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Towards a New Historiography: Re-reading the Archives of the Baudin Expedition

Jean Fornasiero and John West-Sooby

Since the late 19th century, a dedicated cohort of archivists and historians has expended considerable efforts in order to improve access to French archival documents relating to the history of Australia and to the early French maritime exploration of its coastline. The reasons that dictated these actions were self-evident for Australian historians, being closely related to issues of distance (time and cost) and readability (linguistic competence). Today, these imperatives have not changed, despite the technological advances of the 21st century that have facilitated the rapid exchange of information between France and the Antipodes. What has changed, however, over two centuries, is the increase in demand for these resources. No longer the preserve of colonial and maritime historians, the archives of French exploration are now a field of enquiry for researchers from a wide range of scientific and cultural fields.

In order to plot the course of this evolution we shall start by providing a brief survey of the history of Franco–Australian collaboration in the retrieval and diffusion of maritime archives, from the late 19th to the early 21st centuries. We shall base our survey on the Baudin voyage of discovery to Australia in 1800–04, an expedition which provides a particularly instructive case study, not only because of the quantity and the diversity of the documentary material available, but also because of the collaborative approach that has characterised the efforts to share and disseminate its records. We shall then look at some advances in historical debates that have been made possible by the greater visibility of the archives of the expedition. In conclusion, we shall attempt to identify new research directions made possible by recent collaborative initiatives.

The Baudin expedition is one of a series of ambitious French scientific voyages which reached Australia in the late 18th and early 19th centuries. Commissioned by Bonaparte, and commanded by Nicolas Baudin, who was then at the height of his reputation as a botanical voyager,¹ the expedition set out from Le Havre in October 1800 with high expectations. Upon its return in 1804 – without its commander, who had died at the Ile-de-France (Mauritius) in September 1803 – those expectations were shattered. Not only was the expedition's reputation damaged by the discord within its ranks but, with the birth of the new imperial regime, a range of political, institutional and financial circumstances conspired to cement its bad reputation and prevent the rapid dissemination of its results.² This marked the beginning of an extended fall from grace.³ In order to pursue their own case for redemption, the surviving expeditioners united to designate their deceased commander as both incompetent and malevolent.⁴ However, since most of the expedition's records were immediately consigned to the archives, they constituted a resource that would eventually yield up its secrets.

Although the late 19th century witnessed a resurgence of interest in the ethnographic records of the Baudin expedition,⁵ attempts to reveal its story to a wider public only began to gain traction in the 20th century.⁶ Ernest Scott's *Terre Napoléon: A History of French Exploration and Projects in Australia* was the first major study to use a wide range of French archival sources in order to provide a relatively balanced account of Baudin's voyage.⁷ In order to access these sources Scott used the services of Mme Hélouis, a Paris-based transcriber who was familiar with the relevant archives. Her work for Scott and others, known as the Hélouis transcripts, is now housed in the collections of the Australian National Library and the State Library of New South Wales. These sources were further supplemented in the 1960s thanks to the Archives Copying Project instigated by the State Library of South Australia, a project in which Brian Baldwin worked in collaboration with the Archives

Nationales and other institutions to make microfilm copies of primary French sources.⁸ An advantage of this mode of access was that the information available on the microfilm copies resembled that provided by the original archive (and indeed provided a safeguard against deterioration of the physical manuscripts). That said, access remained problematic for English-speaking researchers for whom some mediated form of the original was required. This limitation was partially mitigated in the case of the Baldwin project, whose first major outcome was the publication in English, in 1974, of Baudin's sea log (*Journal de mer*), transcribed from the microfilm copy and translated by Christine Cornell.⁹

In parallel, Brian Plomley had been conducting a similar collaborative French archival project, although more focused in its scope. His particular brief was to retrieve documentation on the contacts between French explorers and the Indigenous peoples of Tasmania. Recognising the need for mediated documentation for non-French-speaking researchers, he published extensive transcripts and English translations of the documents which he had retrieved largely from the Archives Nationales de France and the Lesueur Collection of Le Havre. The result was the publication of an authoritative work entitled *The Baudin Expedition and the Tasmanian Aborigines 1802*.¹⁰ Plomley's project, which was the first to give a voice to all of the voyagers who had expressed a view of, or written their observations on, their encounters with Indigenous peoples during the Baudin expedition's stay in Tasmania, gave the wider reading public even greater access to archival material than did the H  louis transcripts, albeit in a specialised area of research.¹¹

