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The ornithology of the Baudin expedition (1800-1804)

Jansen, J.J.F.J.

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Author: Jansen, Justin J.F.J.

Title: The ornithology of the Baudin expedition (1800-1804)

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Chapter 2

The Baudin expedition (1800-1804)

Preparation, timeline, observations and collected birds



Fig. 2-001 | MAP OF THE WORLD, including Australia as shown in Keith (1799).

The Baudin expedition was the third French voyage to visit Australia. It followed in the wake of the expedition commanded by Jean-François Galaup de la Pérouse (1741-1788?), who visited the continent in 1788, but was wrecked off in the Pacific, and that of Antoine-Raymond-Joseph de Bruni d'Entrecasteaux (1737-1793), who visited in 1792-1793.¹ The next expedition to Australia following the Baudin expedition was that undertaken by Louis de Freycinet (1779-1842) with *l'Uranie* in 1818. The birds which were collected during the Baudin expedition are the main focus of research for this dissertation and form the topic of this chapter.

THE PREPARATION

In 1798, Friedrich Heinrich Alexander Freiherr von Humboldt (1769-1859)² arrived in Paris, invited by Louis-Antoine Comte de Bougainville (1729-1811), to participate in a renewed French government-organised and financed circumnavigation of the Southern Hemisphere (Bougainville made a circumnavigation of the globe in 1766-1769). The government subsequently decided to appoint Nicolas-Thomas Baudin (1754-1803) instead of Bougainville (due to his age). Baudin, who had previously commanded *Le Caroline* (1785) and *Le Josephine* (1786-88), had gained further experience leading natural history expeditions as captain of *Le Placeres* (1788-1791), *Le Jardinière* (1792-1794) and *Le Belle Angélique* (1796-1798) (Ly-Tio-Fane 1991).³ The appointment of Baudin made von Humboldt cautious, as he regarded Baudin as less capable than de Bougainville.⁴ Aimé-Jacques-Alexandre Bonpland (1773-1858) was also selected to join the expedition to the Southern Hemisphere as a naturalist, but after meeting von Humboldt, both he and von Humboldt decided to pull out because of the ever-increasing budget and the immediate friendship that arose between them (Buschmann 2014).

Baudin, appointed as Captain in the Navy of the Republic on 5 August 1798, proposed an ambitious programme of exploration of the Pacific to Minister Pierre-Alexandre-Laurent

Forfait (1752-1807). The project was supported by the MNHN own naturalists, Antoine-Laurent de Jussieu (1748-1836) and Bernard-Germain de Lacépède (1756-1825), but the voyage was postponed due to the war between France and Britain.

On 9 November 1799, the situation in France changed dramatically when Napoléon I headed a political coup, providing new political conditions for the expedition. On 7-8 March 1800, Baudin presented a new proposal to the Institute Nationale. In a meeting with Napoléon I and the Minister of the Navy, Forfait, at the Palace of Tuileries on 25 March 1800, Baudin explained the need to keep up with other countries and further French scientific exploration of the world. Napoléon I accepted the idea of a proposed expedition to Australia, but reduced the size of Baudin's proposal. Eventually, everything was finalised by Forfait and Baudin. Charles-Pierre Claret, Comte de Fleurieu (1738-1810) and member of the Council of State, wrote the instructions and itinerary for the Baudin expedition (Llewellyn 2016) and on 7 April 1800, Napoléon I signed his approval, confirming Baudin's role as commander. It was decided that detailed exploration of the south-eastern, western and northern coasts of Australia should be carried out.⁵ The northern and southern coasts were particularly important as they were still unmapped and no north-west route to the Far East around the Australian continent had yet been found (Bourgoin & Taillemite 2002). Even though France had declared war on Britain in 1793, British naturalists such as the eminent Joseph Banks supported and helped expeditions like that of Baudin. He even organised the voyage passports the Baudin expedition needed, as Australia was British territory. He immediately sent a letter to the Governor of New South Wales, Philip Gidley King (1758-1808), informing him that he had sup-

