'intérêt que je prends à ceux que des démarches irréfléchies

are going to undertake will be entirely given to my education and not at all to my advancement”.<sup>68</sup> It is not surprising that, although Baudin temporarily appeased Ronsard’s agitation by issuing to him orders that might ordinarily have been issued to a second in command,<sup>69</sup> he stopped short of granting him the broader, official, responsibility due to a first lieutenant. As Baudin explained, Ronsard’s aspirations “could not be reconciled with my duties or with my responsibilities toward those who could be compromised by such ill-considered reasoning”.<sup>70</sup> Despite Ronsard’s biased claims to the contrary, Baudin had maintained a reasonable level of order aboard the *Géographe*, order which could have been jeopardised had he delegated his authority – particularly to an officer whose attitude was not in line with the aims of the expedition.

Not only did Ronsard feel that undertaking the second campaign would be a waste of his time, but he believed, too, that Baudin was not treating him, or Henri Freycinet, with the respect or honour they deserved as naval officers. This was a serious accusation: honour was a critical part of naval custom. However, Ronsard confused honour with privilege. He deemed himself and Henri Freycinet to be above Baudin’s censures, restrictions and directions.<sup>71</sup> Both lieutenants wanted greater freedom to enjoy life on shore<sup>72</sup> and power to run the ship and manage their subordinates as they wished. Ronsard’s sense of injustice was so strong that in his journal he stated, with great disloyalty to his commander: “according to regulation 65, a

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peuvent compromettre”. Letter from Nicolas Baudin to François-Michel Ronsard, reproduced in Ronsard, *Journal*, t. I, ANF, SM, 5JJ29, entry dated 23 vendémiaire an XI [15 October 1802].

<sup>68</sup> “Je ne puis pas aller plus loin sans avoir navigué sur des vaisseaux de ligne, ainsi les deux années que je passerais dans cette seconde partie de l’expédition que vous allez entreprendre, seraient entièrement données à mon instruction et point à mon avancement”. Letter from François-Michel Ronsard to Nicolas Baudin, reproduced in Ronsard, *Journal*, t. I, ANF, SM, 5JJ29, entry dated 20 vendémiaire an XI [12 October 1802].

<sup>69</sup> See Ronsard, *Journal*, t. I, ANF, SM, 5JJ29, entries dated 1 brumaire an XI [23 October 1802], 19 brumaire an XI [10 November 1802], 24 brumaire an XI [15 November 1802].

<sup>70</sup> “Soyez seulement bien convaincu que je ne me conforme jamais à la volonté ni au caprice des autres, quand ils ne peuvent se concilier avec mes devoirs ou à l’intérêt que je prends à ceux que des démarches irréfléchies peuvent compromettre”. Letter from Nicolas Baudin to François-Michel Ronsard, written in Sydney and dated 23 vendémiaire an XI [15 October 1802], reproduced in Ronsard, *Journal*, t. I, ANF, SM, 5JJ29, entry dated 23 vendémiaire an XI [15 October 1802]

<sup>71</sup> Ronsard, *Journal*, t. I, ANF, SM, 5JJ29, entries dated 1 thermidor an X, 5, 23 and 30 vendémiaire an XI [30 July, 27 September, 15 and 22 October 1802]; Horner, *The French Reconnaissance*, p. 257.

<sup>72</sup> Baudin reprimanded them for treating the days between their turns as officer on guard duty as leisure time. See letter from Nicolas Baudin to officers aboard the *Géographe*, written in Sydney and dated 1 thermidor an X [20 July 1802], in Ronsard, *Journal*, t. I, ANF, SM, 5JJ29, entry dated 1 thermidor an X [20 July 1802]. John West-Sooby points out that “a conflict between laziness and work, pleasure and duty” was generally a problem during the voyage. See J. West-Sooby, “Le ‚sourire grinçant‘ du capitaine Baudin”, *Australian Journal of French Studies*, XLI, 2 (2004), p. 84.

captain who failed to treat his officers with the respect and decency that must always reign between servicemen, was declared incapable of commanding the King's vessels".<sup>73</sup> After the almost mutinous misconduct of Picquet and Le Bas at Timor, Baudin had made a decision to change his style of command. At Port Jackson, he supervised and regulated the conduct of his senior officers much more closely than he had done previously. Moreover, this strong style of command was reinforced by regulations imposed by Governor King. Undoubtedly, the numerous restrictions and the heightened supervision came as something of a shock to Ronsard and Henri Freycinet, who seem to have been unwilling to put the welfare of the expedition ahead of their pride.

Baudin was determined to supervise the officers more closely than they would have wished, but he did not mistreat them. Despite the shortage of funds, he paid them for the first time in the voyage, enabling them to buy various personal luxuries and to dine well: unlike previously, there were no complaints concerning the officers' table. He firmly defended their honour when accusations were made against the French officers by colonists. And, despite Ronsard's complaints, the officers were granted more liberty than their subordinates; for instance, they were permitted to stay ashore overnight. Putting aside the injured pride of the lieutenants, which stemmed from a preoccupation with promotion and rank, the senior officers in fact seem to have enjoyed a comfortable sojourn.

By ensuring the officers' comfort, managing their complaints and resisting their attempts to influence his decisions, while firmly and clearly directing them in their shipboard duties, Baudin ensured that life on the quarter-deck ran reasonably smoothly. The incidents considered above were the most serious that appear in the records of the stay and, still, they did not upset the overall state of order on the ship. What these incidents do demonstrate, though, is that the discord between the senior officers was not the result of an unrecognised line of authority. In fact, the line of authority appears to have been both clearly understood

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<sup>73</sup> "C'est d'après ce principe ou dans cet esprit que, par l'ordonnance de 65, un capitaine qui manquait envers ses officiers des égards et de l'honnêteté qui doivent toujours régner entre les militaires, était déclaré incapable de commander les bâtiments du Roi". Ronsard, *Journal*, t. I, ANF, SM, 5JJ29, entry dated 1 brumaire an XI [23 October 1802].

and effective – except when it was not observed. The lieutenants did not issue conflicting orders causing confusion below or anger towards each other. Neither was the authority of Henri Freycinet and Ronsard strongly resisted by their subordinates, even though, at the same time, they do not appear to have truly earned their esteem. In 1952, historian H.M. Cooper asked: “did Baudin fail as a leader because of his own faults or would he have done better if his subordinates had been more mature and loyal?”<sup>74</sup> It has since been established by various commentators that Baudin was in fact a competent leader,<sup>75</sup> and his conduct at Port Jackson further confirms this; but it is certainly true that his subordinates could have been “more mature and loyal”. Indeed, general order was maintained on the quarter-deck only because of Baudin’s constant supervision and despite a certain lack of maturity and loyalty on the part of his two senior officers.

### ***Preparing his Men for a New Campaign: The Commander***

At Port Jackson, Baudin approached shipboard affairs with a particularly strong sense of determination. From the overall organisation of the ship to the disputes of the senior officers, in arranging responsibilities and routines, imposing and maintaining discipline, and largely keeping the peace, he seemed undistracted by other concerns – he was thorough and attentive. Which is not to say, however, that he avoided displeasing certain members of the expedition. He seems to have been driven by an overwhelming sense of purpose and duty. And yet, Horner suggests that Baudin’s style of command at this stage of the voyage, particularly his conduct toward the officers, was so poor that it may have been a sign of grave illness.<sup>76</sup> How can this suggestion be reconciled with the purposefulness and efficacy of Baudin’s command? It is insufficient to examine his actions alone, and even less useful to consider only the views

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<sup>74</sup> H. M. Cooper, *French Exploration in South Australia: with Especial Reference to Encounter Bay, Kangaroo Island, the Two Gulfs and Murat Bay, 1802-1803* (Adelaide: the author, 1952), p. 197.

<sup>75</sup> J. Bonnemains and M. Ly-Tio-Fane, *Le Géographe et le Naturaliste à l’Ile-de-France, 1801, 1803. Ultime escale du capitaine Baudin* (Port Louis, Mauritius: Presses de la MSM, 2003); R. Bouvier and E. Maynial, *Une aventure dans les mers australes: l’expédition du commandant Baudin (1800-1803)* (Paris: Mercure de France, 1947); J.-P. Faivre, *L’Expansion française dans le Pacifique de 1800 à 1842* (Paris: Nouvelle éditions latines, 1953); Fornasiero, “Of Rivalry and Reputation”, pp. 157-177; and Fornasiero, Monteath and West-Sooby, *Encountering Terra Australis*.

<sup>76</sup> Horner, *The French Reconnaissance*, p. 257.

of his subordinates. On the other hand, by analysing his own attitude toward leading the expedition – in the context of his instructions, the leadership styles of other captains and theories about command – we can gain further and valuable insights into the way in which he sought to take charge at Port Jackson. This will also allow us to determine whether the commander’s faculties were deteriorating or whether Baudin was, in fact, renewing his control over the expedition at this time.

Through the histories and records of voyages from Cook to Baudin it is possible to identify certain factors that were fundamental to successful command, in particular: responsibility, authority, firmness and justice. These factors were each evident in the instructions compiled for Baudin by the Minister of Marine, Pierre-Alexandre-Laurent Forfait. Forfait’s first point was that Baudin must be “both leader and father” to his men.<sup>77</sup> This reflected a common belief that captains should demonstrate a paternal vigilance by guiding and taking responsibility for the education, welfare and discipline of their men. However, it was also understood that if they were to be strong leaders, they could not become too familiar with their subordinates and certainly, as Forfait directed Baudin, they must “let no prejudice influence the acts of authority” they performed.<sup>78</sup> Indeed, Gascoigne, in his discussion of what made the celebrated James Cook a successful captain, points to the importance of being seen to be in command, which meant being “a rather distant figure”.<sup>79</sup> Such a sense of distance, between a captain and his men, encouraged respect and even a certain amount of fear in the men for their captain. Cook, for instance, was “both loved and properly feared by the ship’s company”.<sup>80</sup> This greatly facilitated the captain’s attempts to enforce discipline. The maintenance of discipline aboard the *Géographe* and the *Naturaliste* was clearly of the utmost importance to Forfait. At the conclusion of his instructions, he

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<sup>77</sup> Letter from the Minister of Marine and the Colonies to Nicolas Baudin, written in Paris and dated 7 vendémiaire an IX [29 September 1800], reproduced in Cornell, *Journal of Baudin*, p. 7; letter from the Minister of Marine and the Colonies to Nicolas Baudin, written in Paris and dated 7 vendémiaire an IX [29 September 1800], ANF, SM, 5JJ25: “vous devenez à la fois leur chef et leur père”.

<sup>78</sup> Cornell, *Journal of Baudin*, p. 9; letter from the Minister of Marine and the Colonies to Nicolas Baudin, written in Paris and dated 7 vendémiaire an IX [29 September 1800], ANF, SM, 5JJ25: “Soyez sévère, si les circonstances le commandent, mais soyez juste, qu’aucune prévention ne dirigent les actes d’autorité que vous pourrez faire exercer”.

<sup>79</sup> Gascoigne, *Captain Cook*, p. 59.

declared: “I repeat to you once again to maintain good order and strictness in compliance with the form you have adopted for the service. The slightest negligence on this point could have the most fatal consequences.”<sup>81</sup> Like Matthew Flinders, the successful captain needed to be strict.<sup>82</sup> He should apply discipline prudently, though, demonstrating what Admiral Edward „Grog“ Vernon referred to in the early eighteenth century as “that more gentlemanly spirit”.<sup>83</sup> As Forfait instructed, “be severe if circumstances require it, but be fair”. Each of these attributes and approaches does appear to correspond with Baudin’s command at Port Jackson, as it has been observed thus far.

Baudin’s own writing on the subject of captaining, composed during the Port Jackson stay, confirms that his view was closely aligned with the dominant beliefs of his era. An apt example is provided by the letter he wrote to Louis Freycinet upon officially appointing the lieutenant as the captain of the *Casuarina*. Demonstrating his experience, a little bitterness, and an obvious passion for the role of command, he wrote:

Never forget that, if it is difficult to command men, it is nevertheless glorious to drive them well. One succeeds almost always when one conducts oneself toward them with moderation, prudence and justice. According to these principles, which are not – or very rarely – put into practice by young officers, you must avoid all occasions that could compromise your authority and even your person. He who commands is not to be excused when, indulging in excesses that the law forbids, he listens only to his passions and arbitrarily or capriciously punishes an individual who has merited disciplinary action.<sup>84</sup>

Jean Fornasiero states that, generally, “prudence and professionalism were key values” for

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<sup>80</sup> Gascoigne, *Captain Cook*, p. 59.

<sup>81</sup> Cornell, *Journal of Baudin*, p. 9; letter from the Minister of Marine and the Colonies to Nicolas Baudin, written in Paris and dated 7 vendémiaire an IX [29 September 1800], ANF, SM, 5JJ25: “je vous renouvelle encore une fois de maintenir le bon ordre et l’exactitude dans la forme que vous aurez adoptée pour le service. La moindre négligence sur ce point pourrait être suivie des suites les plus funestes”.

<sup>82</sup> See

<sup>83</sup> Denig, *Mr Bligh’s Bad Language*, p. 142.

<sup>84</sup> “Vous ne devrez jamais oublier que s’il est difficile de commander aux hommes, il est néanmoins glorieux de bien les conduire. On y réussit presque toujours quand on se comporte envers eux avec modération, prudence et justice. D’après ces principes, qui ne sont pas ou très rarement mis en pratique, par de jeunes officiers, vous devez donc éviter toute occasion qui pourrait compromettre votre autorité et même votre personne. Celui qui commande n’est point excusable quand se portant à des excès que condamnent les lois, il n’écoute que ses passions et punit arbitrairement, ou par caprice, l’individu qui a mérité de l’être”. Letter from Nicolas Baudin to Louis Freycinet written in Sydney and dated 1 vendémiaire XI [23 September 1802], reproduced in *Journal Tenu Par le lieutenant de Vaisseau Louis Freycinet commandant la goëlette Le Casuarina. Mois de Vendémiaire et de Brumaire an XI*, entry undated, ANF, SM 5JJ49.



Baudin.<sup>85</sup> This statement is clearly true of Baudin's attitude during the Port Jackson stay and, as he prepared for the next campaign, he was committed to putting these values into practice. His punishments, and those imposed under his supervision, were reasoned, fair and consistent. Moreover, when reprimanding the senior officers, he also provided explanations for his approach and instruction on how they should have acted. He took a similarly firm yet tolerant approach when handling the complaints and disputes of the senior officers.<sup>86</sup> One of the most obvious aspects of Baudin's manner of command at Port Jackson was undoubtedly his fair and reasoned approach to discipline.

Also evident in Baudin's advice to Louis Freycinet is a strong sense of both pastoral care and leadership, as well as a consciousness of the need to be "a rather distant" figure, like Cook, in order to avoid compromising situations. This style of leadership was demonstrated particularly well during the Port Jackson stay when Baudin resisted Ronsard's demands for promotion. It was also evident in his determination to manage the ship as he saw fit despite Ronsard's complaints about the line of authority. Contrary to the suggestion of Edward Duyker, it was not important for the commander to be "friends" with his subordinates.<sup>87</sup> One of the main faults of Bruni d'Entrecasteaux, Baudin's renowned predecessor, was that he was "too easy-going, too good even" and he was "afraid of attracting the enmity of the officer corps, to whom he [was] too attached".<sup>88</sup> Had Baudin set a precedent by yielding to the demands of his lieutenant, and possibly maintaining his "friendship", his authority would have been irreparably weakened, to the detriment of discipline and efficiency aboard the ship.

The same is true of his refusal to delegate the command of the ship while in port. Denning explains that such delegation tended only to decenter the system of discipline on ships.<sup>89</sup> This is, in fact, what occurred aboard the *Recherche* in 1792 when d'Entrecasteaux,

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<sup>85</sup> Fornasiero, "Of Rivalry and Reputation", p. 172.

<sup>86</sup> For similar observations of Baudin's conduct toward the officers, relating to the voyage in general, see Fornasiero, "Of Rivalry and Reputation", p. 172 and West-Sooby, "Le „sourire grinçant“ du capitaine Baudin", p. 84.

<sup>87</sup> Edward Duyker comments that Baudin "alienated friends with his manner of command and failure to support and promote such dedicated officers as Ronsard". See Duyker, *François Péron*, p. 150.

<sup>88</sup> F. Horner, *Looking for La Pérouse: d'Entrecasteaux in Australia and the South Pacific 1792-1793* (Carlton: Melbourne University Press, 1995), p. 80.

<sup>89</sup> Denning, *Mr Bligh's Bad Language*, p. 145.

apparently submitting to the “constant importuning and gradual encroachments by the ambitious d’Auribeau”, over-delegated to the first lieutenant.<sup>90</sup> By the time the *Recherche* reached Van Diemen’s Land, “d’Entrecasteaux was no longer regarded as the leader of the expedition”.<sup>91</sup> It is not surprising to find, then, that the desire to avoid such disruption was not uncommon amongst captains in this era – Flinders, too, was averse to delegation.<sup>92</sup> Indeed, it would be short-sighted to judge Baudin’s manner of command at Port Jackson by the injured pride of senior officers such as Ronsard. Furthermore, as A.W. Jose points out, “till saddled with the Péron-Freycinet clique, it seems [Baudin] had had no detractors”.<sup>93</sup>

Baudin’s determination to maintain strong, direct control over his expedition at Port Jackson was motivated not simply by general dedication to his role but, particularly, by his desire to accomplish the “perfect” voyage. It is important to remember that he had sought the resources of Port Jackson with the intention of organising a new campaign. This sojourn was not, in his view, simply an interlude, an opportunity for respite. He therefore criticised the senior officers for preferring “passing pleasures to real and obligatory duties” during their time in port. “The campaign that I am to undertake is not that of a warship, where ports of call are opportunities for pleasures and amusements. On the contrary, it requires more active and laborious work than that at sea”, he explained. It also required greater discipline, as Baudin recognised, for the on-shore distractions and politics could easily endanger the welfare of the expedition. Accordingly, he justified his strict regulations by explaining that “the occasions to do harm are too numerous and too easy in the place and the state in which the corvette finds itself to conduct ourselves otherwise”.<sup>94</sup> In Baudin’s view, it was necessary to encourage diligence and impose discipline among his men at Port Jackson, from the sailors through to

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<sup>90</sup> Horner, *Looking for La Pérouse*, p. 102.

<sup>91</sup> Horner, *Looking for La Pérouse*, p. 87.

<sup>92</sup> M. Estensen, *The Life of Matthew Flinders* (Sydney: Allen and Unwin, 2002), p. 269.

<sup>93</sup> A. W. Jose, “Nicolas Baudin”, *Royal Australian Historical Society: Journal and Proceedings*, 20 (1934), p. 367.

<sup>94</sup> “des plaisirs passagers à des devoirs réels et obligatoires”; “La campagne que j’ai à faire n’est pas celle d’un bâtiment de guerre où le temps des relâches est le moment des plaisirs et des amusements. C’est au contraire celui d’un travail encore plus actif et laborieux que celui de la mer” and “Les occasions de faire le mal sont trop multipliées et trop faciles dans le lieu et l’état où se trouve la corvette pour en agir autrement”. Letter from Nicolas Baudin to officers of the *Géographe*, reproduced in *Table de loch* of the *Géographe*, 13 messidor to 4 fructidor an X, entry dated 1 thermidor an X [20 July 1802].

the senior officers, to ensure the success of the sojourn and to facilitate the preparations for the second campaign. At the same time, a crucial part of these preparations was organising a ship's company that would be of the greatest possible assistance to Baudin on his campaign. At Le Havre, the commander had been given very little choice as to who would accompany him on the voyage to Terra Australis<sup>95</sup> – unlike La Pérouse and d'Entrecasteaux, who personally recruited all their officers.<sup>96</sup> Therefore, the opportunity that the Port Jackson stay gave to Baudin was significant. There were men on the expedition who, as Cooper states, lacked the "sense of self-sacrifice and submerging of personal interest and comfort so necessary in those serving in a ship engaged upon such duties".<sup>97</sup> Baudin was finally able to assert his power over the expedition by sending such men – Bougainville and Brue, for instance – back to France.

I am absolutely resolved to take advantage of this fortuitous occasion that has arisen if the officers under my orders cannot be made to carry out their service in the manner that I believe to be suitable to subordination, good order, the safety of the Government's property and to the success of the expedition for which I am responsible.<sup>98</sup>

Baudin wanted the second campaign to benefit from a greater level of order than had existed previously. Through its success, he would live up to the confidence of the First Consul and the Institut National, and fulfil his mission.

Thus inspired, his manner of command during the Port Jackson stay reflected rational and careful reasoning. He was conscious of his accountability to the government and alert to the dangers of staying in port. Further, his efforts to manage the *Géographe* and organise staff for the second campaign were based on firm beliefs about effective leadership and appropriate shipboard behaviour. Just as in his relations with the colonists and the other visitors to the

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<sup>95</sup> Horner, *The French Reconnaissance*, p. 70.

<sup>96</sup> J. Dunmore, *Where Fate Beckons: The Life of Jean-François de la Pérouse* (Sydney: ABC Books, 2006), p. 185; Horner, *Looking for La Pérouse*, p. 33.

<sup>97</sup> Cooper, *French Exploration in South Australia*, p. 197.

<sup>98</sup> "je suis irrévocablement décidé à profiter de l'heureuse occasion qui se présente si je ne puis parvenir à obtenir des officiers qui sont sous mes ordres de faire le service non pas comme ils le prétendent, mais dans la manière que je croirai la plus convenable à la subordination, au bon ordre, à la sûreté des propriétés du Gouvernement, et au succès de l'expédition dont je suis chargé". Letter from Nicolas Baudin to officers of the *Géographe*, reproduced in *Table de loch* of the *Géographe*, 13 messidor to 4 fructidor an X, entry dated 1 thermidor an X [20 July 1802].

port, Baudin approached his command with the purpose of not only ensuring a harmonious sojourn but, beyond that, of preparing a “perfect” voyage. There is a clear sense in his actions and views that he used this time in port to renew his command.

### ***Conclusion***

It was with enthusiasm for his voyage and a sound knowledge of how to command an expedition that Baudin maintained order aboard the *Géographe* at Port Jackson. Aware of the dangers inherent in visiting the British port and of the unique opportunities this visit provided, Baudin saw that he needed to manage the ship himself. He redoubled his efforts to maintain order, preserving the hierarchical, busy and routine world of the ship, imposing strict regulations and ensuring that they were recognised, supervising discipline, and attending to the welfare of all on board. Although he was lodging on shore, the commander was not truly absent from the ship: his authority was almost constantly felt aboard the *Géographe*. That, in fact, is what particularly annoyed Ronsard. He was not unable to recognise the line of authority on the quarterdeck, he simply found it to be inconvenient in respect to his personal ambition. In any event, a certain amount of misbehaviour and dissatisfaction was part of shipboard life. Overall, Baudin’s manner of command at Port Jackson was the strongest and most effective it had been since the expedition began.