Cooperation between French and Australian archives had long included the Natural History Museum of Le Havre, which had important holdings relating to the Baudin expedition, thanks to its first director Charles-Alexandre Lesueur, one of the artists on the voyage. During the 1980s, curator Jacqueline Bonnemains not only published documents from the Lesueur Collection and elsewhere,¹² but was heavily engaged in making transcriptions of key documents and systematically collecting transcripts donated by other researchers. One of the frequent visitors to Le Havre was Michel Jangoux, a biologist specialised in the study of echinoderms, who subsequently published some of his transcripts, along with his findings,¹³ and later widened his focus to include historical documents relating to the Baudin voyage from other sources.¹⁴

The Baudin Legacy project, which commenced in 2005, with funding from the Australian Research Council, was animated by the same spirit that had inspired previous iterations of cooperative archival retrieval and dissemination. This time, however, the impetus had come from the university sector, from a group of researchers who had published on the Baudin expedition, and who all had experience in the transcription of historical French documents.¹⁵ The team was formed at a time when the digitisation of historical records was gathering momentum. By undertaking the construction of the Baudin Legacy website, the team was committed not simply to the digitisation of records per se but to the maximisation of the mediation process. It did this firstly by establishing a set of protocols for the transcription and verification of documents, based upon editorial conventions for the publication of original archival material, which thus ensured the reliability of the transcripts as a de facto source. Secondly, recognising the needs of non-French researchers who would hail from a variety of disciplines, the team determined to provide English translations of the documentation provided online. While the digitisation of an historical archive was not a breakthrough in itself, it proved in this case to be an advance over previous approaches, in that access and readability were greatly enhanced. By its recruitment of specialised researchers and translators, the project could also offer the guarantee that its particular mediation of the archive would result in much the same type of experience for the reader as the consultation of a scholarly edition of an archival text. During the course of the Baudin Legacy project, the museum of Le Havre commenced a new project of its own, with similar objectives. It committed to digitising its own archives, while developing a collaborative project with

members of the Legacy team and others to post online the transcription of documents and their translation into English. Following the Australian initiatives, this new project will open up access to yet more sources of archival material relating to the Baudin expedition, while at the same time forging long-term relationships.

Ensuring an increased research visibility for a neglected area, while building academic and cultural ties, has without question been the consequence of a digitised approach to the archive, along with the communications strategy of online publication, which complements, and does not replace, traditional academic publication. If further proof were needed of the outreach possibilities created by this approach, one has only to consider the kinds of reactions elicited regularly by the Baudin Legacy website. Expressions of interest and requests for advice have come from many quarters. To cite just a few: local historians wishing to know more of the history of French place names in their region; ornithologists seeking specific information on the birds collected by the expedition; linguists enquiring about the provenance of scientific terms used by the voyagers; writers in need of sources for an historical novel; and art collectors in search of experts to identify works they believe to have come from the voyage. The quest for information goes far beyond the already extensive resources provided by the Baudin Legacy site, namely its biographies, journals, herbarium, maps and bibliography. Often the questions are simple, but in cases where further reflection is needed, the enquiry can lead to a new collaborative venture. For example, the Baudin researchers now serve as consultants for a musical group working to develop a performance piece inspired by the Indigenous musical notations of the Baudin voyage. The level of interest shown by the cultural and scientific sectors, in particular, shows no signs of flagging.

For historians, too, the process of documentary retrieval and dissemination has raised the profile of Baudin's expedition, fostering a re-examination of some important historiographical questions concerning both the voyage itself and its broader geopolitical ramifications. It is precisely the intersection between the Baudin expedition and this geopolitical context that invites reappraisal of some foundational narratives of Australian history. The first issue concerns the decision taken by the British in 1786 to establish a settlement on the east coast of what James Cook called New South Wales. This decision has long been presented as a response to the problem of overcrowding in the prisons of Great Britain – a problem that had arisen as a consequence of the American War of Independence, the loss of which had deprived Britain of a convenient location for sending its unwashed and unwanted. In keeping with this narrative, Australia's colonisation is frequently presented as hastily planned and poorly executed.¹⁶ But the publication in 1966 of Geoffrey Blainey's landmark history of Australia, *The Tyranny of Distance*, cast doubt on this interpretation and sparked a controversy that has since become known as the Botany Bay debate.¹⁷ In his study, Blainey argued that it was the mercantile impulse that was at the heart of the decision to colonise New South Wales. To support his argument, he highlighted the significance of Cook's 1770 survey of Botany Bay, which in his view had been instrumental in convincing the British authorities of the strategic and commercial advantage that a settlement in the area might provide, particularly with respect to the exploitation of timber and flax. Blainey's view sat at odds, however, with the traditional account of Australian history according to which the spur for settlement was the need to relieve the pressure on His Majesty's prisons – an interpretation which prevails to this day, despite the best efforts of Blainey and his successors to debunk it. Chief among the dissenters is Alan Frost. While not denying the 'convict problem', Frost takes a broader perspective on the Botany Bay debate, highlighting the strategic reasons for London's decision to establish a colony there. Prominent among these, he argues, as did Blainey, were commercial interests, but what was paramount was the desire to secure a foothold in the Indo-Pacific in order to forestall Britain's main European rivals in the region, the Dutch and the French.¹⁸

In the context of this debate, it is of no little interest to ascertain what those rival nations actually thought of Britain's decision to establish a penal colony in New South Wales. This is where the Baudin expedition comes in. Baudin and his companions were the first Frenchmen to visit the colony in an official capacity and to leave an enduring record of what they saw. (The colony, as we know, was in the process of establishing itself when La Pérouse visited Botany Bay in January–February 1788.) In addition to the comments made by several of the French officers in their journals, the archival documentation from the Baudin expedition includes two reports on the British colony compiled in 1803 by zoologist François Péron and by one of the expedition's senior officers, Pierre-Bernard Milius. These reports were presented to the Governor of Ile de France (Mauritius), General Decaen, during the expedition's stopover in Port Louis on the journey home. Both manuscripts are now to be found in the municipal library of Caen.¹⁹ They provide a detailed description of the British colony along with comments of a political nature that leave no doubt as to the sense of rivalry their visit to Port Jackson had aroused in the French voyagers. On his return to France, Péron added considerably to his first report, producing a memoir of five chapters in which he sought to draw the attention of the French authorities to the flourishing nature of the settlement and to the danger it represented for the interests of France and Spain in the Pacific. His *Memoir*, which is held in the Lesueur Collection at the Le Havre museum, included a plan for attacking the colony and taking it for the French.²⁰

A close examination of these records and others due to Baudin and his officers reveals a strong level of consensus on the part of the French visitors to Port Jackson: the deportation of convicts, for them, was nothing more than a pretext; the true reason for the establishment of a penal colony on the east coast of New South Wales was to gain control of the Pacific. According to Milius, for example, the British 'intend to remain in untroubled possession of this part of the world, which was discovered more than 50 years before Cook'. He adds that they 'appear to live in great fear of the French arriving to settle Van Diemen's Land, which is separated from New Holland by Bass Strait. We have intelligence on this which leaves no doubt as to the unwarranted ambition of this nation.'²¹ These sentiments are echoed by Péron, who writes in his *Memoir* of Britain's 'vast and outrageous plan of invasion' in the Pacific. The English, for him are a 'threatening' people who 'only appear to lack ambition to the west and south because land itself is wanting in these parts of the globe'.²² From the French point of view, this colony formed part of a vast plan to secure dominion over the Pacific and to unsettle Spain's hold over Chile and Peru – an analysis identical to that provided to the Spanish authorities by Alejandro Malaspina following his visit to Port Jackson nine years earlier, in 1793.²³ For Britain's principal rivals in the Pacific, there was no debate to be had about the motives for the settlement of Botany Bay: it was a purely strategic move.

And yet, despite this overarching narrative of fierce geopolitical rivalry, one of the persistent themes in the popular and even the historical narrative that has developed around the Baudin expedition is that of Franco–British cooperation and friendship. It is true that the Governor of the colony, Philip Gidley King, treated the French with great generosity during their five-month sojourn in Sydney, even though resources were stretched. It is also true that correspondence between Baudin and King was unfailingly courteous. The French officers likewise fraternised quite readily with their British counterparts, despite the occasional incident.²⁴ It would be naïve, however, to imagine that national rivalries and personal ambitions suddenly became irrelevant or were somehow forgotten during this extended period of cross-cultural encounter.