## *The Scientific Mission*

Baudin had stated that a sojourn at Port Jackson would allow him to rechart the south coast more closely and, through his relations with Governor King and others on shore, as well as with his naval staff, it is evident that he was intent on using it to prepare for this purpose. However, he had made no comment on how this visit itself would contribute to the expedition's scientific research.<sup>1</sup> Did he mean to put natural history endeavours aside while he prepared a new geographic campaign? This seems improbable: the principal aim of the Baudin expedition, aside from producing the first complete chart of Australia, was to gather knowledge about the natural history of the land. The commander himself, in his original plans for a "voyage autour du monde", had highlighted the critical importance of obtaining useful knowledge for France.<sup>2</sup> And yet, it is true that the savants had already gathered an immense collection of specimens and, furthermore, that the region of Port Jackson was, by this stage, well-trodden ground for British naturalists. While historians have shown that the French savants did continue their research in the colony,<sup>3</sup> and produced some significant results,<sup>4</sup> the degree to which this sojourn contributed overall to the scientific work of the expedition is yet

<sup>1</sup> Letter from Nicolas Baudin to Antoine-Laurent de Jussieu, written at Port Jackson and dated 20 brumaire an X, MNHN, ms2082, pièce no. 8.

<sup>2</sup> Letter from Nicolas Baudin to the Minister of Marine and the Colonies, written in Paris and undated, ANF, SM, BB4995.

<sup>3</sup> In general accounts of the Port Jackson stay, historians have commented in broad terms upon the activities of the French savants. See for example: F. Horner, *The French Reconnaissance: Baudin in Australia, 1801-1803* (Carlton: Melbourne University Press, 1987), pp. 258-261; J. Fornasiero, P. Monteath and J. West-Sooby, *Encountering Terra Australis: The Australian Voyages of Nicolas Baudin and Matthew Flinders* (Kent Town: Wakefield Press, 2004), p. 204; A. J. Brown, *Ill-Starred Captains: Flinders and Baudin* (Fremantle: Fremantle Arts Centre Press, 2004), pp. 260-263; E. Duyker, *François Péron: An Impetuous Life* (Carlton: Miegunyah Press, 2006), pp. 139 and 143-149.

<sup>4</sup> The expedition's work at Port Jackson in the fields of anthropology and mineralogy has drawn the most attention. See, for example J. Fornasiero and J. West-Sooby, "Taming the Unknown: The Representation of Terra Australis by the Baudin Expedition 1801-1803", in A. Chittleborough G. Dooley, B. Glover and R. Hosking (eds), *Alas for the Pelicans! Flinders, Baudin and Beyond* (Kent Town: Wakefield Press, 2002), pp. 66-70; Fornasiero, Monteath and West-Sooby, *Encountering Terra Australis*, pp. 319-321, 323, 362, 367 and 371; S. Konishi, "Depicting Sexuality: A Case Study of the Baudin Expedition's Aboriginal Ethnography", *Australian Journal of French Studies*, XLI, 2 (2004), pp. 98-116; M. Sankey, "The Aborigines of Port Jackson, as seen by the Baudin Expedition", *Australian Journal of French Studies*, XLI, 2 (2004), pp. 117-151; W. Mayer, "Deux géologues français en Nouvelle-Hollande (Australie): Louis Depuch et Charles Bailly, membres de l'expédition Baudin (1801-1803)", *Travaux du comité français d'histoire de la géologie*, 3<sup>e</sup> série, t. XIX, 6 (séance du 8 juin 2005) and W. Mayer, "The Quest for Limestone in Colonial New South Wales, 1788-1825", in

to be established. There also remains much to be learned about the part that Baudin, in particular, played in the expedition's studies of the Port Jackson environment. Did scientific objectives remain of primary importance for him as he prepared for the second campaign?

In order to resolve this question we need first to consider the wider context. The study of science in the early nineteenth century had been becoming increasingly specialised and French authorities expected the Baudin expedition to contribute to various branches of natural history, from zoology to the nascent discipline of anthropology, in addition to those fields that were vital to maritime exploration: hydrography, geography and astronomy. The expeditioners carried out work in each of these areas during their stay at Port Jackson, as demonstrated by the range of records that we have at our disposal – from scribbled notes to expense accounts and inventories. It is possible, then, to gauge the extent of this work by examining the quantity and range of objects collected in the fields of anthropology, botany, zoology and mineralogy, the method of collection – whether in the field, by donation or through trade – and also who collected these objects and where. Moreover, these details concerning the specimens and artefacts that were collected may be complemented by the observations made by the French concerning the natural environment and how it was being affected by colonial development. Indeed, one of the most significant aspects of the Baudin expedition's scientific research at Port Jackson was the fact that, as Margaret Sankey has noted,<sup>5</sup> various savants extended their "scientific gaze" to encompass the colony itself, noting its commercial, agricultural and social development. These wide-ranging scientific collections, observations and reflections need to be placed within the context of the rest of the work conducted during the voyage. This will enable us, more specifically, to assess the role of the Port Jackson stay with respect to the overall scientific mission of the expedition. However, before bringing to light the Frenchmen's work in various fields of study, it is important to

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P. N. Wyse Jackson (ed.) *Geological Society* (London: Geological Society, special publication no. 287, 2007), pp. 325-342.

<sup>5</sup> M. Sankey, "French Representations of Sydney at the Beginning of the Nineteenth Century: The Subversion of Modernism", *Literature of Aesthetics: The Journal of the Sydney Society of Literature and Aesthetics*, Vol 15, 2 (December 2005), p. 106.

consider what opportunities were available in the colony for facilitating the expedition's scientific endeavours.

### ***The County of Cumberland: A Promising Field for Scientific Research***

It was noted earlier that the environs of Port Jackson promised to be fruitful for French field-work, yet, given that the process of colonisation was well under way and that British scientists and amateur natural historians were already studying the area, it needs to be determined in more precise terms what opportunities this area had to offer the expedition. In other words, what potential was there for the French to advance scientific knowledge generally, and of the Port Jackson region more specifically? It is also important to consider on a practical level what assistance the colonists provided to the French and what benefits were derived from this extended period spent on shore.

Although the British had been studying the region's natural history since Cook first landed there, and had had the opportunity to pursue that scientific work *in situ* following the arrival of the First Fleet, there was still much to be discovered. Early colonists, such as naval surgeon John White and deputy judge advocate David Collins, had observed the local wildlife, vegetation and indigenous communities and gathered specimens with great attention to detail but in a broad, inexpert, manner. They were well-informed gentlemen-collectors who made valuable contributions to European knowledge of Australia; they were not, however, specialists in any particular field of natural history. The same may be said of Lieutenant Colonel William Paterson, who shared his knowledge with, and rendered assistance to, the French in 1802. Aside from Robert Brown, who was visiting the colony as a botanist with the Flinders expedition, botanist George Caley was the only British scientist who had spent an extended period of time studying the natural history of the region. Employed by Joseph Banks as a collector, he focused almost exclusively upon botany. With the arrival of the *Géographe* and the *Naturaliste* in Port Jackson came no less than seven scientists specialised in five

different fields – or six, if Péron’s credentials in anthropology are to be counted. Their work would be valuable both to France and to the colony.

Moreover, there remained areas in the County of Cumberland that had not yet been thoroughly explored. As the colonial territory steadily expanded with the development of new settlements and more extensive farmlands, the English were able to venture further north, south and inland, even into the Blue Mountains. The Port Jackson sojourn likewise offered Baudin and his savants the opportunity of extending their explorations further inland and across a broader range of geographic features than they had found during any of their previous excursions in Australia. By 1802, the County of Cumberland extended northward as far as Broken Bay and southward to around 30 kilometres from South Head, beyond Botany Bay and Port Hacking. Inland, its expansion had been limited only by the Blue Mountains, which the colonists had as yet been unable to cross. It encompassed the settlements of Sydney, Brickfield, Parramatta, Castle-Hill, Toongabbie and Hawkesbury, along with adjoining farmland devoted to crops and grazing. The Frenchmen would discover coastal and mountain environments, fertile riverlands and forests. Consequently, they had access to an exceptionally diverse range of flora, fauna and minerals.

They would also be able to study the impact upon the environment of European settlement and evaluate the administration of the colony. Prior to reaching Port Jackson, Baudin and his men had frequently theorised about the commercial potential of Australia’s land and products. Their observations on the British approach to imposing order upon nature and constructing a profitable European settlement would allow them to see such theories put to the test. The degree of success or failure they noted with respect to the English endeavours helped them further develop their ideas still further. By the time of the Baudin expedition’s visit, the colony was benefiting from the production of grains and the breeding of livestock as well as from the lucrative trade in whaling and sealing. Some colonists were attempting to



establish vineyards and coffee plantations.<sup>6</sup> Coal deposits had been located in Port Stephens (Newcastle) to the north and in Port Hacking to the south, and English authorities hoped eagerly that further profitable mineral discoveries would soon be made.<sup>7</sup> The French were also to be deeply interested in the way in which the colonists were dealing with certain human issues: the social problem of rehabilitating criminals and the European endeavour of “civilising” indigenous people. This colonial field of study had the potential to make unexpected but significant contributions to the scientific results of the expedition.

French studies of the colonial and natural features of the County of Cumberland were to benefit considerably from access to facilities and from opportunities to exchange knowledge with fellow Europeans. In the *Voyage de découvertes*, Péron showed immense gratitude for the assistance provided by members of the colony, announcing that “our scientific studies received the most valuable encouragement”.<sup>8</sup> As mentioned earlier, Governor King granted the French savants permission to venture throughout the colony upon written request, and Lieutenant Colonel William Paterson arranged accommodation and guides. Various leading members of the colony played host to the Frenchmen on their field trips and, by all accounts, did so with great enthusiasm and generosity. Of course this was the only occasion during their exploration of Australia that the French had had access to transport, accommodation, guidance and abundant provisions – the benefit of such services would surely be evident in the results of their research. It is important to remember, too, that Baudin’s diplomatic skills had gone a long way toward cultivating cooperative relationships with members of the colony. This undoubtedly had a significant influence on the assistance offered to the French scientists.

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<sup>6</sup> C. Cornell (trans.), *Voyage of Discovery to the Southern Lands*, vol. I, written by François Péron and continued by Louis Freycinet (Adelaide: Friends of the State Library of South Australia, 2006), pp. 306 and 339; F. Péron and Freycinet, *Voyage de découvertes aux Terres australes: exécuté par ordre de Sa Majesté L’Empereur et Roi, sur les corvettes le Géographe, le Naturaliste; et la goëlette le Casuarina, pendant les années 1800, 1801, 1802, et 1804*, t. I, second edition (Paris: Arthus Bertrand 1824), pp. 298-299 and 377.

<sup>7</sup> Cornell, *Voyage of Discovery*, vol. I, p. 340 ; Péron, *Voyage de découvertes*, t. II, p. 379.

<sup>8</sup> Cornell, *Voyage of Discovery*, vol. I, p. 300; Péron, *Voyage de découvertes*, t. II, p. 285: “nos recherches scientifiques recevoient les plus précieux encouragemens”.

It was finally the length of the sojourn that would benefit French scientific work in the colony. Arriving early in winter and leaving at the end of spring, Baudin and the savants would experience two seasons in the County of Cumberland. The expedition's botanist, Théodore Leschenault de la Tour, in particular, was to appreciate the opportunity to observe how the vegetation adapted to the changing seasons:

at Sydney, during the months of July and August, although it was cold enough to need fires constantly burning in our residences, yet no plant lost all its leaves; the vegetation slowed down, but was not interrupted. In the months of September and October, the annual plants appeared, and all the others were covered in flowers.<sup>9</sup>

This was the only opportunity the Frenchmen would have during the course of the voyage to observe the behaviour of Australian wildlife and vegetation over the seasons and to note variations in the climate. Such observations would significantly advance their understanding of zoology and botany, in particular, and allow them to make a better evaluation of the potential of the land for agricultural production.

Spending five months ashore at Port Jackson would enable the scientists to spend longer in the field, range more widely and study their specimens or subjects more deeply than they had found the opportunity to do at any other point during the voyage. They would be able to carry out their research in a colonial context, giving consideration to agriculture, commerce and "civilisation". They would also benefit from the knowledge and assistance of their hosts. All of these advantages would be deeply appreciated by Baudin and his scientific staff.

### ***Observing Colonised Man***

The Port Jackson sojourn enabled the expeditioners for the first time in the course of the

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<sup>9</sup> T. Leschenault "Account of the Vegetation of New Holland and Van Diemen's Land" in C. Cornell (trans.), *Voyage of Discovery to the Southern Lands*, vol. III, *Dissertations on Various Subjects*, written by François Péron and continued by Louis Freycinet (Adelaide: The Friends of the State Library of South Australia, 2007), p. 106; T. Leschenault, "Notice sur la végétation de la Nouvelle-Hollande et de la terre de Diemen", in Péron, *Voyage de découvertes*, t. IV, p. 350 : "À Sydney, pendant les mois de juillet et d'août, quoiqu'il fit assez froid pour avoir constamment du feu dans les appartemens, cependant aucune plante ne s'est entièrement dépouillée; la végétation était ralentie, mais non pas interrompue. Au mois de septembre et d'octobre, les plantes annuelles ont paru, et toutes les autres se sont couvertes de fleurs".

voyage to spend an extended length of time with Aboriginal people and to study them in a colonial context. Not surprisingly, the anthropological observations and collections that resulted from their visit have received much attention over recent years.<sup>10</sup> Margaret Sankey, for example, has provided comprehensive analyses of cross-cultural encounters, in the context of Enlightenment theories, the early development of scientific methods and the influence of contemporary British records on French representations of indigenous peoples.<sup>11</sup> Also drawing on broad ideological influences, Shino Konishi has focused specifically on the expeditioners' views regarding Aboriginal sexuality,<sup>12</sup> while Jean Fornasiero and John West-Sooby have produced comparative studies of the observations recorded by Baudin and Péron and examined, in particular, the ethnographical sketches and portraits produced by the expedition's two artists.<sup>13</sup> These studies reveal, however, that the anthropological work carried out at Port Jackson was not as extensive as one might expect. The Frenchmen were presumably less enthusiastic here because of the fact that their subjects were not in a pure "state of nature". Nevertheless, it has been shown that the observations made at Port Jackson did serve to develop considerably the expeditioners' opinions about Aboriginal people and their culture.

Over the course of the sojourn, the diverse interests and perspectives of the expeditioners produced a broad range of anthropological observations. Baudin took a comparative approach. He opined that the indigenous people living in the environs of the

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<sup>10</sup> See N. J. B. Plomley, *The Baudin Expedition and the Tasmanian Aborigines, 1802* (Hobart: The Blubber Press, 1983); R. Jones "Images of Natural Man", in J. Bonnemains, E. Forsyth and B. Smith (eds), *Baudin in Australian Waters: The Artwork of the French Voyage of Discovery to the Southern Lands, 1800-1804* (Melbourne: Oxford University Press, 1988), pp. 35-64; E. Forsyth, "The Australian Aborigines as Seen by the Artists of the Baudin Expedition of 1800-1804", in M. Blackman (ed.), *Australian Aborigines and the French* (Kensington: University of New South Wales, 1990), pp. 111-133; F. Horner, "Anthropology and the Baudin Expedition", *Australian Aborigines and the French*, pp. 37-46; Sankey, "Anthropology and Myth: the Antipodean Other in François-Auguste Péron's *Voyage de découvertes aux Terres australes*", in *Australian Aborigines and the French*; Sankey, "The Baudin Expedition in Port Jackson", *Explorations*, 31 (December 2001), pp.5-36; Fornasiero and West-Sooby, "Taming the Unknown"; Fornasiero, Monteath and West-Sooby, *Encountering Terra Australis*; Konishi, "Depicting Sexuality"; Sankey, "The Aborigines of Port Jackson" and C. Dyer, *The French Explorers and the Aboriginal Australians, 1772-1839* (Brisbane: University of Queensland Press, 2005).

<sup>11</sup> Sankey, "Anthropology and Myth", "The Aborigines of Port Jackson", pp. 117-151 and "The Baudin Expedition in Port Jackson", pp. 5-36.

<sup>12</sup> Konishi, "Depicting Sexuality", pp. 98-116.

<sup>13</sup> Fornasiero and West-Sooby, "Taming the Unknown", pp. 59-80 and Fornasiero, Monteath and West-Sooby, *Encountering Terra Australis*.

colony were of different origin from the Tasmanian Aborigines: he noted also that they had made more progress in learning the English language than the English had done in learning theirs<sup>14</sup> and suggested finally that Aborigines, overall, were no more “savage” than Scottish Highlanders or Breton peasants.<sup>15</sup> He observed that the Aborigines were suffering considerably from the effects of colonisation and considered that they would not be assimilated successfully into the European settlements.<sup>16</sup> Conversely, Péron came to believe that contact with the colonists had been having a positive influence on the Aborigines and he argued that if they were to adopt European practices their condition would vastly improve.<sup>17</sup> He spent time observing one particular individual: “one of the most brave young warriors of the country, Ourou-Maré”.<sup>18</sup> Péron took this man into his company, and they went into the forests together where Péron observed Ourou-Maré’s technique for catching lizards and snakes. However, the most detailed descriptions of the traditional customs of Port Jackson Aborigines were provided by artist Charles-Alexandre Lesueur and geographer Charles-Pierre Boullanger. Both described fishing methods in some detail,<sup>19</sup> while Boullanger also wrote about hunting and fighting techniques as well as burial and childbirth practices.<sup>20</sup> It seems that the Frenchmen developed a reasonably trusting relationship with some of the local Aborigines: “certain of these savages” came aboard the *Géographe* and performed a

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<sup>14</sup> Letter from Nicolas Baudin to the Minister of Marine and the Colonies, written at Port Jackson and dated 20 brumaire an XI [11 November 1802], ANF, SM, BB4995, and also letter to Antoine-Laurent de Jussieu, written at Port Jackson and dated 20 brumaire an XI, MNHN, ms2082, pièce no. 5.

<sup>15</sup> Letter from Nicolas Baudin to Philip Gidley King, written at Elephant Bay, King Island, and dated 23 December 1802, reproduced in F. M. Bladen (ed.), *Historical Records of New South Wales*, vol. V (Sydney: Government Printer, 1897), p. 827.

<sup>16</sup> See letter from Nicolas Baudin to Philip Gidley King, written at Elephant Bay, King Island, and dated 23 December 1802, *HRNSW*, vol. V, pp. 826-827; letter from Nicolas Baudin to the Minister of Marine and the Colonies, written at Port Jackson and dated 20 brumaire an XI [11 November 1802] and letter to Antoine-Laurent de Jussieu, written at Port Jackson and dated 20 brumaire an XI, MNHN, ms2082, pièce no.5.

<sup>17</sup> Péron discusses his theories and presents his conclusions based on the dynamometer experiments in Cornell (trans.), *Voyage of Discovery*, vol. II, pp. 351-385; *Voyage de découvertes*, t. II, pp. 400-459.

<sup>18</sup> “Pour donner plus de certitude à mes observations sur ces hommes singuliers, j’ai gardé longtemps avec moi l’un des jeunes guerriers les plus braves de la nation Ourou-Maré qui avait pris pour moi beaucoup d’attachement”. F. Péron, “Conférence adressée à « Messieurs les Professeurs » décrivant les aborigènes et leur mœurs près de Port Jackson”, transcription J. Bonnemains, Collection Lesueur, Muséum d’histoire naturelle, Le Havre, dossier 09 032, feuille A, recto.

<sup>19</sup> See L. P. Rivière, “Un périple en Nouvelle Hollande au début du XIX<sup>e</sup> siècle”, *Comptes-rendus mensuels des séances de l’Académie des Sciences coloniales*, 13 (1953), p. 580 and C.-A. Lesueur, “Pêche des aborigènes du Port Jackson”, trans. J. Bonnemains, Collection Lesueur, Muséum d’histoire naturelle, Le Havre, dossier 09 031.

<sup>20</sup> Rivière, “Un périple en Nouvelle Hollande”, pp. 580-581.

“kangaroo dance” for the entertainment of the expeditioners.<sup>21</sup>

The efforts of the expeditioners to contribute to the nascent field of anthropology were greatly admired by English explorer and merchant George Bass. He donated to Baudin an impressive collection of 160 oceanic artefacts, with the request that it be given to the Society of the Observers of Man in Paris.<sup>22</sup> This constituted the largest part of the expedition’s final anthropological collection, which at the end of the voyage totalled 206 objects.<sup>23</sup> However, even aside from this particular donation, the Baudin expedition still gathered more ethnographical objects during this sojourn than at any other stage in the voyage. Péron’s inventory of the anthropological collection lists only three pieces collected from Tasmania, one from King George Sound and two earrings from elsewhere in Australia, whereas it shows that ten different types of objects in various quantities were acquired in Port Jackson.<sup>24</sup> To these anthropological objects were added Petit’s highly empathetic portraits of Port Jackson Aborigines,<sup>25</sup> as well as several documents attesting to the richness of the indigenous people’s cultural life: the vocabulary and grammar of the “savages” of Port Jackson, donated by Paterson and Bass,<sup>26</sup> as well as musical notations produced by Lesueur and Pierre-François Bernier – the first European notations of Aboriginal music.<sup>27</sup> Instead of sending this ethnographical collection on the *Naturaliste* with the other natural history specimens, Baudin

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<sup>21</sup> “À l’occasion d’une visite faite par certains des dits sauvages à bord du *Géographe*, ils exécutèrent la danse dite „du Kangourou“, en imitant les mouvements et l’air d’inquiétude propre à ce quadrupède”. Quoted in Rivière, “Un périple en Nouvelle Hollande”, p. 580.

<sup>22</sup> F. Péron, “Tableau no. VII<sup>e</sup>, Tableau des différents objets d’histoire naturelle remis au C<sup>en</sup> Péron par différentes personnes”, *Observations zoologiques de Port Jackson à la Nouvelle-Hollande*, Collection Lesueur, Muséum d’histoire naturelle, Le Havre, dossier 21 001 and F. Péron, “Inventaire général de tous les objets relatifs à l’histoire de l’homme, par François Péron”, reproduced in J. Copans and J. Jamin, *Aux origines de l’anthropologie française: les mémoires de la Société des Observateurs de l’Homme en l’an VIII* (Paris, Éditions Jean Michel Place, 1994), pp. 159-167.

<sup>23</sup> Péron, “Inventaire général de tous les objets relatifs à l’histoire de l’homme”, pp. 159-167.

<sup>24</sup> Péron, “Inventaire général de tous les objets relatifs à l’histoire de l’homme”, pp. 159-167.

<sup>25</sup> A large number of these are held in the Collection Lesueur at the Muséum d’histoire naturelle, Le Havre. See also F. Péron [and L. Freycinet], *Voyage de découvertes aux Terres australes, Atlas Historique*, seconde édition (Paris: Arthus Bertrand, 1824) and P. Hambly (trans.), *Voyage of Discovery to the Southern Lands, Atlas: An Historical Record* (Adelaide: The Friends of the State Library of South Australia, 2008). For further discussion of Petit’s portraits of Port Jackson Aborigines, see R. Jones R. Jones, “Images of Natural Man”, in J. Bonnemains, E. Forsyth and B. Smith (eds), *Baudin in Australian Waters: The Artwork of the French Voyage of Discovery to the Southern Lands, 1800-1804* (Melbourne: Oxford University Press, 1988), pp. 58; Sankey, “The Aborigines of Port Jackson”, pp. 123-124 as well as Fornasiero and West-Sooby, “Taming the Unknown”, pp. 77-78.

<sup>26</sup> Péron, *État des manuscrits confiés à M. Volney*, MHN, Le Havre, CL, dossier 21 028.

<sup>27</sup> *Nouvelle Hollande – Nouvelle Galles du Sud, 1<sup>o</sup> Chant, 2<sup>o</sup> Air de danse, 3<sup>o</sup> Cri de Ralliement*, notation faite par Lesueur et Bernier, Collection Lesueur, Muséum d’histoire naturelle, Le Havre, n<sup>o</sup> 16 059-1.

kept it with him aboard the *Géographe* during the second campaign – perhaps with the intention of delivering it in person to the Society of the Observers of Man.

During their five months at Port Jackson, the expeditioners were able to observe a wider range of traditional Aboriginal customs and to communicate more effectively with Aborigines than they had had the occasion to do at any other stage in the voyage. They were also able to form opinions of the effect on Aborigines of European colonisation. Moreover, the vast array of objects and records gathered in the colony substantially augmented and enriched the final scientific collection. Producing a complex picture of Aboriginal people and culture in the formative years of the colony, the research carried out at Port Jackson thus made a vital contribution to the anthropological results of the expedition.

### ***Observing the Cultivation of Australia***

The colonising process involved and influenced not only the local indigenous people but also the land and its products. To feed the population, ensure the economic growth of the colony and establish order, the colonists cleared the forests of the County of Cumberland and introduced European plants. Their successes and failures in this venture were of considerable interest to Baudin and his savants, particularly the botanist Leschenault, as one of the main goals of the expedition“s botanical research was to make discoveries useful to horticulture.<sup>28</sup> Yet it remains to be determined how greatly the observations of the botanical-voyager and the botanist contributed to the scientific results of the expedition.

Horticulture had been one of Baudin“s main interests throughout his career as a botanical-voyager. It had played an important role in his initial plans for a voyage around the world<sup>29</sup> and, as his letter to Jussieu attests,<sup>30</sup> it remained a primary concern for him at Port Jackson. He was particularly keen for the plants collected in Australia to be acclimatised

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<sup>28</sup> “Plan of Itinerary for Citizen Baudin”, in C. Cornell (trans.), *The Journal of Post-Captain Nicolas Baudin*, (Adelaide: Libraries Board of South Australia, 1974), p. 1; “Plan de la campagne que doivent exécuter les corvettes le *Géographe* et le *Naturaliste*, rédigé par les citoyens Fleurieu, Buache et approuvé par le ministre de la Marine”, written in Paris and dated 7 vendémaire an IX [29 September 1800], ANF, SM, 5JJ35.

<sup>29</sup> See an early copy of Baudin“s plan for a voyage around the world: letter from Nicolas Baudin to the Minister of Marine and the Colonies, undated, ANF, SM, BB4995.

successfully in France. He expressed this hope to Jussieu from Port Jackson and proposed how it might be best achieved; he did not refer to the experiences of the British in this matter though, presumably because they had had little success in this themselves. He told his friend and patron about the climate in which most of the plants had been gathered, compared it to the general climate back home, and suggested that “the orangerie would suit them for the winter in France”.<sup>31</sup> As to the acclimatisation of European plants in Australia, his observations in the colony enabled him to provide more detail. He informed Jussieu that, although farmers had needed to move inland to find fertile soil, they had successfully introduced all types of European fruit trees into the colony. Orange and lemon trees were grown outdoors, he explained, where they prospered and produced fruit as fine in quality as that found in Portugal. He added that some, though acclimatised, had nevertheless not flourished: notably, the apple, cherry and almond trees. Vegetables were growing in abundance and tasted good, Baudin pronounced. The only product that had not been successfully cultivated, he told Jussieu, was the grapevine – a result, it was suspected, of the “searing heat of the north-east wind”.<sup>32</sup> The failure to establish a vineyard had in fact been of considerable concern to the colonists and they sought advice from several members of the expedition.<sup>33</sup> Baudin was therefore not alone aboard the *Géographe* in commenting upon the grapevine or, indeed, on many of the other plants introduced by the British. Even though he was engaged in the business of preparing a new campaign and was becoming concerned about the human element of colonisation, Baudin made a point of sending this information to the Professor of Botany at the Muséum d’histoire naturelle. This clearly indicates that he remained eager to contribute to the expedition’s collection of useful knowledge.

Baudin, however, was the commander of the expedition, not the botanist. His letter

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<sup>30</sup> Letter from Baudin to Jussieu, sent from Port Jackson and dated 20 brumaire XI (November 11 1802), MNHN, ms2082, pièce no. 5.

<sup>31</sup> “la serre d’orangerie est ce qui doit leur convenir pour l’hiver de France”. Letter from Baudin to Jussieu, sent from Port Jackson and dated 20 brumaire XI [November 11 1802], MNHN, ms2082, pièce no. 5.

<sup>32</sup> “la sécheresse brûlante du vent de nord-est”. Letter from Baudin to Jussieu, sent from Port Jackson and dated 20 brumaire XI [November 11 1802], MNHN, ms2082, pièce no. 5.

<sup>33</sup> See P.-B. Milius, *Récit du voyage aux Terres australes par Pierre-Bernard Milius, second sur le “Naturaliste dans l’expédition Baudin (1800-1804)*, trans. J. Bonnemains and P. Haugel, (Le Havre: Société havraise d’études diverse, 1987), p. 45.

therefore did not constitute a thorough report on the cultivation of the County of Cumberland. It made no reference either to the native fauna or to the effect on the land of farming. It is the botanical report composed by Leschenault and published in the *Voyage de découvertes* that effectively fills these gaps.<sup>34</sup>

Leschenault observed the British attempts to cultivate Australian soil with a critical eye. His interest lay less in the introduction of European plants than in the native environment itself. He seems to have been disappointed, consequently, to discover that the colonists had not made use of the abundant and varied native plants growing throughout the Sydney region.<sup>35</sup> Although he neither suggests ways in which the local vegetation could be utilised by Europeans nor explains what the benefit of such an approach could be, he evidently doubted that the land could be relied upon to support European agriculture for any considerable length of time. Like Péron, he pointed out that the soil was only fertile in areas regularly affected by flooding.<sup>36</sup> The colonists' continued attempts to cultivate the land, Leschenault believed, would prove largely unproductive for farmers and also detrimental to the land and its native products. He explained:

when accidental causes have not *enriched* the soil, the farmer is often disappointed in the hopes that had been raised in him by a country covered in fine forests - the slow, gradual product of several centuries of growth, utterly undisturbed by human industry. Few years are needed to exhaust a land that he has painfully cleared. In area surrounding Parramatta, I came upon a number of these farms that have been abandoned. After cultivation, the soil (after its return to Nature), is no longer covered by anything but puny bushes and a species of *Saccharum*, a dry, coarse, graminaceous plant, not suitable for feeding live-stock.<sup>37</sup>

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<sup>34</sup> Leschenault, "Account of the Vegetation of New Holland and Van Diemen's Land" in Cornell (trans.), *Voyage of Discovery*, vol. III, *Dissertations on Various Subjects*, pp. 104-109; Leschenault, "Notice sur la végétation de la Nouvelle-Hollande et de la terre de Diemen", in Péron, *Voyage de découvertes*, t. IV, pp. 327-353.

<sup>35</sup> Leschenault, "Account of the Vegetation of New Holland and Van Diemen's Land" in Cornell (trans.), *Voyage of Discovery*, vol. III, *Dissertations on Various Subjects*, p. 105; Leschenault, "Notice sur la végétation de la Nouvelle-Hollande et de la terre de Diemen", in Péron, *Voyage de découvertes*, t. IV, p. 348.

<sup>36</sup> Leschenault, "Account of the Vegetation of New Holland and Van Diemen's Land" in Cornell (trans.), *Voyage of Discovery*, vol. III, *Dissertations on Various Subjects*, p. 105; Leschenault, "Notice sur la végétation de la Nouvelle-Hollande et de la terre de Diemen", in Péron, *Voyage de découvertes*, t. IV, p. 347.

<sup>37</sup> Leschenault, "Account of the Vegetation of New Holland and Van Diemen's Land" in Cornell (trans.), *Voyage of Discovery*, vol. III, *Dissertations on Various Subjects*, p. 105; Leschenault, "Notice sur la végétation de la Nouvelle-Hollande et de la terre de Diemen", in Péron, *Voyage de découvertes*, t. IV, p. 347-348: "Mais lorsque des causes accidentelles n'ont pas *engraissé* le sol, le cultivateur est souvent déçu des espérances que lui avait données un terrain couvert de belles forêts, ouvrage lent et progressif de plusieurs siècles de végétation, que n'avait jamais troublé l'industrie des hommes. Peu d'années suffisent pour épuiser une terre qu'il a péniblement



This concern for the destruction of native forests at the hands of European farmers would have been of interest to Baudin's friend at the Muséum d'histoire naturelle, André Thouin.<sup>38</sup> It was a concern stemming from an objective and scientific point of view – a point of view, in fact, that does not appear to have been entirely approved of by Louis Freycinet: judging by comments made in footnotes to the report,<sup>39</sup> which appeared in the *Voyage*, Leschenault's critical view of the colony clearly did not fit into the rosy picture that co-authors and eager imperialists Louis Freycinet and Péron wanted to present to France. Precisely for this reason, though, the botanist's observations made a significant contribution to the scientific findings of the expedition.

The report by Leschenault and the letter from Baudin together present a balanced account of the agricultural development of Port Jackson. It is not unreasonable to assume that the opportunity to make observations at “the only place in New Holland to which Europeans have taken their industry and agriculture”<sup>40</sup> must have significantly advanced the Frenchmen's understanding of horticultural issues and of the land and vegetation of Australia. With this knowledge, Baudin and Leschenault's observations in the second campaign would conceivably have been much enriched.

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défrichée. J'ai rencontré, dans les environs de Parramatta, nombre de ces cultures abandonnées. Le sol, après avoir été cultivé, ne se couvre plus, lorsqu'il est rendu à la nature, que d'arbustes chétifs et d'une espèce de *sacharum*, plante graminée, sèche et rude, qui n'est pas propre à la nourriture des bestiaux”.

<sup>38</sup> Thouin, professor of agriculture, holding the chair in horticulture, published views similar views to those expressed by Leschenault, although in regard to the European environment. Sources have not yet come to light to show whether his theories had any influence upon either Leschenault or Baudin. See A. Thouin, “Instruction sur le semis, la plantation et la culture des arbres”, written in Paris 18 August 1824, in J.-H. Jaume Sainte-Hilaire, *Traité des arbrisseaux et des arbustes cultivées en France et en pleine terre* (Paris: chez l'auteur, 1825), pp. 1-2, where Thouin laments the destruction of forests in France and stresses the importance of replacing trees and conserving the natural environment.

<sup>39</sup> Based on the word of Governor King rather than on personal observation, Louis Freycinet contradicted Leschenault's claim that the colony was not harvesting enough grain to meet its needs. However, various other sources support Leschenault's statement by indicating that the colony was often short of provisions, including grain. Freycinet also pointed out, pettily, that it was not only European plants that the British had introduced to Australia but also tropical plants. See Leschenault, “Account of the Vegetation of New Holland and Van Diemen's Land” in Cornell (trans.), *Voyage of Discovery*, vol. III, *Dissertations on Various Subjects*, pp. 108-109; Leschenault, “Notice sur la végétation de la Nouvelle-Hollande et de la terre de Diemen”, in Péron, *Voyage de découvertes*, t. IV, p. 346.

<sup>40</sup> Leschenault, “Account of the Vegetation of New Holland and Van Diemen's Land” in Cornell (trans.), *Voyage of Discovery*, vol. III, *Dissertations on Various Subjects*, p. 104. Leschenault, “Notice sur la végétation de la

### *Charting Settlements and Stars: French Geography and Astronomy at Port Jackson*

There were two additional fields of science, critical to the work of the Baudin expedition but infrequently examined, that particularly benefited from the Port Jackson stay: geography and astronomy. In the context of maritime voyages, geographers and astronomers are usually imagined aboard the ship, projecting their scientific gaze up to the sky, or outward toward the distant coastline while the waves roll below. Ashore, however, they continued to pursue their research and in fact could do so with greater ease. Therefore, the opportunity to spend almost six months on shore in a European settlement with the facilities and freedom to carry out their work, gave astronomer Pierre-François Bernier, geographers Pierre Faure and Charles Boullanger, and their companions every advantage.

It is interesting to note that Baudin made a greater effort to arrange favourable conditions for astronomical work at Port Jackson than Hamelin had done during his first visit. Hamelin had not requested access to any particular location for the *Naturaliste*'s observatory and, in the end, was directed to erect the tents over five kilometres from Sydney at Green Point – just inside the entrance to the harbour. Baudin, however, secured for Bernier an optimal position on Bennelong Point, as well as soldiers to guard the observatory; he also gave strict orders that Bernier's meals be taken to him there from the *Géographe* each day. As Jacques Vialle points out, this position happened to be located only a short distance from the colonial observatory at Sydney Cove;<sup>41</sup> however, records do not indicate whether or not Bernier had the occasion to use these facilities. It is known, though, that Baudin delayed the expedition's departure from Port Jackson at Bernier's request. The astronomer appealed to Baudin, knowing his "zeal for the sciences", to stay in the colony an additional fortnight in order to observe the transit of Mercury.<sup>42</sup> Although inclement weather, in the end, hindered Bernier's attempt to observe the event, it would have been of considerable importance for the

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Nouvelle-Hollande et de la terre de Diemen", in F. Péron, *Voyage de découvertes*, t. IV, p. 345: "le seul lieu de la Nouvelle-Hollande où les Européens aient porté leur industrie et l'agriculture".

<sup>41</sup> J. Vialle, "Le destin tragique de Pierre-François Bernier, astronome de l'expédition Baudin", *Australian Journal of French Studies*, XLI, 2 (2004), p. 169.

progress of scientific knowledge, as Vialle points out: through comparisons with other observations, Bernier could have hoped to calculate the precise parallax of the sun.<sup>43</sup> Therefore, by granting his astronomer's request, Baudin demonstrated that he valued astronomical work not only for its navigational use but also for its general scientific merit.

As Vialle states, the months spent ashore during this sojourn were especially fruitful for the astronomer.<sup>44</sup> Bernier made extensive daily entries in his journal, from time to time recording an event such as the news of peace between Britain and France or the departure of Matthew Flinders, but mainly noting astronomical observations. His long stay ashore also gave Bernier the opportunity to make adjustments to the ship's clocks, correct inaccuracies in the readings taken earlier at sea and also think about how his work could be improved during the subsequent voyage.<sup>45</sup> Eminent French astronomer, Jérôme Lalande, to whom Bernier sent from Port Jackson an account of his work,<sup>46</sup> was proud to record that, at the end of the sojourn, though Hamelin pressed him to return to France for the sake of his health, Bernier chose to undertake the second campaign.<sup>47</sup> "I am fulfilling the mission with which the government has honoured me; I hope that in this way I will be of use to you one day", Bernier declared to his mother.<sup>48</sup> Thanks in large part to his positive experience at Port Jackson, the young astronomer clearly felt that his work was valued and he was strongly motivated to continue his contribution to the expedition and his career as an astronomer.

The geographical results of the Port Jackson stay were particularly important. Although British maps had been available in France since the early years of the colony, the Baudin expedition's visit to Port Jackson provided the first opportunity for Frenchmen to produce, from personal observations, their own plans and charts of the region. These

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<sup>42</sup> "votre zèle pour les sciences". P.-F. Bernier, *Journal des observations faites par l'astronome Bernier à bord le Naturaliste et le Géographe, 19 octobre 1800 au 6 mai 1803*, entries dated 28 prairial an X - 27 brumaire an XI [17 June - 18 November 1802], ANF, SM 5JJ47.

<sup>43</sup> Vialle, "Le destin tragique de Pierre-François Bernier", p. 169.

<sup>44</sup> Vialle, "Le destin tragique de Pierre-François Bernier", p. 169.

<sup>45</sup> Bernier, *Journal*, entries dated 28 prairial an X - 27 brumaire an XI [17 June - 18 November 1802].

<sup>46</sup> See J. Lalande, *Bibliographie astronomique; avec l'Histoire de l'astronomie depuis 1781 jusqu'à 1802* (Paris: Imprimerie de la République, 1803), p. 874.

<sup>47</sup> J. Lalande, "Notice sur l'astronome Bernier", in *Magasin Encyclopédique ou Journal des Sciences, des Lettres et des Arts*, IX<sup>e</sup> Année, Tôme V (1804), pp. 266-267.

documents appear to have been the products of collaboration between various members of the expedition, particularly Boullanger, Lesueur and Louis Freycinet. It may be assumed that Baudin supported the construction of these plans; in his instructions, the importance of charting ports – particularly those that could hold military importance – was made clear.<sup>49</sup> The expeditioners, no doubt aware of the fortuitous and important opportunity before them, grasped the chance to produce the first French charts of the colony at Port Jackson.

Their work provides evidence of the Frenchmen's close and comprehensive observations of the colony. Two of the charts, as acknowledged in their titles, were based upon British charts – the “Plan du Port Jackson”, which was based on those of previous governor John Hunter,<sup>50</sup> and the “Plan du Comté de Cumberland”, which was likewise drawn up from “les Cartes Anglaises”.<sup>51</sup> However, if the French version of the map of Port Jackson is compared to those drawn up for Hunter,<sup>52</sup> it is evident that the British charts were used only to provide a broad, fundamental, outline. Based on observations made aboard the French ships in 1802, as the titles indicate, the French maps provide detailed, contemporary representations of the colony. The map of Port Jackson offers a closer view than the maps upon which it seems to have been based and therefore includes additional details such as the names of numerous points and coves along the coastline, locations of fresh water sources and Sydney Harbour's point of longitude from Paris. The map of the County of Cumberland shows the

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<sup>48</sup> “je remplis la mission dont le gouvernement m'a honoré; j'espère par-là vous être utile un jour”. Quoted in Lalande, “Notice sur l'astronome Bernier”, p. 269.

<sup>49</sup> These instructions are the same as those given to La Pérouse. See *A voyage round the world : performed in the years 1785, 1786, 1787, and 1788, by the Boussole and Astrolabe, under the command of J.F.G. de La Perouse* (London : A. Hamilton, 1799), pp. 42-47.

<sup>50</sup> “Plan du Port Jackson (Nouvelles Galles du Sud) d'après le Capitaine John Hunter assujetti aux observations faites à bord des Corvettes françaises en 1802”, plate no. 29 in L. Freycinet, *Voyage de découvertes aux Terres australes exécuté par ordre de Sa Majesté l'Empereur et Roi, sur les corvettes le Géographe, le Naturaliste ; et la goélette le Casuarina, pendant les années 1800, 1802, 1803 et 1804*, first edition, *Atlas, Navigation et géographie*, (Paris: Imprimerie Royale, 1812).

<sup>51</sup> “Plan du Comté de Cumberland (Nouvelles Galles du Sud) d'après les Cartes Anglaises assujetti aux observations faites à bord des Corvette Françaises en 1802”, plate no. 29 in L. Freycinet, *Voyage de découvertes*, first edition, *Atlas, Navigation et géographie*.

<sup>52</sup> See “Chart of the coast between Botany Bay and Broken Bay: surveyed in 1788 and 89 by Captain John Hunter” and “A map of all those parts of the territory of New South Wales which have been seen by any person belonging to the settlement established at Port Jackson”, in J. Hunter, *An historical journal of the transactions at Port Jackson and Norfolk Island with the discoveries which have been made in New South Wales and in the southern ocean since the publication of Phillip's voyage, compiled from the official papers, including the journals of Governors Phillip and King and of Lieut. Ball, and the voyages from the first sailing of the Sirius in 1787, to the return of that ship's company to England in 1792* (Adelaide: Libraries Board of South Australia, 1968).

roads linking each of the colony's townships, indicates the size and shape of each town, as well as features such as waterfalls and rivers at the edge of the mountains and some notes about the fertility of land at different points near the mountain range. The Frenchmen's interest in the colony, however, was not limited to the layout of the country and the quality of its soil. Their map of Sydney is immensely detailed.<sup>53</sup> It was sketched by Lesueur according to bearings taken by Boullanger, and charts in fine detail the area from the southern edge of Palmer's Cove to the northern edge of the township, and from Sydney Cove inland to the village of Brickfield. Civil and military structures, docks and dockyards, gardens, even the cemetery, are carefully depicted and cross-referenced. The Frenchmen obviously intended to provide France with the most detailed depictions possible of Sydney and its surrounds.

Access to such detailed plans of Britain's flourishing colony in the south seas would obviously have been of great strategic interest to French authorities. It would indeed not be surprising if, as Jean-Paul Faivre remarks, the French plan of Sydney was that which "Napoléon [...] kept upon his desk".<sup>54</sup> The Port Jackson stay produced significant contributions both to the astronomical and geographical work of the expedition.

### ***The Natural History Collection***

In the *Plan de la campagne*, Count Fleurieu instructed Baudin to

employ assiduously, and with all the zeal of which he has given proof, the scientists, engineers, artists and means placed at his disposal [...] to study the inhabitants, animals and natural products of the countries in which he lands. With regard to the products, he will give his attention to the collecting of those which appear capable of being preserved, and he will apply himself principally to the procuring of the useful animals and plants which, unknown in our climate, could be introduced here.<sup>55</sup>

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<sup>53</sup> "Plan de la ville de Sydney (capitale des colonies anglaises aux Terres australes) levé par M. Lesueur et assujetti aux relèvements de M. Boullanger. Novembre 1802", plate no. 30 in L. de Freycinet, *Voyage de découvertes*, first edition, *Atlas, Navigation et géographie*.

<sup>54</sup> "c'est certainement ce plan que Napoléon, dit-on, conservait sur son bureau". J.-P. Faivre, *L'Expansion française dans le Pacifique, 1800-1842* (Paris: Nouvelles Editions Latines, 1953), p. 154.

<sup>55</sup> Cornell, *Journal of Baudin*, p. 1; "Plan de la campagne que doivent exécuter les corvettes le *Géographe* et le *Naturaliste*, rédigé par les citoyens Fleurieu et Buache et approuvé par le Ministre de la Marine", ANF, SM 5JJ35: "emploiera assidûment, et avec tout le zèle dont il a donné des preuves, les savants, les ingénieurs, les artistes et les moyens qui ont été mis à sa disposition, tant pour fixer avec précision la position géographique des points principaux des côtes qu'il visitera, et pour en lever des cartes exactes, que pour étudier les habitants, les animaux et les productions naturelles des pays où il abordera. À l'égard des productions, il s'occupera de

The Port Jackson stay certainly offered Baudin the occasion to carry out this duty in a comprehensive manner. The natural history work undertaken in the colony is mentioned by Frank Horner and the results have been summarised in various histories;<sup>56</sup> however, the precise nature of the natural history collection compiled at Port Jackson, and particularly Baudin's part in bringing it together, have not yet been examined in detail.