Nothing illustrates better this coexistence of surface cordiality and underlying rivalry than the meeting between Baudin and Matthew Flinders on 8 April 1802, in the waters of what Flinders called Encounter Bay on the south coast of present-day South Australia. This meeting has entered Australian folklore for two main reasons. On a symbolic level, it signified the end of the geographical mystery of the previously uncharted south coast of New Holland.

The two navigators, coming from opposite directions, had between them completed the outline of the continent. Secondly, the courtesy shown by the two commanders, at a time when both believed their nations to be at war, is celebrated as a triumph of international cooperation over the troubled geopolitics of the time.²⁵ A close examination of the various witness accounts, however, reveals a more troubled underlying narrative.²⁶

In stark contrast to popular perception, the encounter was not welcomed by either Baudin or Flinders. Both had been given the mission of charting the south coast, and their meeting meant that neither could claim exclusive rights over it for their nation. Their attitudes and those of their companions reflect this sense of disappointment and mistrust. As a sail appeared on the horizon, Flinders and his men immediately adopted a defensive attitude. As Flinders noted in his re-telling of the encounter in *A Voyage to Terra Australis*, 'we cleared for action, in case of being attacked'. Flinders was taking no chances. Even when he had established the identity of the French ship, he 'veered round as *Le Geographe* was passing, so as to keep our broadside to her, lest the flag of truce should be a deception'.²⁷ Flinders took this wary attitude with him as he boarded the *Géographe*. In his meeting with Baudin, he remained on his guard and allowed his French counterpart to do most of the talking. As Baudin noted in his journal, Flinders 'expressed great satisfaction at this agreeable meeting, but was extremely reserved on all other matters'.²⁸ Since Flinders presented himself at this first meeting 'in full uniform',²⁹ we can surmise that he saw it less as an opportunity for an informal exchange with a fellow traveller, than as a diplomatic encounter between official representatives of two rival nations.

The reaction of Baudin and his men is just as revealing. When Flinders returned to his ship, promising to return the next morning with some of his charts, the reality dawned on Baudin and his companions. As conversations with Flinders' boatmen had revealed, the *Investigator* was similarly engaged in the business of discovery, and Flinders had preceded the French on the most significant section of the previously uncharted south coast. This devastating news cast a pall of gloom over the *Géographe*. As Flinders noted somewhat laconically in his captain's log following his second meeting with Baudin: 'I did not apprehend that my being here at this time, so far along the unknown part of the coast, gave him any great pleasure'.³⁰ The mood of the French is best summed up by François Péron:

According to what he told us, there remained nothing of any importance for us to do on that coast and what is unfortunate in all of this is that we are now bereft of any hope of doing anything remarkable since everything has been done on that coast, and if he had had several days more this indefatigable navigator would have bestowed names on the section of coastline that we had observed after leaving Western Port.³¹

As the archival records show, the famous encounter between Baudin and Flinders, far from being a cause for celebration, was a source of great consternation on both sides, particularly for the French, in whom it inspired feelings of great bitterness.

The third and final question we would like to subject to this kind of archival re-evaluation is not so much a matter of historical debate as a popular misconception, namely that Australia (or parts of it) could almost have been French. As the Baudin–Flinders encounter illustrates, Australia was something of a contested site during the late 18th century and well into the 19th. The succession of French expeditions to visit the area, from Louis Antoine de Bougainville in June 1768, through to the voyages of Jules Dumont d'Urville in 1826–29 and 1837–40, have generated a kind of fantasy or nostalgia about what might have been. Historians are well aware of the reasons why none of these expeditions resulted in the French establishing a presence in New Holland or Van Diemen's Land: poor timing, lack of resources at key moments, serious preoccupations on the domestic front and in Europe, and last but not least, the determination of the British to forestall them by settling places such as

Tasmania, Bass Strait and western Australia as soon as the French appeared to show an interest in them. Nevertheless, the idea that the French might have settled in Australia regularly re-emerges as a topic of discussion and debate, especially in the places visited by the Baudin expedition.