When Baudin wrote to Jussieu towards the end of his stay at Port Jackson, he discussed the natural history collection at some length, focusing primarily upon his discoveries and observations in the field of botany.<sup>57</sup> During the month of August, he had accompanied Governor King on an excursion through the County of Cumberland, "beyond the furthest areas known to the English".<sup>58</sup> This excursion was the only opportunity that Baudin found, during the entire voyage, to spend an extended length of time studying Australia's natural environment without the distractions of shipboard responsibilities. During his tour, he told Jussieu, he collected various seeds that he hoped could be grown in France. Baudin was proud to point out that these seeds, added to some others that he had received from local inhabitants, were enough to fill one crate, to be transported on the *Naturaliste* to the Jardin des Plantes for the particular attention of botanist André Thouin.<sup>59</sup> Baudin's collection of seeds from Port Jackson would represent a significant contribution to the expedition's botanical collection, as it made up one of only three crates that Hamelin transported to France.<sup>60</sup> Jussieu seems to have been particularly pleased with these seeds,

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rassembler celles qui paroîtront susceptibles d'être conservées; et il s'attachera principalement à se procurer les animaux et les végétaux utiles, qui, étrangers à notre climats, pourraient s'y naturaliser".

<sup>56</sup> Horner, *The French Reconnaissance*, pp. 258 and 260. For summaries of the natural history work undertaken at Port Jackson see: R. Bouvier and E. Maynial, *Une aventure dans les mers australes: l'expédition du commandant Baudin (1800-1803)* (Paris: Mercure de France, 1947), pp.181-182; Fornasiero, Monteath and West-Sooby, *Encountering Terra Australis*, p. 204; Brown, *Ill-Starred Captains*, pp. 260-263; Duyker, *François Péron*, pp. 139 and 143-149.

<sup>57</sup> Letter from Baudin to Jussieu, written at Port Jackson and dated 20 brumaire XI (November 11 1802), MNHN, ms2082, pièce 5.

<sup>58</sup> "je suis allé au-delà des lieux les plus avancés connus des Anglais". Letter from Baudin to Jussieu, written at Port Jackson and dated 20 brumaire XI [November 11 1802], MNHN, ms2082, pièce no. 5.

<sup>59</sup> N. Baudin, "Etat général des objets de curiosité et d'histoire naturelle embarqués à bord du *Naturaliste* Cap<sup>ne</sup> Hamelin pour être débarqués au Havre à la disposition du Ministre de la Marine et des Colonies", ANF, SM BB4997.

<sup>60</sup> N. Baudin, "Géographie. État détaillé des plans, cartes et journaux adressés au Ministre de la Marine et des Colonies, pour le citoyen Buache, membre du Bureau des longitudes", ANF, SM, BB4997.

even if he attributed the entire collection to Leschenault:

Seeds collected with care by the botanist and the gardener, planted at Malmaison and at the museum, in Montpellier and in other southern regions, and most of which have grown, give hope that we will see some plants from this part of the world naturalised in France.<sup>61</sup>

Baudin was also eager to explain to Jussieu, in his letter of 11 November, that aboard the *Naturaliste* were to be found four pieces of timber he had collected at Port Jackson – a gift to Jussieu and Thouin. The timber was not valued in the colony, Baudin pointed out, where it was commonly used as firewood, but he considered it to be fine and believed that its appearance would be even more pleasing to the eye once dressed. This gesture on the part of Baudin, and his pride in the collection of native seeds give some indication of his friendship with the professors of the Muséum and also of his devotion to the field of botany.

These were the only botanical specimens from Port Jackson that Baudin chose to mention to Jussieu; however, he in fact collected many more. An account of his purchases from Sydney merchant James Underwood makes several references to “garden stuff” – gardening items – that came to a cost of thirteen shillings, six pence, as well as to plants, to a total cost of fifteen shillings. As Horner mentions,<sup>62</sup> he also acquired some pines from New Zealand and Norfolk Island. Baudin was particularly proud of these acquisitions and remarked to the Minister of Marine and the Colonies that these, among all the living plants, would no doubt be “most appreciated because no other European nation has been able to procure them”.<sup>63</sup> Indeed, they were later greatly admired by Jussieu.<sup>64</sup> It was clearly fortunate that, although Baudin had little time to spend collecting specimens in the field, he was able

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<sup>61</sup> “Des graines recueillies avec soin par le botaniste et le jardinier, semées à la Malmaison, au Muséum, à Montpellier et dans d’autres lieux méridionaux, et levées pour la plupart, donnent l’espoir de naturaliser en France quelques productions de cette partie du monde”. A.-L. de Jussieu, “Notice sur l’expédition à la Nouvelle-Hollande, entreprise pour des recherches de Géographie et d’Histoire naturelle”, *Annales du Muséum national d’histoire naturelle*, vol. V (Paris : chez Levrault, Schœll et Compagnie, an XII [1804]), p. 8.

<sup>62</sup> Horner, *The French Reconnaissance*, p. 258.

<sup>63</sup> “Le pin de la Nouvelle Zélande et le pin de la Norfolk Island, seront sans doute, parmi les plantes vivantes, celles dont le prix sera mieux senti, puisqu’aucune nation européenne n’est encore parvenue à se les procurer”. Letter from Nicolas Baudin to the Minister of Marine and the Colonies, written at Port Jackson and dated 20 brumaire an X [11 November 1802].

<sup>64</sup> Jussieu, “Notice sur l’expédition à la Nouvelle-Hollande”, p. 8.

through his contact with the colonists at Port Jackson to make valuable contributions to the expedition's botanical collection.

Moreover, it is evident that Baudin's efforts in the field of botany were motivated by more than a desire to augment the French collection; he was interested in contributing to scientific endeavour more generally. During his stay in the colony, he developed a relationship with Paterson, a member of the Royal Society and a friend and correspondent of Joseph Banks, and donated to him some plants that he had collected during the voyage. Paterson clearly deemed them to be of considerable value for, following the expedition's sojourn, he sent them to London to be examined by Banks and added to the collection at Soho Square.<sup>65</sup> If Banks responded to Paterson on the subject of Baudin's donations, his response has not yet come to light; nonetheless, the exchange of specimens itself is worthy of note for its demonstration of Anglo-French cooperation in the interests of botanical studies.

Such cooperation also benefited the research of botanist Leschenault. British records show that, during the *Naturaliste's* first sojourn at Port Jackson, Leschenault carried out field work alongside the eminent botanist of the Flinders expedition, Robert Brown.<sup>66</sup> When the young Frenchman returned to Port Jackson in late June, Brown was still in Sydney and it was to be almost another month before he departed aboard the *Investigator*. Although sources do not indicate whether or not the two botanists again ventured into the countryside together, it seems likely that they would have continued to exchange knowledge.<sup>67</sup> The records of Leschenault's collection from Port Jackson do not specify which specimens were collected during his second visit to the colony, under Baudin's supervision, as opposed to his first

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<sup>65</sup> See letters from William Paterson to Joseph Banks, written at Sydney and dated 13 May 1803 and c. August 1803, *The Papers of Sir Joseph Banks*, State Library of New South Wales, series 27.28 and 27.27.

<sup>66</sup> P. I. Edwards (ed.), *The Journal of Peter Good: Gardener on Matthew Flinders' Voyage to Terra Australis 1801-1803* (London: British Museum, 1981), p. 78.

<sup>67</sup> On Robert Brown's sojourn at Port Jackson, see T.G. Vallance, D.T. Moore and E.W. Groves (eds), *Nature's Investigator: The Diary of Robert Brown in Australia, 1801-1805* (Canberra: Australian Biological Resources Study, 2001), pp. 201-216. For references to Leschenault in this text, see the entry dated Tuesday 11 May 1802, p. 203 as well as the letters from Robert Brown to Joseph Banks, written at Sydney and dated 30 May 1802, p. 206, and from Robert Brown to Jonas Dryander, written at Sydney and dated 30 May 1802, p. 207.



visit.<sup>68</sup> Nevertheless, as the time he spent in Sydney in the company of Baudin was considerably longer than the earlier, brief sojourn, it seems safe to presume that the larger proportion of his Port Jackson collection was gathered during this second episode. Leschenault was enthusiastic in expressing his admiration for the vegetation in the County of Cumberland. Like Baudin, he declared that “the environs of Sydney [...] are [...] covered in a host of indigenous [plants]. There is possibly no country in which the vegetation offers such great variety and a collection of such pretty shrubs, several of which are remarkable for the elegance of their shape and the beauty and sweetness of their flowers”.<sup>69</sup> Although, as he remarked himself, most of the local plants had previously been described by British naturalists, Leschenault succeeded in discovering several new plants: a species of *Dianella*, another of *Exocarpos*, and several plants of the legume and myrtle families.<sup>70</sup> He also collected two species of *Corroea* that appeared in Labillardière’s study but which Robert Brown noted that he, himself, had been unable to find.<sup>71</sup> In fact, Péron wrote that at Port Jackson Leschenault “worked unceasingly with the most tireless zeal. He had collected an enormous number of plants and brought together details of the greatest interest concerning them”.<sup>72</sup>

Due to the combined efforts of Leschenault and Baudin, and no doubt the junior gardener Antoine Guichenot, the botanical collection made at Port Jackson was indeed immense. Towards the end of the sojourn, embarked aboard the *Naturaliste* were: 79 tubs

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<sup>68</sup> Leschenault, “Account of the Vegetation of New Holland and Van Diemen’s Land” in Cornell (trans.), *Voyage of Discovery*, vol. III, *Dissertations on Various Subjects*, pp. 104-109; Leschenault, “Notice sur la végétation de la Nouvelle-Hollande et de la terre de Diemen”, in Péron, *Voyage de découvertes*, t. IV, pp. 345-350.

<sup>69</sup> Leschenault, “Account of the Vegetation of New Holland and Van Diemen’s Land” in Cornell (trans.), *Voyage of Discovery*, vol. III, *Dissertations on Various Subjects*, p. 106; Leschenault, “Notice sur la végétation de la Nouvelle-Hollande et de la terre de Diemen”, in Péron, *Voyage de découvertes aux Terres australes*, t. IV, p. 349: “Les environs de Sydney [...] sont cependant couverts d’une foule de plantes indigènes. Il n’est peut-être aucun pays où la végétation offre une si grande variété et une réunion d’aussi jolis arbustes, dont plusieurs sont remarquables par l’élégance de leurs formes, la beauté et la suavité de leurs fleurs”.

<sup>70</sup> Leschenault, “Account of the Vegetation of New Holland and Van Diemen’s Land” in Cornell (trans.), *Voyage of Discovery*, vol. III, *Dissertations on Various Subjects*, p. 106; Leschenault, “Notice sur la végétation de la Nouvelle-Hollande et de la terre de Diemen”, in Péron and Freycinet, *Voyage de découvertes*, t. IV, p. 349.

<sup>71</sup> Letter from Robert Brown to Jonas Dryander, written at Sydney and dated 30 May 1802, reproduced in F. M. Bladen (ed.), *Historical Records of New South Wales*, vol. IV (Sydney: Government Printer, 1896), p. 774.

<sup>72</sup> Cornell (trans.), *Voyage of Discovery*, vol. II, p. 347; F. Péron, *Voyage de découvertes*, t. II, p. 398: “Pendant toute la durée de notre séjour au Port Jackson, M. Leschenault n’avait pas cessé de déployer la plus infatigable ardeur; de toute part il avait réuni d’immenses collections de végétaux, et rassemblé, sur leur histoire, des détails du plus grand intérêt”.

containing a total of 800 individual living plants (of around 250 species), 3,560 dried plants (of around 900 species) and, as mentioned above, three crates of seeds. It is not possible, based on sources currently available, to determine precisely what proportion of this collection had been gathered at Port Jackson and how much of it was the result of the first campaign. However, Michel Jangoux makes an interesting observation: as the work he has been undertaking at the Muséum national d'histoire naturelle in Paris suggests, most of the specimens collected by the Baudin expedition in Australia were from the County of Cumberland.<sup>73</sup> Many of the plants would later be studied by French botanists and, as Jussieu hoped, some were naturalised in France; their visit to Port Jackson had clearly enabled Baudin and his botanical staff to send France a significant piece of Australia.

Without doubt, though, the importance of the botanical collection was closely rivalled by the vast and diverse number of zoological specimens the Frenchmen gathered in the colony. Baudin seems to have been fascinated by the local wildlife and his collecting, which was most prolific in this field, was again facilitated by various contacts he made in the colony. As with the botanical specimens, he was prepared to use the expedition's scarce funds, and also to trade, in order to acquire interesting animals for the Muséum in Paris. He paid the considerable sum of 128 pounds, three shillings and six pence for a variety of quadrupeds, birds, reptiles, etc. and traded quantities of rum in exchange for a native cat, a fish and a swan.<sup>74</sup> The two "wild dogs", presumably dingoes, that were captured at Port Jackson for the collection might also be attributed to Baudin. They were not mentioned by zoologist Péron but sub-lieutenant Joseph Ransonnet noted in the logbook of the *Géographe*, 3 November, that these dogs were embarked aboard the *Naturaliste* at Baudin's order. In fact, the commander was given several animals by people in the colony: H.Weld Noble, agent of the

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<sup>73</sup> M. Jangoux, "Les zoologistes et botanistes qui accompagnèrent le capitaine Baudin aux Terres australes", *Australian Journal of French Studies*, XLI, 2 (2004), p. 66. Michel Jangoux has discovered, at the Muséum national d'histoire naturelle in Paris, all of the botanical specimens from the Baudin expedition – a collection that the historian Frank Horner believed to have been lost. Jangoux is currently in the process of cataloguing these specimens and photographing them with the intention of creating a CD Rom. This is a significant undertaking that will help us better to understand the botanical research accomplished by the expedition.

American brig *Fanny*, donated two birds, and Andrew Thompson, Hawkesbury chief constable, farmer and businessman, contributed a “wild cat” and some young swans. Baudin had entered into negotiations – with both Noble and Thompson during the sojourn to obtain campaign provisions – the donations conceivably stemmed from these dealings. It appears Baudin made clear his passion for natural history. A letter he received from Thompson has a rather familiar tone and indicates that the writer was prepared to go to considerable lengths to provide Baudin with animals for the expedition’s collection. He wrote:

I take the liberty of sending the little animal I spoke about when at Sydney last; it has lived in the case several weeks and appears to be something of the wild-cat tribe. The cockatoo is lost but I am endeavouring to get another and some young swans from the Natives which if I procure in due time shall be forwarded to you; they will be easily tamed and kept alive in the ship.<sup>75</sup>

The “wild-cat” in question was most likely the animal known today as the “spotted-tail quoll”, and may have been the subject of a drawing made by one of the expedition’s artists, Charles-Alexandre Lesueur, which is currently held in the Lesueur Collection at the Muséum d’histoire naturelle, Le Havre. Furthermore, the young swans mentioned by Thompson appear in the inventories of the animals taken to France aboard the *Naturaliste* – fortunately, for Joséphine Bonaparte, they survived the voyage and were able to be settled in her garden at Malmaison.<sup>76</sup> Indeed, although he has received little personal recognition for it, Baudin’s zoological collection from Port Jackson left a lasting legacy in France.

Of course, the largest proportion of the zoological collection was gathered by Péron and his colleagues. Péron undertook excursions to Botany Bay, Parramatta, and Castle-Hill, accompanied by the *Naturaliste*’s doctor, Jérôme Bellefin, and, at certain times, by Paterson as well as English botanist George Caley. These rambles produced a voluminous and varied zoological collection. From the environs of Parramatta alone, Péron recorded finding 150 new

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<sup>74</sup> N. Baudin, “Compte général des dépenses relatives aux bâtiments de la République, le *Géographe*, le *Naturaliste* et le *Casuarina* pendant la relâche au Port Jackson, Nouvelle-Hollande”, ANF, SM BB4997 and “Commodore Rum Account”, ANF, SM, 5JJ53.

<sup>75</sup> Letter from Andrew Thompson to Nicolas Baudin, sent from Parramatta and dated 3 November 1802, ANF, SM, 5JJ53.

<sup>76</sup> C. Jouanin, “Nicolas Baudin chargé de réunir une collection pour la future Impératrice Joséphine”, *Australian Journal of French Studies*, XLI, 2 (2004), p. 46.

species of insects, including 40 butterflies<sup>77</sup> – which for one excursion constitutes an impressive proportion of the expedition’s final total of 880 new insect species.<sup>78</sup> The lizards he found made up a quarter of the total number of new lizard species discovered by the French in Australia. And, notably, this was the only location in Australia (including Tasmania) where Péron found frogs, tree-frogs and – apart from one unremarkable specimen found under a log in Geographe Bay – toads.<sup>79</sup> Similarly, the platypus, emu and long-necked turtle that Péron captured were to be the only specimens of their kind in the expedition’s collection.<sup>80</sup> Collecting quadrupeds and birds seems to have been mainly the responsibility of Charles-Alexandre Lesueur. He collected 68 quadrupeds, a substantial contribution to the expedition’s total of 234 “quadrupeds and oviparous bipeds”,<sup>81</sup> and 200 birds, which is almost half of the quantity that would be collected in the entire second campaign including the return voyage to France. Of all the numerous birds obtained at Port Jackson, the king parrot appears to have been particularly admired by the French, for Lesueur chose to include a sketch of it in his collection of ornithological drawings.<sup>82</sup> The remarkable zoological collection of Port Jackson was undeniably the result of a sustained collective effort on the part of the French expeditioners.

So, too, though to a lesser extent, was the collection of minerals. As the geologist Wolf Mayer highlights, the Port Jackson sojourn enabled the two French mineralogists Louis Depuch and Charles Bailly to work closely together.<sup>83</sup> They were the first mineralogists to set foot in Australia and, accordingly, their studies would be vital not only to the expedition but

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<sup>77</sup> Cornell, *Voyage of Discovery*, vol. II, p. 319 ; Péron, *Voyage de découvertes*, t. II, p. 404. Presumably, some of these specimens were collected by Bellefin but Péron attributes all of the discoveries to himself.

<sup>78</sup> See also, Jussieu, “Notice sur l’expédition à la Nouvelle-Hollande”, p. 10.

<sup>79</sup> Cornell, *Voyage of Discovery*, vol. II, pp. 320-321; Péron, *Voyage de découvertes*, t. II, p. 332. See also Péron’s notebooks in the dossier 78 and notes entitled “3e et 4e Classes, Quadrupède-ovipares et Reptiles”, MHN, Le Havre, CL, dossier 21 003-3.

<sup>80</sup> See Péron’s inventories of the zoological collection held in MHN, Le Havre, CL, dossier 21, notebooks catalogued 21 001 and 21 002.

<sup>81</sup> The term “oviparous bipeds” was used as distinct from “birds” and seems to have referred to flightless birds, specifically emus and cassowaries.

<sup>82</sup> There is a drawing of this bird in his collection of ornithological drawings. C.-A. Lesueur, *Croquis d’après le vivant – Peroquet Royal – yeux dorés*, MHN, Le Havre, CL, dossier 79 033.

<sup>83</sup> W. Mayer, “Deux géologues français en Nouvelle-Hollande (Australie): Louis Depuch et Charles Bailly, membres de l’expédition Baudin (1801-1803)”, *Travaux du comité français d’histoire de la géologie*, 3<sup>ème</sup> série, t. XIX, 6 (séance du 8 juin 2005), p. 107.

also to the British colonists at Port Jackson. As throughout the voyage,<sup>84</sup> the work of Depuch and Bailly was to be complemented by that of Péron – though he chose to work separately. He included Bailly’s Port Jackson mineralogical report in the *Voyage de découvertes* and contributed a number of samples to the collection.<sup>85</sup> As for Baudin, while his interest in the discipline may be inferred from his general commitment to scientific endeavour and the fact that he had brought mineral samples with him aboard the *Géographe*, there is no record of his personal contribution to the mineralogical collection. It is nevertheless interesting to note that, in the scientific report recorded by Péron in the *Voyage*, Bailly remarked that Baudin had refused to supply him and Depuch with the provisions necessary for their field trip into the countryside of the County of Cumberland. Precisely why the commander refused his scientists this request is unclear. As noted previously, Baudin on several occasions had provided the scientists with funds during the sojourn, funds which Bailly and Depuch may have put towards their research. Of course, the colonists also gave considerable support to the scientific work of the French. In any case, Baudin evidently did nothing to obstruct the mineralogical work: the excursion went ahead, with no sign that provisions were lacking, and was eminently successful.

Throughout the environs of Toongabbie and Hawkesbury, to the edge of the Blue Mountains, the mineralogists made several significant discoveries. As Mayer explains, their research revealed the existence of Triassic deposits of sandstone and shale, they found indications of valuable coal layers and, based on analysis of mineral samples from the banks of the Nepean River, they were able to conclude that the core of the Blue Mountains was of an ancient or primitive composition.<sup>86</sup> Furthermore, although King would not permit Depuch and Bailly to extend their research into the mountain range, he did give Depuch the

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<sup>84</sup> Mayer, “Deux géologues français en Nouvelle-Hollande”, pp. 96 and 102.

<sup>85</sup> Charles Bailly, in his *Catalogue des objets de Minéralogie appartenant au gouvernement qui m’ont été remis par le C<sup>o</sup>. Péron*, MHN, Le Havre, CL, dossier 21 004, lists 45 samples, from five different types of rock: coal, schist, sandstone, breccia and quartz. Péron himself lists seven samples in his list entitled “Minéraux”, MHN, Le Havre, CL, dossier, 21 031.

<sup>86</sup> See the account provided by Mayer in his article “Deux géologues français en Nouvelle-Hollande”, pp. 107-108 and Bailly’s report, reproduced in Cornell, *Voyage of Discovery*, vol. II, pp. 339-347; Péron, *Voyage de découvertes*, t. II, pp. 378-397.

opportunity to study some rock samples brought back from Francis Barrallier's Blue Mountains expedition. Following his analysis, Depuch was able to inform King that the expedition had not reached the centre of the range, as the rocks they had collected did not include samples of its granitic core.<sup>87</sup> King, and also Paterson, perhaps in return for the Frenchmen's important contribution to their mineralogical knowledge of the region, contributed several mineral samples to the expedition's collection.<sup>88</sup> In the field of mineralogy, the French scientists and the British colonists certainly found a strong common interest.

Baudin took immense pride in the entire natural history collection of the first campaign, including the Port Jackson stay. This collection was the result not only of the work of his savants but also of his own considerable efforts. He explained to Jussieu that he had done all he could to augment the collections in every field of natural history and, since their deaths, he had even been attempting to replace experienced naturalists René Maugé and Anselm Riedlé.<sup>89</sup> He was modest about the size of the natural history collection that he was sending on the *Naturaliste* - "if it is not larger, it is not my fault", he told Jussieu – but he expressed confidence that it had been well cared for and properly prepared for the voyage to France. He stated that "the quadrupeds, insects, living and dried plants, seeds, shells, corals, etc., are in the best condition and I do not doubt that they will reach you in the same state, under the care of Captain Hamelin".<sup>90</sup> In fact, in an attempt to ensure that the collection reached Jussieu in the best condition possible, Baudin compiled for Hamelin a set of detailed instructions regarding its care.<sup>91</sup> In formulating these instructions, Baudin drew upon experience from his earlier botanical voyages and from caring for these specimens himself.