South Australia is a case in point. As the focal point for the rivalry between Baudin and Flinders, this part of Australia is naturally viewed as a site that was highly coveted, and thus greatly contested by the French and the British. History shows, however, that no subsequent French expedition ever visited the area, and it would take more than 30 years for the British to establish a colony there. This may be unflattering for the good citizens of South Australia today, but once the coastline was mapped, the land once named *Terre Napoléon* held scant interest for potential settlers, least of all the French.

The revisiting of these examples demonstrates that the study of the Baudin archives opens up new perspectives on mainstream Australian history. In addition, recent work on the political and institutional transformations taking place in France during the Revolution has highlighted the importance of that metropolitan context for our understanding of the various French scientific voyages that were undertaken between 1789 and 1804.³² While it has long been established that the voyages of the pre-Revolutionary period reflected the values of the Enlightenment,³³ maritime exploration as a specific revolutionary practice has not attracted the same level of attention. In consequence, we have embarked upon an ambitious research project entitled *Revolutionary Voyaging*, funded by the Australian Research Council, and encompassing the various scientific maritime expeditions organised by the French state during that period. This research project is constructed upon the same archival foundations as the Baudin Legacy and has as its main aim to consider these voyages within the framework of the political, ideological and institutional context in which they were conceived and conducted. This project has further developed the collaborative structure to include specialist historians from France and the United States, as well as an expanded Australian team.³⁴ In true collective spirit, we are seeking, moreover, to push the boundaries still further by practising the art of collaborative writing. Although this is a work still under construction, team spirit has thus far prevailed over all challenges (time, distance, language, variety of perspectives). It is thanks, after all, to collaboration at all levels, that Baudin's work as a scientific voyager has provided an entry into mainstream historical debate.

In short, as we hope we have demonstrated, Baudin's voyage of discovery to the Southern Lands, far from being a marginal note in the pages of history, is worthy of being incorporated into the mainstream of historical reflection, in France as in Australia. If the renewed research team can likewise show the centrality of maritime exploration to our understanding of both French–Australian relations and the French Revolution, its mission will have been well and truly accomplished.

¹ For a discussion of the glory conferred upon Baudin after the completion of his Caribbean voyage, see Michel Jangoux, *Journal du voyage aux Antilles de la Belle Angélique (1796-1798)* (Paris: PUPS & Académie royale de Belgique, 2009), pp. 491-497.

² Jean-Luc Chappey, "Le capitaine Baudin et la Société des observateurs de l'homme. Questions autour d'une mauvaise réputation", *Études sur le XVIII^e siècle*, 38, 2010, pp. 145-155.

³ Jean Fornasiero and John West-Sooby, "Doing it by the Book: Breaking the Reputation of Nicolas Baudin", in J. Fornasiero and C. Mrowa-Hopkins (eds), *Explorations and Encounters in French* (Adelaide: University of Adelaide Press, 2010), pp. 135-164.

⁴ The official account of the Baudin expedition appeared under the full title of *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* (Paris: Imprimerie Impériale [later Imprimerie Royale], 1807-1816). The two volumes which relate the events of the journey are: *Historique*, vol. 1, by François Péron, 1807; *Historique*, vol. 2, by F. Péron, continued by Louis Freycinet, 1816.

⁵ The pioneering work of Ernest-Théodore Hamy is evoked by Jean Copans and Jean Jamin in their preface to *Aux Origines de l'anthropologie française: les mémoires de la Société des Observateurs de l'Homme en l'an VIII* (Paris: Éditions Le Sycomore, 1978).

⁶ An extensive review of the history of archival collaboration between France and Australia was conducted by Margaret Sankey and Jennifer Genion in a paper entitled, "Miroirs de la documentation française: l'historiographie australienne à la recherche de l'exploration française de notre continent", presented at the 2007 conference in Le Havre, "À la conquête des Terres australes (1800-1804): de la découverte à la collecte".

⁷ Ernest Scott, *Terre Napoléon: A History of French Exploration and Projects in Australia* (London: Methuen & Co, 1910).

⁸ For a description of the project, see, Brian Baldwin, "French Sources for South Australian History", *Proceedings of the Royal Geographical Society of Australasia, South Australian Branch*, 64, 1963, pp. 23-37. This initiative was clearly an extension of the model of the Archives Joint Copying Project undertaken between 1945 and 1993, under the auspices of the Australian National Library, with the mission "to jointly microfilm material in the Public Record Office, London, relating to Australia. The scope of the filming later expanded to include New Zealand, the Pacific, South East Asia and Antarctica. From 1960 filming included private records of Australasian interest throughout the British Isles." For details, see <https://www.nla.gov.au/research-guides/australian-joint-copying-project>

⁹ *The Journal of Post-Captain Nicolas Baudin Commander-in-Chief of the Corvettes Géographe and Naturaliste. Assigned by order of the Government to a Voyage of Discovery* (trans. C. Cornell) (Adelaide: Libraries Board of South Australia, 1974). Baudin's sea journal remains to this date unpublished in French.

¹⁰ N.J.B. Plomley, *The Baudin Expedition and the Tasmanian Aborigines 1802* (Hobart: Blubber Head Press, 1983).

¹¹ A similar initiative to reproduce archival accounts of French explorers in Tasmania, although over a longer time frame and a greater number of expeditions, has recently been made in French by Bertrand Dageron in *À la Recherche de l'Espérance. Revisiter la rencontre des Aborigènes tasmaniens avec les Français (1772-1802)* (Paris: Ars Apodemica, 2014).

¹² J. Bonnemains, E. Forsyth, B. Smith, *Baudin in Australian Waters. The Artwork of the French Voyage of Discovery to the Southern Lands, 1801-1804* (Melbourne: Oxford University Press, 1988); J. Bonnemains (ed.), *Mon voyage aux Terres australes. Journal personnel du commandant Baudin* (Paris: Imprimerie Nationale, 2000).

¹³ Amongst many such publications by Michel Jangoux, see "Les Astérides (Échinodermes) des Terres Australes ramenés par l'expédition Baudin (1800-1804): catalogue commenté des dessins inédits de Charles-Alexandre Lesueur conservés au Muséum d'histoire naturelle du Havre", *Bulletin de la Société géologique de Normandie et des Amis du Muséum du Havre*, LXXI, 4, 1984, pp. 25-56.

¹⁴ Michel Jangoux, "François Péron: l'émergence d'un naturaliste", in *Une petite ville, trois grands hommes: Charles-Louis Philippe, Marcellin Desboutsin, François Péron. Actes du colloque de Cérilly, 15-16 mai 1999*, (Moulins: Imprimerie Pottier, 2000), pp. 137-152.

¹⁵ The Baudin legacy team is composed of Professors Margaret Sankey (University of Sydney), Jean Fornasiero and John West-Sooby (University of Adelaide), and Michel Jangoux (Université de Bruxelles libre and Université de Mons-Hainaut).

¹⁶ As Geoffrey Blainey has put it, the colony is commonly viewed as "a kind of ill-organised blunder". See Geoffrey Blainey, "Historian's assessment of First Fleet arrival gives a new take on old Sydney" (review of Alan Frost, *The First Fleet: The Real Story*), *The Weekend Australian*, 18-19 June 2011 (Review lift-out).

¹⁷ Geoffrey Blainey, *The Tyranny of Distance* (Melbourne: Sun Books, 1966).

¹⁸ Frost has built up his case through a series of book-length studies starting with *Convicts and Empire: A Naval Question* (Carlton: Melbourne University Press, 1980) and culminating with the dual publication in 2011 of *Botany Bay: The Real Story* and *The First Fleet: The Real Story* (Collingwood: Black Inc.). The latter, according to Geoffrey Blainey, constitutes a "devastating attack on his opponents" ("Historian's assessment").

¹⁹ Bibliothèque de Caen, Archives du général Decaen, vol. 92, folio 2 (Péron); vol. 92, ms 177, ff. 74-78v (Milius).

²⁰ Muséum d'histoire naturelle, Le Havre, Collection Lesueur, dossier 12. We have recently published an English translation of the memoir and the two earlier reports, along with other related material. See Jean Fornasiero and John West-Sooby, *French Designs on Colonial New South Wales: François Péron's Memoir on the English Settlements of New Holland, Van Diemen's Land and the Archipelagos of the Great Pacific Ocean* (Adelaide: Friends of the State Library of South Australia, 2014).