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<sup>87</sup> Mayer, "Deux géologues français en Nouvelle-Hollande", p. 108.

<sup>88</sup> Bailly, "Catalogue des objets de Minéralogie", MHN, Le Havre, CL, dossier 21 004.

<sup>89</sup> Nicolas Baudin to Antoine-Laurent de Jussieu, written at Port Jackson and dated 20 brumaire an X [11 November 1802], MNHN, ms2082, pièce no. 5.

<sup>90</sup> "j'ai fait tout ce qui a dépendu de moi pour augmenter nos collections en tout genre et si elles ne sont pas plus considérables, il n'y a point de ma faute [...] les quadrupèdes, les insectes, les plantes vivantes et en herbier, les graines, les coquillages, les madrépores, etc. etc. sont dans le meilleur état, et je ne doute pas que ces objets ne vous soient remis de même par les soins que le Cap<sup>nc</sup> Hamelin doit apporter pour leur conservation". Nicolas Baudin to Antoine-Laurent de Jussieu, written at Port Jackson and dated 20 brumaire an XI [11 November 1802], MNHN, ms2082, pièce no. 5.

This document, in which he expresses his loyalty to the expedition and to the government, illustrates more clearly than any other the centrality of scientific endeavour to Baudin's mission. The fate of the natural history collection would stay on Baudin's mind for the remainder of the voyage. From Timor and again from Mauritius, the commander anxiously expressed to Jussieu and the Minister of Marine his hopes for its safe arrival and positive reception in France. Baudin's interest in the expedition's scientific collection clearly did not end with the Port Jackson stay.

The collections that, with a mixture of pride and anxiety, Baudin sent to France on the *Naturaliste* had been greatly augmented by the expedition's sojourn at Port Jackson. This was a result of various factors: principally, the assistance of the colonists, the opportunity to explore inland and, finally, the central role played by Baudin himself. In fact, it is in the gathering and preservation of these collections that the commander's devotion to the pursuit of science, and its role in enhancing national prestige, is most evident.

### ***Conclusion***

Baudin's efforts to augment the natural history collection and ensure its safe arrival in France, his observations concerning horticulture and the native and migrant populations of the colony, and his support of the savants, make it obvious that scientific objectives continued to be of central and vital importance to Baudin at Port Jackson. With his support, either tacit or overt, the French savants compiled an immense collection of objects and made a variety of significant observations. While managing shipboard affairs, preparing for the forthcoming voyage, and maintaining diplomatic relations with the English colonists, Baudin also took the time to make significant personal contributions to the expedition's scientific work in almost every field. Indeed, despite the fact that, since the establishment of the colony, the County of Cumberland had been examined by a number of British naturalists, and notwithstanding the time and effort required to prepare for the considerable navigational project that would

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<sup>91</sup> Nicolas Baudin to Emmanuel Hamelin, written at Port Jackson and dated 26 brumaire an XI [17 November

follow, Baudin and the savants clearly lost no motivation for scientific work in Port Jackson. Given their enthusiasm, moreover, science would surely continue to play a critical role in the second campaign.



## *Constructing the Second Campaign*

Historian John Dunmore states that the Port Jackson stay provided Baudin and his fellow travellers with the opportunity to undertake scientific expeditions, to enjoy social functions and to evaluate the first part of the voyage;<sup>1</sup> more particularly, however, it also enabled Baudin to plan and prepare a second campaign. This fact has been well documented, and is summed up neatly by Frank Horner. He writes:

Baudin was in effect constructing a new expedition, a leaner, more efficient instrument for carrying out his instructions, discarding the superfluous material of the old one, and using what he had learned in the previous two years to concentrate his attention [...] on the enormous coastline that lay before him.<sup>2</sup>

This summing up nevertheless demands further explanation. Precisely how Baudin prepared the second campaign and reconceived his mission remains to be clarified. While we have analysed the vital parts that onshore relations, shipboard command and scientific endeavour played in the conception and preparation of Baudin's plan, we now need to investigate in detail how he actually constructed the new expedition. This requires examination of the itinerary he designed for the second campaign, the way in which the ships were fitted out and the men organised, the reasons for the purchase of the *Casuarina* and her intended role in the voyage, and the plans for scientific research. The true significance of the project cannot be understood effectively, however, without first considering the aspirations that were motivating Baudin.

Ashore in Sydney, Baudin wrote to Antoine-Laurent de Jussieu: "I have never made such a difficult voyage."<sup>3</sup> Understandably, then, he had been eager to make critical changes to the expedition during the stay in Port Jackson. Horner states that it was with renewed self-

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<sup>1</sup> J. Dunmore, *French Explorers in the Pacific*, vol. II, *The Nineteenth Century* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1969), p. 29.

<sup>2</sup> F. Horner, *The French Reconnaissance: Baudin in Australia, 1801-1803* (Carlton: Melbourne University Press, 1987), p. 252.

confidence that Baudin had set about preparing for the next stage of the voyage;<sup>4</sup> however, there are no clear signs that confidence, or the lack of it, had previously been an issue. What seems to have been more important is the degree of freedom Baudin found at this stage of the voyage. Although he himself was unsatisfied with the results of the first campaign, the expedition had nevertheless fulfilled the basic expectations of the government. He informed the Minister of Marine that the natural history collection would be “agreeable to the savants and useful for the political economy”,<sup>5</sup> and reported to Jussieu that Tasmania and the southern and western coasts of Australia had been surveyed “in a manner satisfactory for the safety of navigation”.<sup>6</sup> The only part of the itinerary he had not yet attempted was the north coast of Australia. Therefore, he was essentially at liberty to proceed as he wished towards this final leg of the voyage. Accordingly, he devised his own schedule: with the knowledge acquired during the first campaign, as well as from the British, he would rechart those areas that he felt had been imperfectly done and investigate other coastlines of which the French authorities had been ignorant. First of all, though, he was able to send the *Naturaliste*, the natural history collection and many of his men back to France; he also obtained a new vessel more suitable for coastal surveys. The opportunities these measures offered clearly kindled Baudin’s enthusiasm. While the direction and character of the first campaign had been dictated largely by the requirements and limitations imposed in Paris, the consequences of which had caused Baudin to become increasingly frustrated,<sup>7</sup> he found in Sydney an opportunity effectively to reclaim the expedition and he was determined to take advantage of it.

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<sup>3</sup> “Je n’ai jamais fait de voyage aussi pénible”. Letter from Nicolas Baudin to Antoine-Laurent de Jussieu, written at Port Jackson and dated 20 brumaire an XI [11 November 1802], MNHN, ms2082, pièce no. 5.

<sup>4</sup> Horner, *The French Reconnaissance*, p. 255.

<sup>5</sup> “La note détaillée de tout ce que transporte ce bâtiment vous fera connaître, mieux que je ne pourrais vous le dire, combien son retour sera agréable aux savants et utile pour l’économie politique si, comme je l’espère, il arrive à bon port et nos collections en bon état”. Letter from Nicolas Baudin to the Minister of Marine and the Colonies, written at Port Jackson and dated 20 brumaire an XI [11 November 1802], ANF, SM, BB4 995.

<sup>6</sup> “la terre de Leuwin, celles de la Concorde et de Witt, le canal d’Entrecasteaux, l’île Maria et ses environs, la côte orientale de la grande île de Diemen, les détroits de Basse et de Banks, et toute la côte sud-ouest de la Nouvelle Hollande depuis le promontoire de Wilson jusqu’aux îles St Pierre et St François ont été reconnues d’une manière suffisante pour la sûreté de la navigation”. Letter from Nicolas Baudin to Antoine-Laurent de Jussieu, written at Port Jackson and dated 20 brumaire an XI [11 November 1802], MNHN, ms2082, pièce no. 5.

<sup>7</sup> Historians note that Baudin became increasingly ill-tempered or even unreasonable in the months preceding the Port Jackson stay, especially during the final survey of the east coast of Tasmania. See A. J. Brown, *Ill-Starred Captains: Matthew Flinders and Nicolas Baudin* (Fremantle: Fremantle Arts Centre Press, 2004), p. 251; Horner, *The French Reconnaissance*, p. 230, and J. Fornasiero, P. Monteath and J. West-Sooby, *Encountering*

This was reflected most notably in his objectives for the second campaign, which clearly went beyond his official instructions. Close reading of Baudin's writings about the voyage show that his revised itinerary was not aimed merely at filling the gaps of the first campaign. Rather, it was designed with a view to exploring Australia according to his own values, goals and standards. When he described the itinerary to Jussieu and the Minister, Baudin used language that indicated a sense of personal drive, of great pride in his work, and a proprietorial attitude to the expedition: he wanted to "assure [him]self" of certain details, for instance, and to chart particular coastlines because "it seemed essential to me".<sup>8</sup> Baudin may also have had a more deep-seated motive for pursuing his explorations of Australia in this methodical manner. As Jean-Paul Faivre has noted, during a previous voyage of discovery almost 20 years earlier, Baudin had approached the coast of the southern continent, but two hurricanes had forced him back. Faivre suggests that "Baudin perhaps dreamt of getting even with Australia".<sup>9</sup> Such a dream, indeed, could have heightened his determination to explore Australia not only once, but twice, until he felt satisfied that he met the challenge of this southern continent. Whether this was the source of his inspiration or whether Baudin was just a perfectionist by nature, it is clear that it was personal ambition at least as much as a sense of duty that was driving Baudin. Although Fleurieu had instructed the commander to carry out only a general reconnaissance of Bass Strait, as the British would have already completed their discovery of it,<sup>10</sup> Baudin decided at Port Jackson that, while Fleurieu's assumption had been correct, the area was nevertheless worth examining a second time. This suggests that Baudin was personally less concerned with claiming new geographical discoveries than with producing flawless charts, just as his actions following the famous encounter with Flinders

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*Terra Australis: The Australian Voyages of Nicolas Baudin and Matthew Flinders* (Kent Town: Wakefield Press, 2004), pp. 188-189.

<sup>8</sup> "j'irai aux isles St Pierre et St François pour les visiter une seconde fois et m'assurer de la direction du continent dans cette partie qui m'est inconnue" and "comme il m'a paru essentiel pour la perfection de la géographie". Letter from Nicolas Baudin to Antonie-Laurent de Jussieu, written at Port Jackson and dated 20 brumaire, an XI [11 November 1802], Muséum national d'histoire naturelle, ms2082, pièce no. 5.

<sup>9</sup> J.-P. Faivre, "Foreword", in C. Cornell (trans.), *The Journal of Post-Captain Nicolas Baudin* (Adelaide: Libraries Board of South Australia, 1974), pp. x-xi.

<sup>10</sup> "Plan of Itinerary for Citizen Baudin" in Cornell, *Journal of Baudin*, p. 2; "Plan de la campagne que doivent executer, rédigé par les citoyens Fleurieu, Buache et approuvé par le ministre de la Marine", written in Paris and dated 7 vendémiaire an IX [29 September 1800], ANF, SM 5JJ35.

had demonstrated. His fundamental objectives for the expedition at Port Jackson had not changed from those he had set out in his initial proposal in Paris: “the voyage [...] will not have that spirit of adventure and of conquest that has too often guided maritime expeditions”, he had written.<sup>11</sup> Indeed, as Greg Denning writes of William Bligh, Baudin sought the “perfect voyage”.<sup>12</sup>

With this in mind, it is worth examining more closely the itinerary Baudin designed for the second campaign. As we have seen, he was determined to produce absolutely accurate and comprehensive charts of Australia’s southern, western and northern coastlines. There were places that he had been unable to reach in the *Géographe*, some that the geographers had only been able to survey roughly, and others that Baudin had first learned of during the voyage and had not yet seen himself. Moreover, to the expedition’s charts of certain areas, “undoubtedly long unknown because of the difficulties presented” to navigators “all along the coastlines”, the commander wished to add topographical studies.<sup>13</sup> While Baudin had conceived the idea of returning to the south coast even before he reached Port Jackson, during the sojourn in the colony he developed a more extensive plan that would enable him to pursue these geographical objectives in a second voyage. The itineraries he sent to Jussieu and the Minister of Marine from the port are almost identical, yet to Jussieu he revealed more of his personal motivation and gave slightly more detail.<sup>14</sup> He planned to sail first to Bass Strait and survey King Island, newly discovered by British fishermen, and then Kangaroo Island, the south coast of which neither Matthew Flinders – who had discovered it only shortly before encountering Baudin – nor the French had examined. From there, the *Géographe* and the *Casuarina* would return to the St Peter and St Francis Islands so that Baudin could assure

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<sup>11</sup> “le voyage [...] n’aura pas cet esprit d’aventure et de conquête qui a trop souvent dirigé les expéditions maritimes”. Letter from N. Baudin to the Minister of Marine and the Colonies, undated, ANF, SM, BB4995.

<sup>12</sup> G. Denning, *Mr Bligh’s Bad Language: Passion, Power and Theatre on the Bounty* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1992), p. 65.

<sup>13</sup> “Seulement il reste encore beaucoup à faire pour la topographie du pays qui sera sans doute longtemps inconnue, par les difficultés naturelles que présente l’étendue de la côte que nous avons explorée”. Letter from Nicolas Baudin to Antoine-Laurent de Jussieu, written at Port Jackson and dated 20 brumaire, an XI [11 November 1802], MNHM, ms2082, pièce no. 5.

<sup>14</sup> Letter from Nicolas Baudin to Antoine-Laurent de Jussieu, written at Port Jackson and dated 20 brumaire an XI [11 November 1802], MNHM, ms2082, pièce no. 5 and letter from Nicolas Baudin to the Minister of Marine and the Colonies, written at Port Jackson and dated 20 brumaire an XI [11 November 1802], ANF, SM, BB4995.

himself of the “direction of the continent”<sup>15</sup> from that location. The expedition would next perfect its survey of Geographe Bay, the expedition’s first significant discovery, before searching for the “isles du Romarin”,<sup>16</sup> discovered by William Dampier. These islands had not been included in Baudin’s original itinerary, but he explained to Jussieu that, using the maps provided to him, he had been unable to find them during the first campaign and, “for the perfection of geography”,<sup>17</sup> he was keen to determine their exact position. The ships would then sail north to re-chart the north-western coastline, as Baudin felt that the surveys completed previously by the expedition “lack[ed] the perfection necessary for safe navigation”.<sup>18</sup> The final stage of the campaign, in accordance with Fleurieu’s plan, would include the north of Australia as far east as the Gulf of Carpentaria.

In the course of the actual voyage, Baudin would also visit King George Sound. Why Baudin did not mention that location, which as it turned out enabled the expeditioners to carry out excellent surveys of the area and to add significantly to the natural history collection, is a matter for speculation. The most likely reason was that he believed it had already been adequately charted. The itinerary also omitted Port Phillip Bay. This was a recent British discovery and would have considerable strategic significance for whichever European nation managed to settle it. Governor King had already appealed to the Admiralty to form a colony there. No doubt he had also made his intentions known to Baudin. Yet, although the French government would almost certainly have liked to receive charts of the bay, and accurate charts of it indeed remained to be drawn,<sup>19</sup> Baudin, according to all reports, showed no

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<sup>15</sup> “j’irai aux isles St Pierre et St François pour les visiter une seconde fois et m’assurer de la direction du continent dans cette partie qui m’est inconnue”. Letter from Nicolas Baudin to Antoine-Laurent de Jussieu, written at Port Jackson and dated 20 brumaire an XI [11 November 1802], MNHM, ms2082, pièce no. 5.

<sup>16</sup> The “isles du Romarin” would seem to refer to Rosemary Island, in the Dampier Archipelago. However, as Baudin uses the plural (“*des isles* du Romarin”) perhaps he is referring to the entire group of islands that make up the Dampier Archipelago. See letter from Nicolas Baudin to Antoine-Laurent de Jussieu, written at Port Jackson and dated 20 brumaire an XI [11 November 1802], MNHM, ms2082, pièce no. 5.

<sup>17</sup> “pour la perfection de la géographie”. Letter from Nicolas Baudin to Antoine-Laurent de Jussieu, written at Port Jackson and dated 20 brumaire an XI [11 November 1802], MNHM, ms2082, pièce no. 5.

<sup>18</sup> “Je ferai une nouvelle tentative pour les rencontrer [les isles du Romarin] afin de reprendre ensuite la terre de Witt, qui n’a pas la perfection nécessaire à la sûreté de la navigation”. Letter from Nicolas Baudin to Antoine-Laurent de Jussieu, written at Port Jackson and dated 20 brumaire an XI [11 November 1802], MNHM, ms2082, pièce no. 5.

<sup>19</sup> John Murray and, later, Matthew Flinders had only surveyed it roughly. See M. Estensen, *The Life of Matthew Flinders* (Crows Nest: Allen and Unwin, 2002), pp. 206-208.

interest in examining it himself. This choice, then, would seem to demonstrate his intention to produce charts for “the safety of navigation” rather than to gain an imperial advantage.

Even without Port Phillip Bay, the itinerary was extensive and in order to complete it Baudin needed to ensure that he had stocked his ships with an adequate quantity of supplies. Baudin recognised that constantly running short of provisions during the first part of the voyage had hampered the expedition’s work and he remarked to Jussieu: “I fear that all this work will take longer than the provisions that I have been able to obtain here will permit, because geographic observations demand considerable time; and surveys carried out too quickly will be superficial, imperfect and filled with errors”.<sup>20</sup> His efforts over the duration of the Port Jackson stay to gather supplies for his three ships show that Baudin was determined to prevent such a problem from affecting the second campaign. Over these months, he had drawn upon the money left by expeditioners who had died during the first campaign – and which the government would repay to those men’s heirs<sup>21</sup> – engaged in barter and resorted to bills of exchange to obtain essential campaign supplies from Commissary John Palmer as well as from numerous merchants and farmers throughout the County of Cumberland. To obtain the quantities and quality of food he required, with his limited funds, he relied heavily upon his shrewd skills of negotiation. His efforts had been fruitful; nevertheless, the results still may not have been adequate without a certain amount of good luck. Baudin explained to the Minister of Marine:

We had the good fortune that at the end of our sojourn several ships arrived from England, which considerably diminished the price of salted meat and flour and enabled us to put together a year of supplies for the *Casuarina* and for me, the *Naturaliste* has only enough for eight months and will not need to call in at any port.<sup>22</sup>

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<sup>20</sup> “je crains que tant d’ouvrages ne prennent beaucoup plus de temps que ne le permettront les provisions que nous avons faites ici, car les observations géographiques exigent beaucoup de temps; et toutes reconnaissances faites trop promptement seront superficielles, imparfaites et remplies d’erreurs”. Letter from Nicolas Baudin to Antoine-Laurent de Jussieu, written at Port Jackson and dated 20 brumaire an XI [11 November 1802], MNHM, ms2082, pièce no. 5.

<sup>21</sup> Letter from Nicolas Baudin to the Minister of Marine and the Colonies, written at Port Jackson and dated 26 brumaire an XI [17 November 1802], ANF, SM BB4995.

<sup>22</sup> “Nous avons eu le bonheur que sur la fin de notre séjour il est arrivé plusieurs bâtiments d’Angleterre qui ont considérablement diminué le prix des salaisons et des farines, ce qui nous a mis à même de nous compléter un an de vivres pour le *Casuarina* et pour moi, le *Naturaliste* n’en a eu que pour huit mois et ne doit faire aucune relâche”. Letter from Nicolas Baudin to the Minister of Marine and the Colonies, written at Port Jackson and dated 26 brumaire an XI [17 November 1802], ANF, SM, BB4995.

By the time the expedition departed from Port Jackson, it carried more supplies than it had been provided with at Le Havre.

Carrying an abundant quantity of campaign provisions on board was critical for maintaining the men's discipline, health and productivity. Of course, it was important that the provisions were also of good quality; they needed to last a long time and, as Pacific historian Oskar Spate explains, preservation for more than a few months was extremely difficult in the damp conditions aboard wooden ships.<sup>23</sup> When the *Géographe* had been examining the south coast of Australia earlier in 1802, circumstances on board had deteriorated rapidly after two casks of salted meat were found to be rotten. Baudin had remarked that their biscuit "was not very wonderful either and had begun a long time earlier to crumble into dust, being riddled with worms and mites".<sup>24</sup> Therefore, while gathering supplies at Port Jackson for the upcoming voyages, the commander was careful to ensure that all the provisions embarked aboard his ships were in sound condition. When several loads of biscuit were found to be mouldy, he ordered that they be returned to the Sydney bakery and complained angrily to Commissary John Palmer.<sup>25</sup> To avoid this occurring again, Baudin commanded that an officer must always accompany crew members to collect the biscuit from the bakery and inspect it before embarking it aboard the ship. He even resorted to ordering a quantity of biscuit to be delivered by boat from as far away as Hawkesbury.<sup>26</sup> In order further to ensure the well-being of his men while at sea, Baudin sought new medical information and products. In particular, he obtained large quantities of a product that would play a vital role in preventing scurvy

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<sup>23</sup> O. H. K. Spate, *The Pacific Since Magellan*, vol. II *Paradise Found and Lost* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1988), p. 192.

<sup>24</sup> Cornell, *Journal of Baudin*, entry made 17 floréal an X [7 May 1802], p. 400; Baudin, *Journal de mer*, ANF, SM, 5JJ39, entry 16-17 floréal an X [6-7 May 1802]: "le biscuit dont nous faisons usage n'était pas non plus excellent et commençait depuis longtemps à tomber en poussière étant tout piqué de vers et mangé par les mites".

<sup>25</sup> Letter from Thomas Palmer to Nicolas Baudin, written in Sydney and dated 13 September 1802, ANF, SM 5JJ53.

<sup>26</sup> *Journal de Navigation Du L.<sup>t</sup> de V.<sup>au</sup> h<sup>ry</sup>. freycinet, embarqué sur la Corvette de La republique f.<sup>se</sup> Le géographe. An 11 de la R.<sup>que</sup> f.<sup>se</sup>*, entry dated 26 vendémiaire an XI [18 October 1802], ANF, SM 5JJ34.

during his second campaign: lime juice.<sup>27</sup> He also exchanged knowledge with fellow navigator Matthew Flinders as well as others in the colony concerning new medicines.<sup>28</sup> In reconstructing the expedition, Baudin was solely responsible for equipping his ships with provisions and medical supplies, and he clearly found in this circumstance the opportunity to take a personal hand in managing the welfare of his men.

While, on the one hand, he loaded the ships with more supplies at Port Jackson than they had carried previously, on the other, Baudin ensured that the new expedition was composed of far fewer men. Soon after the *Naturaliste*'s return to Port Jackson, Baudin had begun to make certain staff changes; however, the official review did not take place until 4 November. A considerable number of men, whom for their ill-health or unsuitable character Baudin deemed disadvantageous to the expedition, were chosen to return to France; this included 13 officers and 59 crew members.<sup>29</sup> He kept aboard the *Géographe* five officers, including the chief surgeon, François Lharidon, just one midshipman, Charles Baudin, and all 10 of the remaining savants except for the mineralogist Louis Depuch, who was too ill to continue the voyage.<sup>30</sup> Aboard the *Casuarina* he transferred Louis Freycinet as captain, Léon Brèvedent as midshipman and 14 of the best sailors from the *Naturaliste*.<sup>31</sup> This was a smaller complement, resembling that which he had originally requested from the Ministry of Marine and the Institut National. These men had not always behaved perfectly, they were young and over-confident; overall, however, they were skilled mariners and savants – in fact, many were later to pursue distinguished careers – and most had been travelling with Baudin since Le Havre. The restructuring of the ships' complements was not simply aimed at decreasing

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<sup>27</sup> T. Jamison, "Supplied the French Corvette *Géographe* Commanded by Commodore Baudin on discovery with the following Medicines from His Majesty's Stores", compiled in Sydney and dated November 2 1802, ANF, SM, 5JJ24.

<sup>28</sup> Letter from Matthew Flinders to Nicolas Baudin, written at Port Jackson and undated, ANF, SM 5JJ53.

<sup>29</sup> The number of crew members is stated by Horner, see *The French Reconnaissance*, p. 257.

<sup>30</sup> The savants and artists were geographers Charles-Pierre Boullanger and Pierre Faure, zoologist François Péron, astronomer Pierre-François Bernier, mineralogist Charles Bailly, artists Nicolas-Martin Petit and Charles-Alexandre Lesueur, botanist Théodore Leschenault, junior gardener Antoine Guichenot, and pharmacist François Collas. Bailly, Leschenault, and Faure were transferred to the *Géographe* from the *Naturaliste*. For information and remarks about the staff changes see H. Freycinet, *Journal*, entry dated 12 brumaire an XI [3 November 1802]; *Journal de Breton, aspirant de 1<sup>ère</sup> Classe à bord du Géographe : Depuis Le 9 Vendémiaire an 9 Jusqu'au 9. Brumaire an 10*, entry dated 13 brumaire an XI [4 November 1802], ANF, SM 5JJ57, and C.



numbers and relieving the expedition of the men incapable of making a valuable contribution; it was also designed to seize the opportunity to select a new staff – one with the skill and ambition to carry out the commander’s objectives.

For some time before he officially selected the ships’ companies, though, Baudin had been making another change to shipboard affairs. During the sojourn, he had introduced a stronger style of command, particularly over his officers, which served to prepare his men for a higher standard of discipline in the second campaign than had existed in the first. Moreover, he refused to promote either of the *Géographe*’s lieutenants to the position of second-in-command. Undoubtedly, he had a clear memory of the presumptuous and dishonourable conduct of his previous first lieutenant, Alexandre Le Bas de Sainte-Croix. At Timor, Baudin had given Le Bas responsibility for shipboard affairs but he arrogantly disregarded regulations, upsetting the hierarchical running of the ship; he also undermined Baudin’s authority by invading the space that belonged to him as commander of the expedition and, in general, demonstrated extreme disloyalty.<sup>32</sup> Therefore, Baudin reasserted his authority at Port Jackson and organised the second campaign with determination in order to ensure that his command during the remaining voyage would not be compromised.

The most obvious and significant change that Baudin made in terms of reorganising his staff, as well as managing the expedition in general, was replacing the *Naturaliste* with the *Casuarina*. Historians have commented very little upon this decision, except to note that this vessel was smaller and had a shallower draught, thereby allowing it to conduct closer coastal surveys.<sup>33</sup> However, for the light it sheds on Baudin’s vision for the second campaign, it merits closer consideration. It had been the commander himself who had chosen the *Géographe* and the *Naturaliste* for the voyage to Australia and thus perhaps, as Horner states,

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Baudin, *Souvenirs de jeunesse de l’amiral Baudin*, Service Historique de la Marine, Vincennes: CC7a125, ms 116, p. 86. See also, Horner, *The French Reconnaissance*, p. 257.

<sup>31</sup> C. Baudin, *Souvenirs de jeunesse*, p. 84.

<sup>32</sup> J. Bonnemains (ed.), *Mon voyage aux Terres australes: journal personnel du commandant Baudin* (Paris: Imprimerie Nationale, 2000), pp. 371, 372; 373 and 377-80; *Journal du Cap<sup>ne</sup> de vaisseau N<sup>o</sup> Baudin commandant en chef les Corvettes le Géographe et le Naturaliste destinées par ordre du Gouvernement à un voyage de découvertes*, ANF, SM, 5JJ40b, entries made 22 vendémiaire an IX [14 October 1801], 24 vendémiaire an IX [16 October 1801], 25 vendémiaire an IX [17 October 1801] and 2-4 brumaire an IX [24-26 October 1801].

he had been to blame for their shortcomings.<sup>34</sup> If so, he had learnt from his mistake by the time he reached Port Jackson. Shortly after arriving in the port, Baudin chose the *Casuarina*, as yet unfinished, from the Sydney dockyard. With King's permission,<sup>35</sup> he negotiated her purchase with shipbuilders and merchants James Underwood and Henry Kable. Under the condition that they would "make her compleat and in the water", Baudin paid fifty pounds, 230 gallons of rum, fifteen bolts of canvas, 16 hundredweight of rope, one ton of bolt and rod iron, and half a barrel of gunpowder.<sup>36</sup> The small ship was launched in late August and, saluting the town as she left Sydney Cove with pierrier shots that were answered shot for shot, she took her place beside the other French ships in Neutral Bay. Baudin soon demonstrated some confidence in Louis Freycinet by giving the new captain responsibility to test the *Casuarina's* seaworthiness on an excursion to Botany Bay and asking him to propose how to fit her out.<sup>37</sup> However, it was Baudin who made the final decisions on supplies and rigging, transferring from the *Géographe* and the *Naturaliste* most of what was required and purchasing the remainder.<sup>38</sup> The *Casuarina*, built of native timber and constructed in a British colony, was to play a key role in the French charting of Australia.

The role Baudin assigned to the new ship was limited and absolutely inflexible. Louis Freycinet had accepted the role of captain of the *Casuarina* on the understanding that it would benefit his naval career and on the assumption that, as he and his crew were to be given most of the geographical work, Baudin would provide him with "all the facilities and means possible to carry out this task with exactitude".<sup>39</sup> He had been excited at the prospect of

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<sup>33</sup> Fornasiero, Monteath and West-Sooby, *Encountering Terra Australis*, p. 203.

<sup>34</sup> Horner, *The French Reconnaissance*, p. 57.

<sup>35</sup> Letter from Philip Gidley King to Nicolas Baudin, written in Sydney and dated 11 July 1802, reproduced in F. M. Bladen (ed.), *Historical Records of New South Wales*, vol. IV (Sydney: Government Printer, 1896), vol. IV, p. 953.

<sup>36</sup> Letter from James Underwood and Henry Kable to Nicolas Baudin, dated 7 July 1802, ANF, SM 5JJ53.

<sup>37</sup> *Journal Tenu Par le lieutt de V<sup>ou</sup> L<sup>is</sup> Freycinet commandant la goëlette Le Casuarina. Mois de Vendémiaire et de Brumaire an XI*, entry undated, ANF, SM 5JJ49.

<sup>38</sup> N. Baudin, "Compte général des dépenses relative aux Batiments de la République, le *Géographe*, le *Naturaliste* et le *Casuarina* pendant la relâche au Port Jackson, Nouvelle Hollande", ANF, SM 5JJ24; L. Freycinet, "Etat des effets pris par le navire le *Naturaliste* pour l'armement du *Casuarina*", ANF, SM 5JJ24.

<sup>39</sup> "Je m'imaginai qu'il fournirait au capitaine de ce bâtiment, toutes les facilités et tous les moyens possibles de faire cet ouvrage avec exactitude". L. Freycinet, *Journal*, entry undated.

playing such a vital part in the expedition.<sup>40</sup> Yet his bold demands, which included replacing his midshipman, indicated that he had over-estimated the degree of authority and autonomy he had been granted. Baudin explained to him that the *Casuarina*

would have no other purpose than to enable a more accurate survey to be carried out of the coasts where lack of depth or other difficulties might prevent my ship from getting sufficiently close. You should therefore take particular care never to get far away from the *Géographe*, either by day or by night, except if you have received a particular order to do so. In all circumstances you should handle your ship in such a way that you are never out of sight.<sup>41</sup>

It was partly in order to ensure that Louis Freycinet would keep the *Casuarina* within sight of the *Géographe* throughout the voyage that Baudin had the new ship fitted out with limited equipment. “As long as you remain with the *Géographe*”, he told the young captain, “I will provide you with all the assistance required”.<sup>42</sup> In response to Louis Freycinet’s repeated demands, he asked: “Am I to understand that you wish to become separated from me?”<sup>43</sup> Baudin’s determination to ensure the ships would remain together had undoubtedly been influenced by the long separations that had occurred between the *Géographe* and the *Naturaliste* during the first campaign. Moreover, it is not surprising that he was unwilling to grant Louis Freycinet, ranked sub-lieutenant, independence comparable to that which commander Hamelin had enjoyed. He clearly intended, in fact, to use this opportunity to provide the sub-lieutenant with training in the command of a ship on discovery, for, in addition to instructions concerning Louis Freycinet’s role in the forthcoming voyage, Baudin

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<sup>40</sup> Demonstrating his enthusiasm for the objectives of the expedition, Louis Freycinet wrote to Baudin: “I will be happy if after the difficulties and work of the voyage that we are going to undertake, I have contributed a little to the success of the expedition that you command”. Letter written at Port Jackson and dated 2 vendémiaire an XI [24 September 1802] reproduced in L. Freycinet, *Journal*, entry undated: “Je m'estimerai heureux, si après les peines et les travaux du voyage que nous allons entreprendre, je puis avoir un peu contribué au succès de l'Expédition que vous commandez”.

<sup>41</sup> “L’acquisition que j’ai faite au nom du gouvernement français du petit bâtiment dont je vous ai confié le commandement; n’ayant d’autre but qu’une plus grande facilité dans nos travaux, et une reconnaissance plus exacte des côtes que le défaut d’eau ou autres difficultés pourraient m’empêcher d’approcher d’assez près, vous devez apporter la plus grande attention à ne jamais vous écarter du *Géographe* soit de jour soit de nuit, que vous n’ayez reçu un ordre particulier à ce sujet. Dans toutes les circonstances, vous manœuvrerez de façon à ne jamais vous éloigner hors de la vue”. L. Freycinet, *Journal*, entry dated 24 and 25 brumaire an XI [15 and 16 November 1802].

<sup>42</sup> “Tant que vous serez avec le *Géographe* je vous fournirai tous les secours nécessaires”. L. Freycinet, *Journal*, entry dated 3 and 4 brumaire an XI [25 and 26 October 1802].

<sup>43</sup> “Avez-vous donc envie de vous séparer de moi?” L. Freycinet, *Journal*, entry dated 3 and 4 brumaire an XI [25 and 26 October 1802].

also gave him advice about how to conduct himself towards his men.<sup>44</sup> He even instructed the captain upon how to use the space aboard the ship: Brèvedent “will share your table but will be berthed forward, in the cabin constructed for him”, he stated.<sup>45</sup> By imposing his authority upon the *Casuarina* and taking measures to keep it close to him and dependent upon him throughout the voyage, Baudin would be able to maintain control over the geographical work that he perceived as vital to the success of the expedition. He wrote to Jussieu: “from now on I will be able to examine everything and leave nothing to be done by those who follow after me on similar ventures”.<sup>46</sup> Rather than a consort in the usual sense, the *Casuarina* was essentially to be more a navigational and charting tool – a kind of extension of the *Géographe*.

This left the *Géographe* with the role of the expedition’s “floating laboratory”, for the departure of the *Naturaliste* with the natural history collection certainly did not mark the end of the expedition’s other scientific objectives. As noted above, Baudin retained the savants who had been travelling with him and transferred those from the *Naturaliste*, except Depuch, to the *Géographe*. His ship would therefore set out on the second campaign carrying specialists in the fields of astronomy, geography, zoology, botany and mineralogy as well as two artists skilled and practised in sketching animals, people and landscapes. It would also carry additional equipment – cages, glass boxes, drawing paper and charcoal – that Baudin had purchased from the colonial stores in Sydney.<sup>47</sup> The *Géographe* was clearly intended for scientific work in the following campaign.

From the British colony, the *Géographe* was to follow an itinerary eminently suited to advancing the expedition’s knowledge of Australia’s natural history and augmenting its

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<sup>44</sup> On this note, it is interesting to observe that Louis Freycinet went on to lead his own scientific voyage round the world in 1817-1820. Concerning Baudin’s instructions, see the letter from Nicolas Baudin to Louis Freycinet, written at Port Jackson and dated 1 vendémiaire an XI [23 September 1802], reproduced in L. Freycinet, *Journal*, entry undated.

<sup>45</sup> “[Brèvedent] aura votre table, mais il couchera en avant dans la cabine qui a été faite pour lui”. Letter from Nicolas Baudin to Louis Freycinet, written at Port Jackson and dated 1 vendémiaire an XI [23 September 1802] reproduced in L. Freycinet, *Journal*, entry undated.

<sup>46</sup> “je pourrai désormais tout examiner et ne rien laisser à faire à ceux qui nous succéderont dans un semblable travail”. Letter from Nicolas Baudin to Antoine-Laurent de Jussieu, written at Port Jackson and dated 20 brumaire an XI [11 November 1802], MNHM, ms2082, pièce no. 5.

<sup>47</sup> N. Baudin, “Commodore Baudin to J. Underwood, 1802”, ANF, SM, 5JJ53.

scientific collection.<sup>48</sup> Baudin planned to visit several locations on the south coast of the continent where, during the first campaign, the harsh conditions of oncoming winter had prevented the *Géographe* from landing. It was this region that Baudin had identified years earlier as demanding the attention of voyagers in every field of science. It was also where Fleurieu instructed Baudin to enable the savants to “penetrate as far inland as possible to ascertain whether or not this country [...] offers unknown species of animals and products of interest to botany and mineralogy”.<sup>49</sup> The Flinders expedition had recently sent shore parties inland at several points along this same coastline,<sup>50</sup> but there certainly remained much to discover that would be new to science. However, while Fleurieu had demanded that “the naturalists” research must [...] be urged on with all the activity necessary” in order to avoid the onset of winter,<sup>51</sup> Baudin planned not only to return there but to do so in summer. With the first landfall, at King Island, scheduled for December, the new itinerary would allow the savants more opportunities, and ample time, to pursue their research on shore. Astronomer Pierre-François Bernier had in fact suggested to the commander, at Port Jackson, that more frequent landfalls in the next voyage would enable him to maintain the accuracy of the ship’s clock.<sup>52</sup> More frequent landfalls would also be beneficial to the health of all on board. In concluding his letter to Jussieu from Port Jackson, Baudin wrote: “I beg you not to forget me and I am going to do all I can to gather a new collection just as large as that you will receive by the *Naturaliste*”.<sup>53</sup>

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<sup>48</sup> Baudin outlined the itinerary for the second campaign in letters to Antoine-Laurent de Jussieu, MNHN, ms2082, pièce no. 5, and the Minister of Marine and the Colonies, both written at Port Jackson, dated 20 brumaire an XI [11 November 1802], ANF, SM, BB4995.

<sup>49</sup> “Plan of Itinerary”, in Cornell, *Journal of Baudin*, p. 2; “Plan de la campagne”, ANF, SM 5JJ35: “les naturalistes pénétreront le plus avant qu’il sera possible dans les terres, pour s’assurer si ce pays, tout nouveau pour les Européens, n’offre pas des espèces d’animaux inconnues et des productions intéressantes pour la botanique et la minéralogie”.

<sup>50</sup> See Estensen, *The Life of Matthew Flinders*, pp. 188-209, where Flinders’ voyage along the “unknown coast” is described.

<sup>51</sup> “Plan of Itinerary”, Cornell, *Journal of Baudin*, p. 3; “Plan de la campagne”, ANF, SM 5JJ35: “le travail géographique et les recherches des naturalistes doivent donc être poussés avec toute l’activité nécessaire”.

<sup>52</sup> Letter from Pierre-François Bernier to Nicolas Baudin, written at Port Jackson and dated 10 fructidor an X [28 August 1802], reproduced in P.-F. Bernier, *Observations Astronomique faites pendant l’expédition de Découvertes commandée par le Capitaine Baudin par Pierre François Bernier, Astronome sur la Corvette le Naturaliste*, ANF, SM, 5JJ47.

<sup>53</sup> “Je me recommande à votre souvenir et vais faire tous mes efforts pour compléter de nouveau une collection aussi nombreuse que celle que vous allez recevoir par le *Naturaliste*”. Letter from Nicolas Baudin to Antoine-

By providing a more generous schedule, one better timed for the seasons, and including locations as yet unexamined by the French savants, the revised itinerary certainly promised to satisfy this goal – as well as the geographic aims of the voyage. The new expedition was better equipped with supplies and medical knowledge; comprised a more manageable, committed and capable staff; was designed to achieve its goals more efficiently, with one main ship responsible for the natural history work and a second acting as a geographical instrument; and would follow an itinerary allowing ample time for precise coastal charts and topographies as well as on-shore scientific research. Baudin had dismantled an expedition constructed largely by the French ministry and the Institut National; in order to fulfil his ambition for a “perfect” Australian voyage, he made an entirely fresh start.

## Epilogue

Baudin had set sail for Port Jackson with the intention of preparing a second campaign. Once ashore in Sydney, he reconstructed the expedition and set out his plans for another, closer, exploration of Australia's south, west and north coasts. "Upon departing from Port Jackson", Pierre-Bernard Milius later told the Minister of Marine, "the commander was so earnest that he was determined [...] to sacrifice all the time necessary, etc., even his life, in order to completely fulfil the object of his mission".<sup>1</sup> This determination, these plans and preparations, have now been clearly demonstrated. The question that remains to be determined is to what degree Baudin's mission fulfilled its purpose and justified the additional time, effort and expense that were incurred while the ships lay at anchor in Neutral Bay. This may only be achieved by examining the scientific results of Baudin's new expedition.

It is worth noting first of all though that, in human terms, the second campaign "was not disastrous as was the first".<sup>2</sup> Compared to 22 deaths over the course of the first campaign, following the Port Jackson sojourn the expedition lost only one man in Australian waters – the result not of unhealthy conditions on the ship but of disease contracted at Timor. Indeed, the ships carried abundant provisions, which began to run low only as the expedition approached the Gulf of Carpentaria,<sup>3</sup> as well as a large quantity of lime juice to help in the prevention of scurvy.<sup>4</sup> There were also many landfalls during this voyage,<sup>5</sup> which enabled

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<sup>1</sup> "Le commandant en était si pénétré, qu'il était bien décidé à son départ du Port Jackson d'y sacrifier tout le temps nécessaire etc. même sa vie pour remplir entièrement l'objet de sa mission". Letter from Pierre-Bernard Milius to the Minister of Marine and the Colonies, written at Lorient and dated 4 germinal an XII [25 March 1804], ANF, SM 5JJ24.

<sup>2</sup> "cette partie du voyage ne fut pas désastreuse comme la première". A.-L. de Jussieu, "Notice sur l'expédition à la Nouvelle-Hollande, entreprise pour des recherches de Géographie et d'Histoire naturelle", *Annales du Muséum national d'histoire naturelle*, Paris, chez Levrault, Schœll et Compagnie, an XII (1804), t. V, p. 3.

<sup>3</sup> C. Cornell (trans.), *The Journal of Post-Captain Nicolas Baudin* (Adelaide: Libraries Board of South Australia, 1974), pp. 560 and 489; N. Baudin, *Journal du Cap<sup>me</sup> de vaisseau N<sup>s</sup> Baudin, Commandant en chef Les Corvettes Le Géographe et le Naturaliste destinées à un voyage de découvertes*, ANF, SM, 5JJ40A, entries made 17-18 messidor an XI [6-7 July 1803] and 4-5 ventôse an XI [23-24 February 1803].

<sup>4</sup> Several historians suggest that the use of lime juice during the second campaign seems to have decreased the occurrence of scurvy amongst the expeditioners. See T. Guicheteau and J.-P. Kernéis "Medical Aspects of the Voyages of Exploration", p. 67; J. Fornasiero, P. Monteath and J. West-Sooby, *Encountering Terra Australis: The Australian Voyages of Nicolas Baudin and Matthew Flinders* (Kent Town: Wakefield Press, 2004), p. 266, and F. Horner, *The French Reconnaissance: Baudin in Australia, 1801-1803* (Carlton: Melbourne University Press, 1987), pp. 349-350.

Baudin more frequently to replenish supplies of firewood and water and to obtain fresh meat and fish.<sup>6</sup> This time spent on shore also allowed the men to escape the confines of the ship.<sup>7</sup> Finally, whether as a result of these more comfortable conditions or of the changes that Baudin had imposed at Port Jackson, a high level of discipline reigned on board throughout the voyage. Records kept aboard the *Géographe* do not mention any acts of misconduct nor, accordingly, any punishments and, although the on-going rivalry between Henri Freycinet and François-Michel Ronsard surfaced during the sojourn at Timor, it was quickly resolved. With relative good health and smoother relations reigning aboard both ships, the Frenchmen were able to concentrate effectively on the work at hand.

This is reflected in the exceptional size and value of the second campaign's natural history collection. The director of the Muséum d'histoire naturelle, Antoine-François de Fourcroy, in fact reported that it was the largest France had ever received.<sup>8</sup> It comprised a total of 200 crates of specimens,<sup>9</sup> which included 100 crates of live plants and 24 herbariums containing 1500 plant species,<sup>10</sup> 44 crates of zoological specimens and 10 crates of ethnographical objects.<sup>11</sup> As Jacqueline Goy points out,<sup>12</sup> these collections were distinctly larger than those that had been brought to France earlier on the *Naturaliste*. In June 1803, André Thouin, botanist at the Muséum, had reported the arrival at Le Havre of 37 crates of zoological specimens and 12 crates of botanical specimens.<sup>13</sup> Of the 800 live plants that

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<sup>5</sup> Letter from François Péron to the Préfet Maritime at Lorient, written at Lorient and dated 8 germinal an XII [25 March 1804], ANF, SM BB4 996.

<sup>6</sup> For instance, see Cornell, *Journal de Baudin*, p. 487 and p. 507; Baudin, *Journal de mer*, ANF, SM, 5JJ39 and 5JJ40A, entries made 2-3 ventôse an XI [21-22 February 1803] and 26-27 ventôse an XI [17-18 March 1803].

<sup>7</sup> O. H. K. Spate, *The Pacific since Magellan*, vol. III *Paradise Found and Lost* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1988), p. 193.

<sup>8</sup> Letter from Antoine-François Fourcroy to Pierre-Bernard Milius, written in Paris and dated 29 germinal an 12 [19 April 1804], reproduced in J. Bonnemains and P. Haugel (eds), *Récit du voyage aux Terres australes par Pierre-Bernard Milius, second sur le Naturaliste dans l'expédition Baudin (1800-1804)* (Le Havre: Société havraise d'études diverses, 1987), p. 61.

<sup>9</sup> Letter from Antoine-Jean-Marie Thévenard to the Minister of Marine and the Colonies, written at Lorient and dated 8 germinal an XII [29 March 1804], ANF, SM BB4 996.

<sup>10</sup> Jussieu, "Notice sur l'expédition à la Nouvelle-Hollande", p. 6.