²¹ Fornasiero and West-Sooby, *French Designs*, p. 333.

²² Fornasiero and West-Sooby, *French Designs*, pp. 145-151.

²³ Robert J. King has mined the Spanish archives in preparing his translation and scholarly edition of Malaspina's report. See Robert J. King (trans. and ed.), *The Secret History of the Convict Colony: Alexandro Malaspina's report on the British settlement of New South Wales* (Sydney: Allen & Unwin, 1990).

²⁴ British Captain Anthony Fenn Kemp, for example, tried to create trouble by accusing two French officers of selling liquor in the colony, contrary to the strict regulations established by Governor King. After an investigation, this accusation was proven to be false and Kemp was obliged to present his apologies to Baudin's officers, who declared themselves satisfied with this outcome. This did not prevent the French from circulating throughout the colony a caricature of Kemp portraying him as vain and fatuous. On this episode, see Frank Horner, *The French Reconnaissance: Baudin in Australia, 1801-1803* (Carlton: Melbourne University Press, 1987), p. 255.

²⁵ Both captains were unaware that the Treaty of Amiens, which had been signed on 25 March 1802, had just established peace between their two nations.

²⁶ The journals kept by Baudin and his fellow travellers are held in the French National Archives, Paris, in the Marine 5JJ series. In addition to this still under-exploited resource, the principal new source we have identified is a set of notes by French zoologist François Péron taken contemporaneously to the encounter and containing his unrevised impressions of Matthew Flinders. These are held in the Lesueur Collection of the Natural History Museum, Le Havre, mss nos 09 015 and 09 016. For a discussion of Péron's notes, see Jean Fornasiero and John West-Sooby, 'Matthew Flinders through French Eyes: Nicolas Baudin's Lessons from Encounter Bay', *Journal of Pacific History*, vol. 52, no. 1, 2017, pp. 1-14.

²⁷ Matthew 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*, 2 vols and Atlas (London: G. & W. Nicol, 1814), vol. 1, p. 188.

²⁸ *The Journal of Post-Captain Nicolas Baudin*, p. 380.

²⁹ Journal of Hyacinthe de Bougainville, Archives Nationales de France (ANF), 155AP6, dossier 2, pièce 5, p. 1. Translations of French manuscript sources are our own.

³⁰ Kenneth Morgan (ed.), *Australia Circumnavigated: The Voyage of Matthew Flinders in HMS Investigator, 1801-1803* (London: Ashgate [The Hakluyt Society], 2 vols, 2015), vol. 1, p. 365.

³¹ Péron, Muséum d'histoire naturelle, Le Havre, Collection Lesueur, ms no. 09 016. When they later learned that Flinders had left Sydney with the intention of exploring the Gulf of Carpentaria, which was likewise one of their objectives, a similar feeling of despair came over them, as expressed by Jacques de Saint-Cricq, a sub-lieutenant on Baudin's consort ship the *Naturaliste*: "It is therefore written that we will be headed off everywhere! Discoveries and settlements! The English did the south-west coast before us, they will do the Gulf, and will settle with impunity in the places we have discovered! And yet the *Investigator* left Europe a long time after us." Saint-Cricq, Journal, ANF série Marine 5JJ 57, entry dated Frimaire Year 11 (Nov.-Dec. 1802).

³² We refer, of course, to the pioneering work of Jean-Luc Chappey, *La Société des Observateurs de l'homme (1799-1804). Des anthropologues au temps de Bonaparte* (Paris: Société des études robespierristes, 2002). See also the preliminary study we have devoted to this question in "Voyages et déplacements des savoirs. Les expéditions de Nicolas Baudin entre Révolution et Empire", *Annales historiques de la Révolution française*, 382, 2016, pp. 23-45.

³³ See, for example, Numa Broc, *La Géographie des philosophes: géographes et voyageurs français au XVIII^e siècle* (Paris: Éditions Ophrys, 1975).

³⁴ The team of researchers comprises John West-Sooby, Nicole Starbuck and Jean Fornasiero (University of Adelaide), Jean-Luc Chappey (Université de Paris 1), Carol Harrison (University of North Carolina), Cédric Crémère (Muséum du Havre), Alex Cook (Australian National University) and Shino Konishi (University of Western Australia).