<sup>11</sup> F. Péron, "Observations zoologiques de Port Jackson à la Nouvelle-Hollande", MHN, Le Havre, CL, dossier 21 001.

<sup>12</sup> J. Goy, *Les Méduses de François Péron et de Charles-Alexandre Lesueur: un autre regard sur l'expédition Baudin* (Paris: Éditions du CTHS, 1995), p. 25.

<sup>13</sup> A. Thouin, "Extrait du Registre de délibérations de l'assemblée des Professeurs du Muséum d'histoire Naturelle", dated 10 messidor an XI [29 June 1803], Archives nationales de France, F17 (Ministry of Public Instructions), 3979 (miscellaneous affairs; grants; donations), dossier 12.



Baudin had placed under Hamelin's care, only around 20 had survived the voyage – “a deplorable loss” which Thouin attributed to ill-managed care.<sup>14</sup> It was only in the field of mineralogy that the collection on the *Géographe* may have been smaller than that delivered to France by the *Naturaliste*.<sup>15</sup> Overall, it is to the second campaign, clearly, that we may attribute the greatest part of the Baudin expedition's celebrated natural history collection.

The principal reason for this is that there were more opportunities for excursions during the *Géographe*'s second voyage. The research carried out on the south coast, where the expeditioners had been unable to go ashore during the previous campaign, was particularly fruitful. Jussieu noted that the most important botanical research was carried out here and on the south-west coast, “regions, in the main part, not visited by the English”.<sup>16</sup> At King George Sound alone, botanist Théodore Leschenault collected around 200 new species of plants and gardener Antoine Guichenot even more.<sup>17</sup> Similarly, in the inventories of specimens compiled by zoologist François Péron, the provenances most frequently cited were King Island, the Island of St Peter and King George Sound.<sup>18</sup> Many of the zoological specimens collected by, or at least attributed to Péron, represented species new to European science, such as the kangaroo from Kangaroo Island.<sup>19</sup> Several are now endangered and no longer inhabit the regions where the Frenchmen found them, such as the common wombat (*Vombatus ursinus ursinus*)<sup>20</sup> collected at King Island and the Tamar Wallabies from the Island of St Peter (*Kanguus eugenii*). Some of the species are now extinct, including the King Island dwarf emu

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<sup>14</sup> “cette perte vraiment déplorable”. A. Thouin, “Extrait du Registre de délibérations de l'assemblée des Professeurs du Muséum d'histoire Naturelle”.

<sup>15</sup> Thouin recorded that there were 14 crates of mineralogical samples on the *Naturaliste*, whereas fragmentary records indicate that there may have been only 5 aboard the *Géographe*. See A. Thouin, “Extrait du Registre de délibérations de l'assemblée des Professeurs du Muséum d'histoire Naturelle”; P.-B. Milius, “Etat des objets d'histoire naturelle que j'ai apporté en France sur la corvette Le *Géographe* que je commandai et qui ont été recueillis en grande partie par le commandant”, reproduced in P.-B. Milius, *Récit du voyage aux Terres australes*”, pp. 62-63; and C. Bailly, “Caisse no.1<sup>er</sup>, Catalogue des objets de Minéralogie appartenant au gouvernement qui m'ont été remis par le C<sup>n</sup>. Péron”, MHN, Le Havre, CL, dossier 21 004.

<sup>16</sup> “régions, pour la plupart, non visitées par les Anglais”. Jussieu, “Notice sur l'expédition à la Nouvelle-Hollande”, p. 6.

<sup>17</sup> Cornell, *Journal de Baudin*, pp. 491-492; Baudin, *Journal de mer*, ANF, SM, 5JJ40A, entry made 7-8 ventôse an XI [26-27 February 1803].

<sup>18</sup> F. Péron, “Catalogue zoologique”, MHN, Le Havre, CL, dossier 21 002.

<sup>19</sup> Horner, *The French Reconnaissance*, p. 358.

<sup>20</sup> *Vombatus ursinus ursinus* was a sub-species of the common wombat (*Vombatus ursinus*), which was once found on several Bass Strait islands but now survives only on Flinders Island. See L. J. Pigott and L. Jessop,

(*Dromaius ater*) and the Kangaroo Island dwarf emu (*Dromaius baudinianus*). These specimens, many of which in fact survived the voyage and lived on in France for some time, were among the expedition's most important achievements and made significant contributions to science.

The second campaign also served to advance the expedition's anthropological research. Although neither King Island, Kangaroo Island nor the Island of St Peter were inhabited by Aborigines, and the ships were unable to anchor on either the north-west or north coasts, landfalls on the south-west coastline gave the expeditioners several opportunities to observe indigenous people and their lifestyles. At King George Sound, Baudin, mineralogist Charles Bailly and geographer Pierre Faure discovered "two rather peculiar and interesting monuments erected by the natives".<sup>21</sup> In the same area, sub-lieutenant Joseph Ransonnet reported a friendly encounter with a group of eight men. He brought back to the *Géographe* a spear and spear-thrower, an axe, and observations concerning the men's appearance, speech and song.<sup>22</sup> Upon landing at Shark Bay, Ronsard discovered a village of 12 to 15 huts. Upon Baudin's order, it was reproduced in detail by the artist from the *Géographe*.<sup>23</sup> These brief encounters with indigenous life compare favourably to those experienced on the west coast during the first campaign. While the expeditioners aboard the *Géographe* and the *Naturaliste* had been able to carry out extensive anthropological work in Tasmania – and, indeed, to produce, there, the most significant anthropological observations of the voyage – their observations of indigenous Western Australians had been rather limited. The encounters of 1803, therefore, whether they involved interacting with individuals or examining huts and monuments, added considerably to the expeditioners' understanding of Aboriginal life in Western Australia.

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"The Governor's Wombat: Early History of an Australian Marsupial", *Archives of Natural History*, 34 (2), 2007, p. 216.

<sup>21</sup> Cornell, *Journal de Baudin*, pp. 486-487; Baudin, *Journal de mer*, ANF, SM, 5JJ339 entry made 2-3 ventôse an XI [21-22 February 1803]: "deux monuments assez particuliers et intéressants".

<sup>22</sup> See the report written by Ransonnet for Baudin, dated 7 ventôse [26 February 1803], MNH, Le Havre, CL, dossier 09 030.

<sup>23</sup> Cornell, *Journal de Nicolas Baudin*, pp. 507-508; Baudin, *Journal de mer*, ANF, SM, 5JJ40A, entry made 27-28 ventôse an XI [18-19 March 1803]: "le dessinateur".

The expedition's geographical and astronomical work benefited particularly from this second voyage. The French conducted the first circumnavigation of both King Island and Kangaroo Island and produced the most accurate and thorough charts for the time of the Hunter Islands, Denial Bay and the north-west coast of Australia. This remarkably detailed work must be attributed mainly to the use of the *Casuarina*. Neither the *Géographe* nor the *Naturaliste*, on their own, would have been able to sail close enough to the coastlines to chart these areas with any degree of exactitude. The *Géographe* only passed safely through the dangerous north-western waters, which for centuries had remained ineffectually charted, because the *Casuarina* carefully guided her through the scattered sandbanks and islets.<sup>24</sup> The expedition's geographical work benefited also from frequent landfalls. Regular opportunities to go ashore enabled astronomer Pierre-François Bernier to correct the ship's clock, ensuring accuracy in navigation as well as astronomical records.<sup>25</sup> They also enabled topographical studies as well as critical opportunities for geographers Pierre Faure and Charles Boullanger to chart islands and bays from small boats – by which means they could achieve far greater detail than from aboard the ships. Of course, the geographic work did not always run smoothly. While, as midshipman Charles Baudin commented,<sup>26</sup> collaboration between Baudin and Louis Freycinet did result in much better work than was achieved during the first campaign, the *Casuarina* was considerably slower than the *Géographe*. Her laggard pace became particularly problematic during the final leg of the voyage, when it prevented the

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<sup>24</sup> See Cornell, *Journal de Baudin*, pp. 506, 511, 519, 522-523, 525 and 527; Baudin, *Journal de mer*, ANF, SM, 5JJ40A, entries made 27 ventôse an XI [18 March 1803], 1 germinal an XI [22 March 1803], 8 germinal an XI [29 March 1803], 12-13 germinal an XI [2-3 April 1803], and 17 germinal an XI [7 April 1803].

<sup>25</sup> At Port Jackson, Bernier had mentioned to Baudin that more frequent landfalls would enable him to maintain the accuracy of the ship's clock, which was critical to producing accurate charts and navigating successfully. The fact that he did find frequent opportunities during the subsequent voyage to go ashore and make astronomical observations, and correct the ship's clock, is demonstrated by several journal entries made by Henri Freycinet during the second campaign. See letter from Pierre-François Bernier to Nicolas Baudin, written at Port Jackson and dated 10 fructidor an X [28 August 1802], reproduced in P.-F. Bernier, *Journal des observations faites par l'astronome Bernier à bord le Naturaliste et le Géographe, 19 octobre 1800 au 6 mai 1803*, entries dated 28 prairial an X - 27 brumaire an XI [17 June – 18 November 1802], ANF, SM 5JJ47. See also, H. Freycinet, *Journal de Navigation Du L.<sup>1</sup> de V.<sup>am</sup> H.<sup>oy</sup>. Freycinet, embarqué sur la Corvette de La république f.<sup>se</sup> Le géographe. An 11 de la R.<sup>que</sup> f.<sup>se</sup>*, ANF, SM 5JJ34, entries made 16 to 17 frimaire [7-8 December 1802], 20 to 30 nivose [10-20 January 1803], 16 nivose [6 January 1803], 1<sup>er</sup> au 11 pluviôse [21 – 31 January 1803] and 30 ventôse [21 March 1803].

<sup>26</sup> C. Baudin, *Souvenirs de jeunesse de l'amiral Baudin*, Service Historique de la Marine, Vincennes: CC7a125, ms 116, p. 87.

expeditioners from reaching the Gulf of Carpentaria.<sup>27</sup> However, charting the gulf may not have been a critical requirement for the expedition: in one of his sets of instructions, Count Fleurieu had instructed Baudin to undertake the task only “provided that this general examination does not encounter too many difficulties and that [Baudin] does not foresee too great a danger in it”.<sup>28</sup> Moreover, the *Géographe* and the *Casuarina* had by this stage accomplished much of the expedition’s most important geographical and astronomical work.

The results of the voyage that followed the Port Jackson sojourn were, overall, remarkable. An exceptional record of health and discipline enabled Baudin’s men to concentrate on their work, little hindered by disease or discord. Frequent landfalls and several extended excursions gave scientists valuable opportunities to collect, observe, sketch and chart comprehensively. And an itinerary including areas Baudin deemed most advantageous for French knowledge allowed them to perfect their records of places previously visited and to add to their store of information records of lands seen by Frenchmen for the first time. It was the expedition reconceived and reconstructed by Baudin at Port Jackson that produced most of the Baudin expedition’s greatest accomplishments.

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<sup>27</sup> Baudin had feared that, at the *Casuarina*’s pace, the work could not be completed before supplies ran out and the monsoon hindered safe navigation – nor without risking the survival of the animals that he “so wanted to preserve to be of use to France”. “[T]he loss of these animals will certainly not be made up for by the slight amount of geographical knowledge that it seems we may gain concerning the part of the coast that we have yet to visit”, he wrote, explaining his decision to return to France. See Cornell, *Journal de Baudin*, p. 557; Baudin, *Journal de mer*, ANF, SM, 5JJ40A, entry dated 13 messidor an XI [2 July 1803]: “la perte des animaux ne sera sûrement pas remplacée par le peu de connaissance géographique qu’il paraît que nous pourrions Press avoir sur la partie de côte qu’il nous reste à visiter”.

<sup>28</sup> “Plan of Itinerary for Citizen Baudin” in Cornell, *Journal of Baudin*, p. 4; “Plan de la campagne que doivent exécuter les corvettes le *Géographe* et le *Naturaliste*, rédigé par les citoyens Fleurieu, Buache et approuvé par le ministre de la Marine”, written in Paris and dated 7 vendémiaire an IX [29 September 1800], ANF, SM, 5JJ35: “si cette visite générale n’éprouve pas trop de difficulté, et s’il n’y prévoit pas trop de danger”.

## *Conclusion*

The Baudin expedition arrived at Sydney after a long and arduous voyage on the western and southern coasts of Australia. The ships remained at anchor there for over five months, and when Baudin re-entered the Tasman Sea in November 1802, he was leading what Frank Horner has called a “new” expedition. Insofar as the Port Jackson sojourn thus marked the end of the first campaign and the beginning of the second, scholars have taken for granted that the episode constituted a turning point in Baudin’s voyage. What that might mean in more precise terms, however, had not previously been the subject of an exhaustive study. It remained to be determined whether the completion of one campaign and the construction of another were simply the natural and fortunate consequences of the sojourn in Sydney or, rather, a deliberately and methodically contrived outcome. As a result, the significance of the visit to Port Jackson for the voyage as a whole had not been sufficiently highlighted; neither, indeed, had the matter of the commander’s control and influence over the expedition during this stopover been understood.

Our study has suggested that, as Baudin turned to Sydney, the idea of constructing a new voyage was already developing in his mind. The decision to visit the English colony may have been forced upon him, to some extent, by circumstance, but it was also influenced by a strong desire on the commander’s part to re-examine the south coast. Furthermore, analysis of the day-to-day activities of the French at Port Jackson has demonstrated that, despite the length of the sojourn, Baudin succeeded in keeping his men focused on their various tasks: following his own example, the scientists took advantage of this opportunity to pursue their work, while the officers and sailors were kept busy making necessary preparations for a more effective second campaign. While carefully managing all of this activity, Baudin showed a strong sense of purpose – he sought to re-define the expedition according to his own personal blueprint. It is in this sense that the Port Jackson stay was a turning point for this voyage of discovery.

The Port Jackson sojourn thus served a far greater purpose than simply replenishing supplies and allowing the crew to rest and recover from the rigours of the preceding campaign. Throughout its duration, the commander remained focused on the central mission of the expedition: investigating the natural history of Australia. Indeed, in order to fulfil the expectations of the French government and the Institut National, it was critical that the scientific work of the expedition continue to progress steadily during this unscheduled five-month sojourn. It is well known that the savants did pursue their research in the colony; however, this study has allowed us to determine that the Port Jackson stay in fact played a unique and vital role in advancing the expedition's scientific work.

Firstly, the extended sojourn in the County of Cumberland offered opportunities to pursue their work that the Frenchmen had not previously enjoyed and would not encounter at any stage of the voyage ahead. They were able to journey further inland and through a wider range of environments, from coastal regions such as Botany Bay, through fertile riverland and forests, to the rocky terrain at the foot of the Blue Mountains. With five months on shore, they could gather especially varied and substantial scientific collections. Thanks to the assistance available in the colony, which gave the Frenchmen access to transport, accommodation, meals and guides, they could also carry out their work more easily. Given these exceptional and advantageous circumstances, the Port Jackson stay made a critical contribution to the scientific results of the voyage in its own right.

The expedition thus sailed away from Sydney with a considerably larger collection of natural history specimens than the savants could otherwise have made. In fact, this sojourn generated the largest proportion of the expedition's botanical collection, and a number of species new to science were gathered there. It also produced the bulk of the anthropological collection, that is 160 objects out of the final total of 206, thanks principally to a generous donation from George Bass. The largest part of the mineralogical collection was likewise gathered during this episode. At Port Jackson, in fact, the mineralogists found the most valuable opportunity of the voyage to work together and test the latest theories in their field.

The zoological work, too, that was carried out over these months was of critical importance. It produced a large proportion of the birds, most of the lizards and all but one of the Australian amphibian specimens in the expedition's final collection. Amongst these specimens were several that the expeditioners did not find anywhere else during the voyage – the long-necked turtle for instance, which was one of a number of live animals collected only at Port Jackson. Along with a mainland emu, two dingos and two black swans, this turtle survived the voyage to France. Their survival is emblematic of the crucial part played by this sojourn. Finally, this episode allowed the French to record valuable data and make important observations. From his optimal position on Bennelong Point, the expedition's astronomer made extensive daily observations, correcting errors in the readings taken during the first campaign and making adjustments to the ship's clocks, thus ensuring that the most accurate readings possible could be made during the second campaign. The first French plans and sketches of Sydney and the Port Jackson area were also produced thanks to this sojourn.

Baudin himself played a central role in the scientific work carried out at Port Jackson. He actively contributed to the collections, made botanical observations and purchased equipment to facilitate the collection, preservation and drawing of specimens. The scientific results of the sojourn were therefore the outcome not only of the fortuitous circumstances the French found at Port Jackson, but also of the fact that, more than during any of the previous stopovers, and despite various potential distractions, scientific endeavour remained the primary objective of the savants and of the commander.

In addition to augmenting the natural history collection and allowing important scientific observations to be made, the Port Jackson stay enabled Baudin and his men to ensure that the results of their work reached France in the best possible condition. The savants had had ample time in the comfort of their lodgings in Sydney to catalogue, preserve and tend to the specimens they had collected in the colony as well as those gathered during the first campaign. When the time came to load the immense natural history collection aboard the *Naturaliste*, a task to which the Frenchmen were able to devote three weeks, it was therefore

in better order than it could have been at any other stage during the voyage. Had this collection been carried on board the ships during further exploration at sea, much of it would surely have been lost to science. As we know however, it was carefully loaded on to the *Naturaliste* and, only eight months after she left Port Jackson, it was received by the professors of the Muséum d'histoire naturelle in Paris. This constituted one of the most significant determining factors in terms of the scientific achievements of the Baudin expedition.

The other corresponding determinant was that, by sending to France the results of the first campaign and the Port Jackson stay, Baudin created space aboard the *Géographe* for an even larger scientific collection to be gathered during the second campaign. The pursuit of science was to continue to be the expedition's principal aim during its next voyage. Over the course of the sojourn, Baudin arranged for the *Géographe* to act as the second campaign's "floating laboratory", carrying the remaining savants and all of their equipment. At the same time, he replaced the *Naturaliste*, whose bulk and slowness had caused some problems prior to the Port Jackson stay, with the *Casuarina*. He set up this smaller ship to be the geographical instrument of the new expedition. The itinerary that Baudin designed for these vessels during his time in Sydney was more flexible than that which he had attempted to follow previously. It offered significant advantages for scientific research, including more landfalls as well as several opportunities to visit areas on the south coast that the savants had been unable to examine during the first campaign. Following the Port Jackson stay, the natural historians were therefore able to spend more time ashore observing the natural environment and collecting specimens than they had been able to do previously, while the geographers found that they could produce more numerous and more accurate charts. Indeed, this voyage included the expedition's most significant achievements in natural history and geography.

In short, Baudin's construction at Port Jackson of a new scientific voyage ultimately made the sojourn a climactic event in terms of the expedition's results. How, precisely, did



the commander achieve this? Baudin's conduct at Port Jackson has been one of the least understood aspects of this episode. However, by closely examining the way in which Baudin managed the expedition's sojourn – aboard the *Géographe* and ashore in Sydney – it has become possible to explain not only how but why he constructed the second campaign and, furthermore, what this particular campaign meant to him.

As we have observed, the idea of a second voyage did not occur to Baudin until only after he had arrived in Sydney, re-energised and with the resources of the colony before him. Well before the *Géographe* sailed through Sydney Heads, in fact, he had formed the intention of staying in the port until the onset of summer – the ideal season for exploring the southern waters. This meant a sojourn of around five months, which was an exceptionally long length of time to remain as a guest in a foreign port. He had two considerable tasks ahead of him if this plan was to succeed: to maintain order aboard his ship throughout the duration of this extended sojourn and to establish cooperative relationships with authorities, merchants and entrepreneurs on shore.

Lack of discipline aboard the *Géographe* during the outward voyage and the first campaign had frustrated Baudin; it had hindered the running of the ship and therefore the work he was attempting to carry out. It had caused problems particularly during the stopovers. Following the near mutiny at Timor, Baudin was determined to supervise his men more rigorously. At Port Jackson, rather than delegating authority to one of the lieutenants as he had done previously, Baudin maintained direct control of shipboard affairs and deliberately strengthened his manner of command. He took care to preserve the orderly world of the ship: he kept the men busy, gave them routines and regulations to follow, and closely supervised their conduct and welfare. He also continued to impose a hierarchy on board and, though it did not go unchallenged by senior officers preoccupied with status and rank, it functioned effectively overall. On shore, he played an active role in organising medical care for his men and in facilitating the work of the savants. This direct manner of command played a pivotal part in the transition from the first campaign, which Baudin felt was flawed, to the second

campaign, which he intended to be flawless. It ensured that a sound level of order reigned throughout the sojourn and that the naval staff effectively prepared the ships for their upcoming voyages. It also set the higher standard of discipline that Baudin intended to impose during the second campaign.

Towards the end of the sojourn, Baudin made a set of critical decisions. Firstly, he selected his staff for the next campaign. In France, contrary to the way in which scientific expeditions were usually organised, he had had very little say in who was to accompany him on his voyage to Australia. Most of Baudin's men were chosen by the authorities and he was given many more than he had requested. It has been well-established that the large numbers aboard each ship caused significant problems during the first campaign – Baudin complained of it himself on more than one occasion. He therefore took advantage of his relative freedom at Port Jackson to reduce his staff considerably, retaining only those who possessed the skill and motivation to help him realise the ideal voyage he had initially envisaged. He kept most of these chosen men on the *Géographe* and appointed to the *Casuarina* only a captain of the rank of lieutenant, a sub-lieutenant and fifteen sailors. No doubt remembering the long separations between his ship and the *Naturaliste* during the first campaign, Baudin made it clear to the captain of the *Casuarina* that his authority was limited. Louis Freycinet would remain dependent on the *Géographe* and would be subject to Baudin's command. Indeed, the significance of Baudin's introduction of the *Casuarina* and her minimal staff, in place of the *Naturaliste* with her full complement under commander Emmanuel Hamelin, cannot be understated. It brought the expedition, as a whole, more directly under Baudin's control and fundamentally altered the way it functioned. It constituted a distinct turning point in the course of the voyage.

The Port Jackson sojourn would not have contributed significantly to the expedition's scientific work nor would it have produced a successful second campaign without the assistance Baudin obtained on shore. However, that is not to suggest that the relationship between the Frenchmen and the colonists was based purely upon the latter's generosity. As

we have discovered, concern for the colonial project had a more powerful influence on the way in which certain British authorities perceived and responded to the Baudin expedition than is usually recognised. While the governor's approach to hosting the Frenchmen was hospitable and even kind, it was also prudent, authoritative and politically astute. Philip Gidley King was determined to establish and maintain control over the expeditioners while they remained in his territory, and if Baudin had allowed King to overshadow his command, it is probable that the results of the sojourn would have been rather different. As we have observed, however, Baudin's conduct toward King was self-assured, yet at the same time cautious and shrewd. Despite the rivalry between their two nations and their potentially conflicting leadership roles, their efforts to manage the sojourn ultimately proved to be complementary. In fact, Baudin finally deserves some credit for the cooperative relationship that developed between him and the governor.

His negotiations with King were marked by a distinct sense of purpose and were astutely managed. He acknowledged the governor's status and experience in naval matters while asserting his own authority and demanding respect for himself and his men. By showing a willingness to exchange information, he also demonstrated that he posed no threat to the colony and was indeed trustworthy. He thus succeeded in organising medical care for his men, securing an optimal position for the expedition's observatory tents, arranging to repair his ships, and gaining permission to trade with the local entrepreneurs and visiting merchants – all of which played a part in the transition from the first campaign to the second.

Obtaining campaign provisions and equipment for the *Géographe*, the *Naturaliste* and the *Casuarina* was, in particular, a fundamental element in preparing a voyage that was better equipped and therefore more successful than the previous one had been. While it is true that there were more opportunities to engage in commerce at Port Jackson than there had been at previous ports of call, Baudin's determined and shrewd efforts also played a significant part. He traded far and wide throughout the colony, and he negotiated resourcefully and without compromise. Thus he was able to purchase the *Casuarina* – the key to his plan for a smoother

and more productive voyage – and, remarkably, he succeeded in stocking the *Naturaliste* for her return to France as well as furnishing the new expedition with twelve months worth of supplies. This was more than had been carried from Le Havre, and it was an achievement which signified a new beginning.

These preparations for a better campaign were carried out independently – according to Baudin’s personal goals and standards; indeed, the voyage from Port Jackson held particular significance for the French commander. He had sought respite at the British colony with the intention of preparing for a return to the south coast, so that he could examine it more closely. In port, with time to reflect upon his objectives and with the resources of the colony at hand, his plans and preparations rapidly gained significance. His stay in the colony became a defining moment in his command of the expedition, as his passion for scientific endeavour, for discovery at sea and for leading men in these endeavours came to the fore. Not only did he prepare his ships and his men to return to the south coast, but he threw off the restrictions placed on him by government and scientific authorities, restrictions which had hindered his progress during the first campaign, and constructed a new expedition with which to recommence his exploration of Australia. This new expedition was based on lessons learned during years of scientific voyaging, on knowledge and insight acquired in the colony, and on long-held aspirations – it was, in essence, his own expedition.

However, though he had thus finally reclaimed the voyage taken from his hands in Paris, and though this campaign proved more far successful than the first, the commander’s new voyage was not duly recognised. The expedition in its entirety became infamous in France as an imperfect, even failed, voyage. Nicolas Baudin, of course, had no opportunity to present his work to the Institut de France and the French government, much less to defend himself against the critics; but now, writing this in the Jardin des Plantes in Paris, where lie thousands of the specimens collected during the second campaign, it is clear that his achievements may finally be acknowledged. Frank Horner remarks that it was the fruit of Baudin’s 1798 venture aboard the *Belle-Angelique* that was the commander’s “final

triumph”,<sup>1</sup> but in actual fact, this epitaph would be better used to describe the scientific campaign constructed at Port Jackson. This was Baudin’s “perfect” voyage.

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<sup>11</sup> F. Horner, *The French Reconnaissance: Baudin in Australia, 1801-1803* (Melbourne: Melbourne University, 1987), p. 35.

## Chronology

### 1802

April	8	Commander Emmanuel Hamelin decides to sail for Port Jackson
	25	The <i>Naturaliste</i> anchors in Middle Harbour
	28	Hamelin and the officers and savants of the <i>Naturaliste</i> attend a dinner at Government House, in Sydney, and visit the home of Lieutenant Colonel William Paterson
	29	The <i>Naturaliste</i> moors in Neutral Bay Governor King visits the Frenchmen aboard the <i>Naturaliste</i> , after which Hamelin, the officers and the savants attend a dinner and a ball at Government House Mrs King takes lieutenant Pierre-Bernard Milius on a walking tour of Sydney
May	1	Six men from the <i>Naturaliste</i> – two suffering from scurvy, one from venereal disease and three from injuries – enter the hospital in Sydney
	3	Sub-lieutenant Jacques Saint-Cricq sets up the observatory tents at Green Point Hamelin, Milius, lieutenant Louis Freycinet and Saint-Cricq attend a dinner at the home of Commissary John Palmer
	6	Hamelin sends a boat party, including the botanist Leschenault and two soldiers allocated by Paterson, to collect shells, plants and seeds along the edge of the harbour
	8	Hamelin spends the night at the governor's house in Parramatta Commander Nicolas Baudin decides to sail for Port Jackson, via D'Entrecasteaux Channel in Tasmania
	9	The Flinders expedition arrives in Port Jackson and anchors at Cattle Point (Bennelong Point)
		Hamelin visits Matthew Flinders aboard the <i>Investigator</i>
	11	Botanist Théodore Leschenault goes on an excursion with the botanist and the gardener from the <i>Investigator</i> , Robert Brown and Peter Good The colony receives news, from the captain of the <i>Venus</i> , of the Treaty of Amiens Flinders visits Hamelin aboard the <i>Naturaliste</i>
	12	Hamelin writes to the Minister of Marine and the Colonies to inform him that he is leaving Port Jackson to search for Baudin
	15	It is decided that Milius will stay in Port Jackson when the <i>Naturaliste</i> departs, because of ill health
	17	The observatory tents are taken down
		Second class novice Amand Degouhièr stabs fourth class seaman Pierre Boutellier in a bar in Sydney, Boutellier dies the following day
	18	The <i>Naturaliste</i> sails from Port Jackson

<b>June</b>	<b>8</b>	The <i>Naturaliste</i> sets sail to return to Port Jackson
	<b>20</b>	The <i>Géographe</i> anchors in Sydney Cove
	<b>21</b>	The <i>Géographe</i> moors in Neutral Bay
		Baudin visits Flinders aboard the <i>Investigator</i>
	<b>22</b>	Lieutenant François-Michel Ronsard reads to the officers, savants and crew of the <i>Géographe</i> the regulations provided by Governor King as well as regulations to be imposed by Baudin Baudin visits Flinders aboard the <i>Investigator</i> 23 men from the <i>Géographe</i> enter the hospital in Sydney, under the care of Hubert-Jules Taillefer
	<b>23</b>	Milius visits Baudin aboard the <i>Géographe</i>
		Flinders visits Baudin aboard the <i>Géographe</i>
		Baudin and Ronsard visit Governor King at Government House to show him the paperwork concerning the expedition, then visit Paterson
	<b>25</b>	The observatory tents and sailmakers' tent, of the <i>Géographe</i> , are erected on Bennelong Point
	<b>26</b>	Astronomer Pierre-François Bernier establishes himself in the observatory tents
		Baudin moves into lodgings in Sydney
	<b>28</b>	The <i>Naturaliste</i> arrives in Port Jackson The live plants are taken from the <i>Géographe</i> and placed in the sailmakers' tent, on Bennelong Point
	<b>29</b>	Midshipman Jean-Marie Maurouard and geographer Charles-Pierre Boullanger, who had been lost in a dinghy near Tasmania and found aboard an English whaler by Hamelin, return to the <i>Géographe</i>
<b>Jun/Jul</b>	<b>30 - 6</b>	Clearing the front of the <i>Géographe</i> to facilitate repairs to the copper sheathing
	<b>3</b>	The <i>Naturaliste</i> moors in Neutral Bay beside the <i>Géographe</i>
	<b>7</b>	The <i>Naturaliste</i> 's observatory tents are erected
	<b>9-12</b>	Unloading all the cables, sails, anchors, irons, chains, gunpowder etc. from the <i>Géographe</i> , and storing them aboard the <i>Naturaliste</i> , so that the <i>Géographe</i> 's copper sheathing may be repaired
	<b>6</b>	Baudin issues the officers of the <i>Géographe</i> with the order of service, which they are to abide by for the duration of the sojourn
	<b>7</b>	Baudin enters into negotiations with shipbuilders and merchants James Underwood and Henry Kable regarding the purchase of the <i>Casuarina</i>
	<b>13</b>	The <i>Géographe</i> is beached and it is decided that the damage to the sheathing is such that the ship will have to be careened in order to make the necessary repairs
	<b>15</b>	Master-gunner Valentin Kleinne and gunners Yves Menou and Vinard Barbier from the <i>Géographe</i> , as well as master-gunner François David from the <i>Naturaliste</i> , are arrested for selling gunpowder and sailcloth on shore
	<b>16</b>	Naval staff empty the <i>Géographe</i> , so that she may be careened
	<b>17</b>	A tent is erected on shore in which supplies from the <i>Géographe</i> may be stored temporarily
	<b>20</b>	Court-martial is held aboard the <i>Géographe</i> to address the

accusations of theft made against Kleinne, Menou, Barbier and David

<b>August</b>	<b>2</b>	Ronsard careens the <i>Géographe</i> in Sydney Cove and repairs the half of her sheathing that is exposed
	<b>22</b>	Hamelin moves into lodgings in Sydney
	<b>3</b>	The <i>Géographe</i> is set afloat
	<b>5</b>	Ronsard careens the <i>Géographe</i> on the other side and completes the repairs to her sheathing
	<b>6</b>	The <i>Géographe</i> is set afloat
	<b>12</b>	Baudin leaves for Parramatta with Governor King
	<b>14</b>	Ronsard pays the crew members of the <i>Géographe</i>
	<b>15</b>	Petty officer Pierre Ector is killed by a fall from the gangway on to the gun deck
	<b>16</b>	Funeral for Pierre Ector takes place on shore
	<b>18</b>	Baudin returns from Parramatta The <i>Casuarina</i> is launched
	<b>24</b>	Men from the hospital return to the <i>Géographe</i>
	<b>26</b>	The <i>Naturaliste</i> is fumigated in an effort to rid it of rats
	<b>27-29</b>	To prepare the <i>Naturaliste</i> to be fumigated again, more thoroughly, her decks are cleared and all supplies and materials are stored aboard the <i>Géographe</i> and in tents on shore
	<b>28</b>	Bernier, the astronomer, asks Baudin if the expedition can stay at Port Jackson long enough for him to observe the transit of Mercury on 9 November
	<b>31</b>	The <i>Naturaliste</i> is fumigated again
<b>September</b>	<b>9</b>	The <i>Entreprise</i> , a French schooner captained by Alexandre Le Corre and sailing from Mauritius to hunt seals in Bass Strait, arrives in Port Jackson
	<b>20</b>	7 cases, containing 800 gallons of spirits, purchased by Baudin from the <i>Atlas</i> , an Irish convict ship, are loaded onto the <i>Géographe</i>
	<b>22</b>	Baudin offers the command of the <i>Casuarina</i> to lieutenant Louis Freycinet
	<b>23</b>	French Republican New Year's Day
		Baudin takes offence at an enquiry made by harbour master John Harris concerning the position of the British flag on the French ships
		Louis Freycinet moves aboard the <i>Casuarina</i> and commences preparations for the subsequent voyage
		Baudin pays for supplies purchased from Mr Weld Noble, agent of the American ship <i>Fanny</i> , with a bill of exchange to the value of 2,577.16.8 pounds sterling
		Baudin pays for supplies purchased from Mr Richard Brooks, captain of the <i>Atlas</i> , with a bill of exchange to the value of 1684.3.8 pounds sterling
	<b>25</b>	Lieutenant Henri Freycinet and sub-lieutenant Gaspard Bonnefoy argue, aboard the <i>Géographe</i> , concerning the character of naturalist François Péron and Henri Freycinet's right to order Bonnefoy to his cabin
	<b>29</b>	The <i>Naturaliste</i> moors once more in Neutral Bay
<b>October</b>	<b>1</b>	The <i>Casuarina</i> moves from Sydney Cove to moor in Neutral Bay



The *Entreprise* departs Port Jackson, heading to Bass Strait where she is shipwrecked on 15 October. All on board drown

	<b>8</b>	Ronsard reads to the officers a letter from English officer Anthony Fenn Kemp, in which Kemp issues an apology to the French officers for accusing them of selling spirits on shore
	<b>11</b>	Ronsard and Bonnefoy argue on board the <i>Géographe</i> , after Bonnefoy sends the baker ashore to the bakery against Ronsard's wishes
	<b>12</b>	Ronsard requests permission to leave the expedition, after Baudin admonishes him for his part in the argument with Bonnefoy on the previous day
	<b>21</b>	Mineralogists Charles Bailly and Louis Depuch, accompanied by the colony's chief surgeon James Thomson, leave Sydney on an excursion through the environs of Toongabbie and Hawkesbury (Windsor) to the Nepean River at the foot of the Blue Mountains
	<b>22</b>	Ransonnet accuses Henri Freycinet of contravening the regulations imposed by Governor King by returning to the ship after the curfew
	<b>23</b>	Louis Freycinet sails the <i>Casuarina</i> to Botany Bay to test her seaworthiness
	<b>24</b>	The <i>Casuarina</i> returns to Port Jackson
	<b>28</b>	Baudin pays for supplies purchased from Mr William Cox, paymaster of the NSW regiment, with a bill of exchange to the value of 109.6.8 pounds sterling Baudin pays for supplies purchased from Mr Samuel Enderby, English shipowner, whaler and merchant, with a bill of exchange to the value of 136.11.0
<b>November</b>	<b>2</b>	The embarkation of the natural history collection aboard the <i>Naturaliste</i> begins
	<b>3</b>	Baudin announces the promotions and the staff transfers that are to be carried out between the three ships
	<b>9</b>	Bernier informs Baudin that his observation of the transit of Mercury had been unsuccessful
		Baudin holds a dinner aboard the <i>Géographe</i> for Governor King, Lieutenant Colonel Paterson, other principal inhabitants of the colony and their wives. The dinner is followed by fireworks and dancing
	<b>5</b>	The observatory tents are taken down and, along with the astronomical equipment, loaded aboard the <i>Géographe</i>
	<b>11</b>	Baudin pays for supplies purchased from the government store through Commissary John Palmer, with a bill of exchange to the value of 615.10.7 ½ pounds sterling, payable to the British Government
		Baudin pays for supplies purchased from Commissary John Palmer, with a bill of exchange to the value of 2,5000 pounds sterling
		Baudin pays Mr James Underwood, English shipbuilder and merchant, for supplies for, and work on, the ships with a bill of exchange to the value of 430.12.0 pounds sterling
		Baudin pays for supplies for the ships purchased from Mr Simeon Lord, English entrepreneur, with a bill of exchange to the value of 960.17.6 ½ pounds sterling
		Baudin pays for a quantity of salted meat purchased from Mr George

		Bass, English navigator and merchant, with a bill of exchange to the value of 359.10.0 pounds sterling
	<b>12</b>	An English officer from the <i>Buffalo</i> dines aboard the <i>Géographe</i>
	<b>14</b>	Governor King visits the <i>Naturaliste</i> and then the <i>Géographe</i>
	<b>15</b>	Lieutenant Colonel Paterson visits the French officers aboard the <i>Géographe</i> and Louis Freycinet aboard the <i>Casuarina</i>
	<b>16</b>	Baudin boards the <i>Géographe</i>
		Mr Thomson, English surgeon, and his wife board the <i>Naturaliste</i> to return to Europe after living in the colony
	<b>17</b>	Mr & Mrs Thomson, Hamelin, surgeon Jérôme Bellefin and Ronsard dine with Baudin aboard the <i>Géographe</i>
	<b>18</b>	The <i>Géographe</i> , the <i>Naturaliste</i> and the <i>Casuarina</i> set sail from Port Jackson, headed for King Island

Appendix 2  
**Maps**

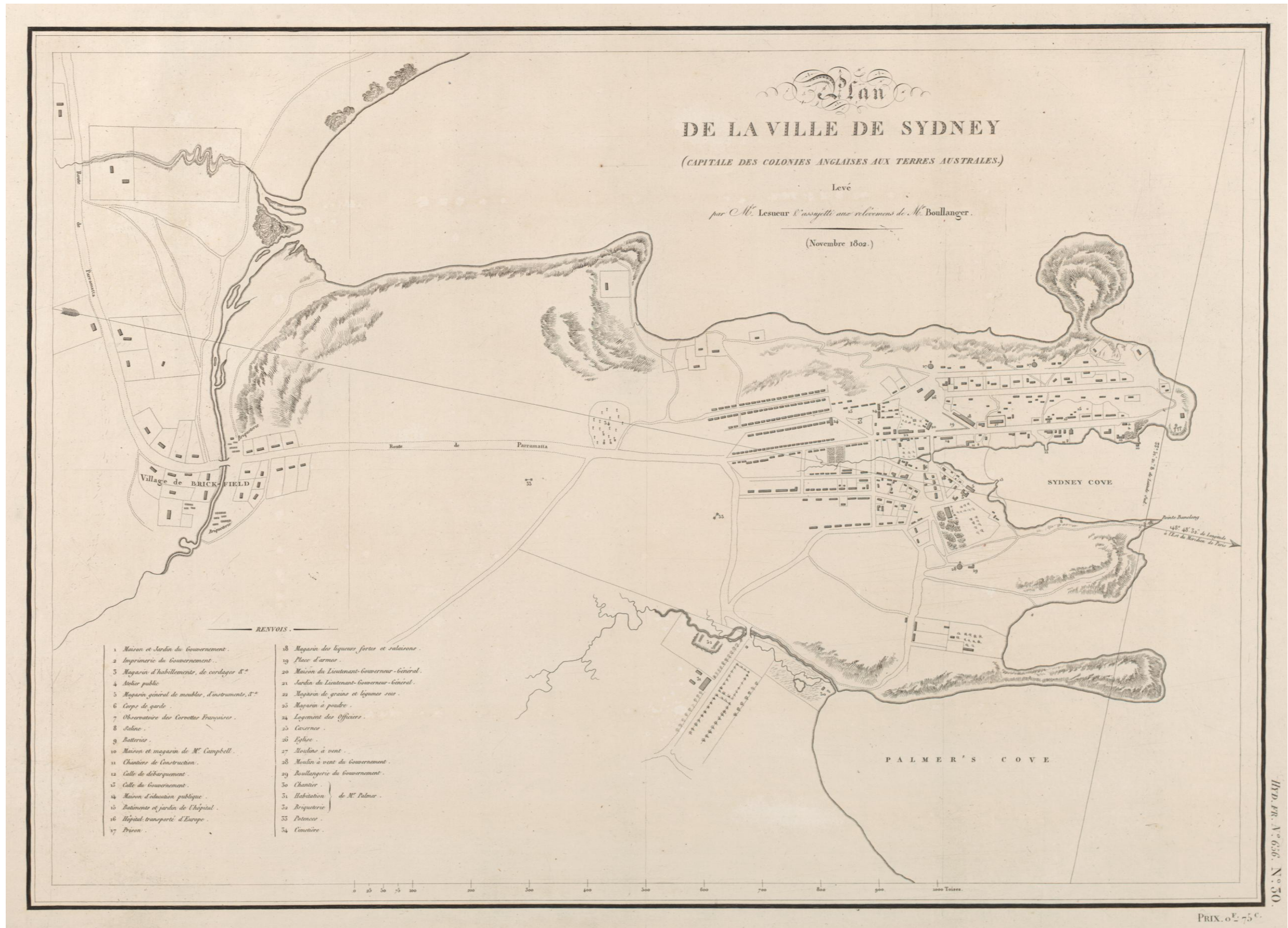


Figure 1 Plan of Sydney, by C.-A. Lesueur and C. Boullanger, November 1802. Published in the *Voyage de découvertes*, vol. III *Navigation et géographie*, Atlas (1812)



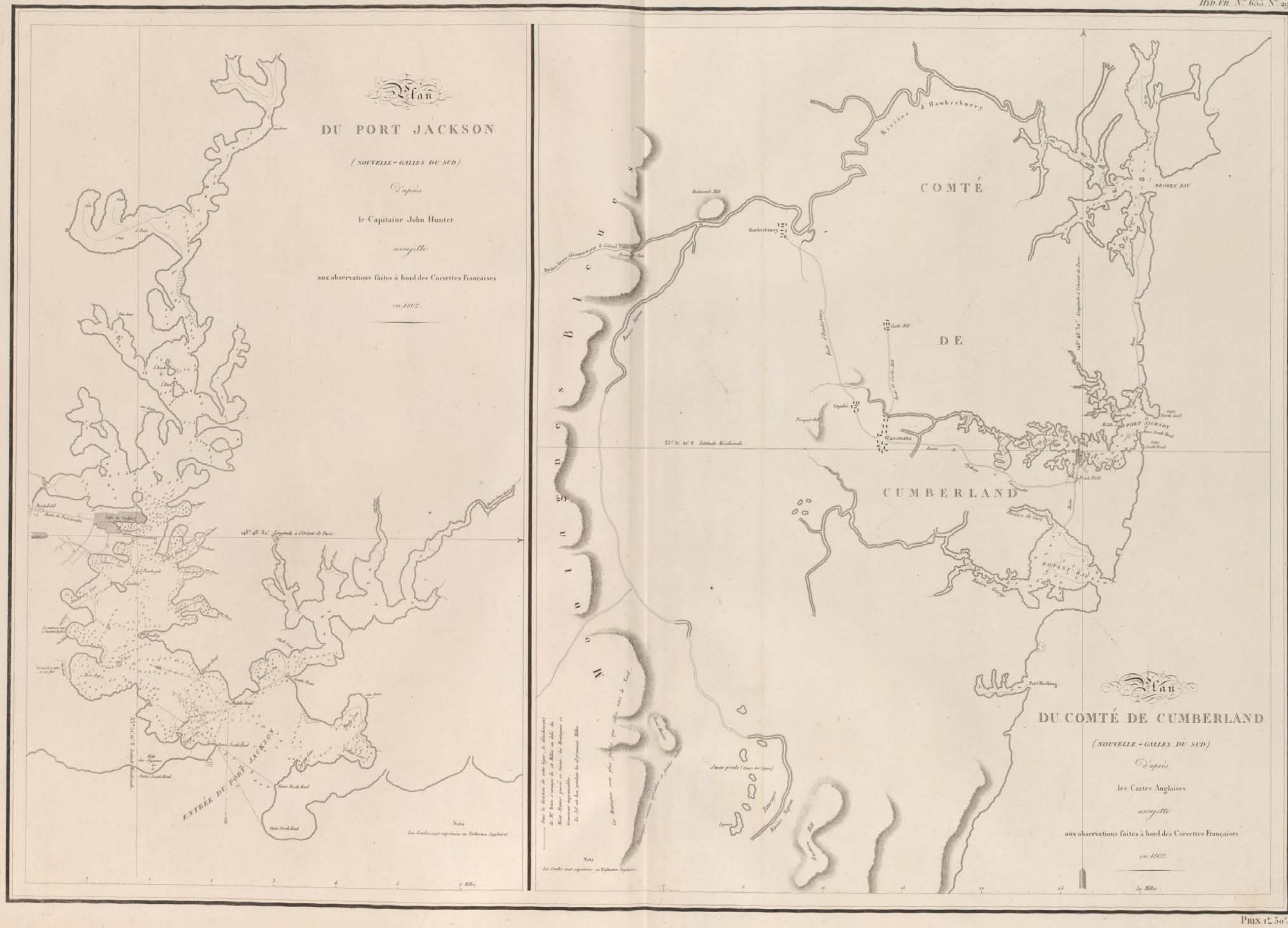


Figure 2 Plans of Port Jackson and the County of Cumberland, based on English charts and observations made aboard the French ships. Published in the *Voyage de découvertes*, vol. III *Navigation et géographie*, Atlas (1812)





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