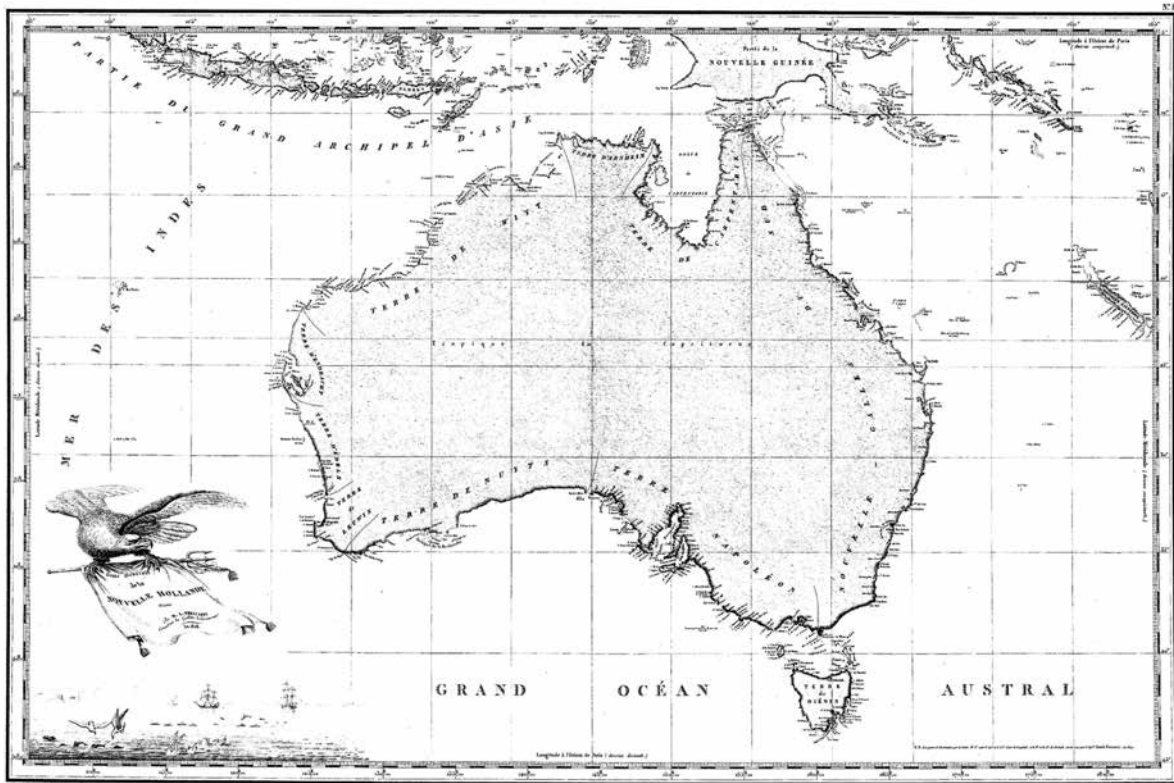


Fig. 2-002 | MAP OF AUSTRALIA, as published in the *Atlas Historique* in Péron (1811). It was the first full map of Australia ever published. For this, Louis de Freycinet used his knowledge from previous expeditions such as the Baudin expedition, where he was responsible for mapping large parts of the continent, supplemented by extensive use of the notes he received from Matthew Flinders.



Fig. 2-003 | Map showing the landing locations in the part of the expedition up to Port Jackson (An 11).

plied the Baudin expedition with passports, so when the expedition reached Port Jackson, the British had been forewarned.

Backed by Joseph Banks (Starbuck 2009a) and with the order to put together a natural history collection for Empress Joséphine (1763-1814), Napoléon I's first wife (Sankey *et al.* 2004), a committee from the MNHN started to assemble a crew of naturalists⁶ to accompany Baudin on this voyage. The Institute of France, which had been established on 10 June 1793 to replace the former academies (but was abolished by the Convention government), played a predominant role by forming a special commission of professional researchers such as the aforementioned Bougainville, Fleurieu, Jussieu and Lacépède. Other members included Pierre-Simon Laplace (1749-1827), Georges-Léopold-Christien-Frédéric-Dagobert Cuvier (1769-1832), Jacques-Bernardin-Henri de Saint-Pierre (1737-1814), and other less famous individuals (e.g. Finney 1984: 108). It was the first time in the history of discovery that such a panel of professional researchers



Fig. 2-004 | Map showing the landing locations of the expedition from Port Jackson until its return to France (An 12).

contributed to the preparation of the instructions given to the commander of an expedition (Bourgoin & Taillemite 2002: 8).

A very comprehensive natural history library was also selected to be carried on board and the final instructions were drafted on 24 September 1800 by the Institute Nationale.⁷ Ultimately, 19 naturalists and three artists were selected by the Institute for the expedition (see Appendix 3).⁸ Even though they did not form a team in the strict sense of the word, they were all the skilled professionals in their fields. Amongst them were astronomers, geographers, geologists and zoologists, as well as eight botanists and gardeners who constituted the most numerous per category and who were divided between the two ships. Baudin had preferred far lower number of naturalists, arguing that four per ship would be more than sufficient (Fornasiero *et al.* 2004: 21).

The instructions given to the naturalists were brief. The botanists were only asked to



Fig. 2-005 | CAPE LEEUWIN, Western Australia, 12 September 2006 (*Justin JFJ Jansen*).



Fig. 2-006 | CAPE NATURALISTE, Western Australia, 11 September 2006 (*Justin JFJ Jansen*).



Fig. 2-007 | DENHAM with Dirk Hartog Island in the background, Western Australia, 3 September 2017 (*Justin JFJ Jansen*).



Fig. 2-008 | VLAMINGH HEAD (e.g. North-West Cape), Western Australia, 6 September 2017 (*Danitsja Stapel*).



Fig. 2-009 | GANTHEAUME POINT, Western Australia, 10 September 2017 (*Justin JFJ Jansen*).



Fig. 2-010 | KUPANG BAY, Timor, 25 November 2016 (Colin Trainor).

answer the following questions: “What are the main, dominant or rare species of trees of which the forests are composed? What use do the natives of the country make of the trees? Do they produce fruit which can be traded? What other uses could be made of the wood and fruit? The same for the shrubs and plants” (Bonnemains 2000: 50). The zoologists received an even shorter brief: “What feral animals dominate on land or in the sea? Which domestic animals can be used or traded? Which bird species dominate? What are the dominant species of shells?” (Bonnemains 2000: 49-50).

The expedition eventually left France with 251 people on board, including 11 stowaways and two passengers; 32 souls died during the expedition. The ships for the 1800-1804 voyage initially selected by the Imperial French Navy were two corvettes, plus a third vessel which was to serve as a store ship. However, these were all rejected by Baudin as being in poor condition and were replaced. The first new replacement was *Le Géographe*, formerly named *Galatee*, which was a 20-gun Serpente-class corvette from the French Navy. The store ship was renamed *Le Naturaliste*, its former name being *Menacarte*. They were rather mismatched for speed, *Le Naturaliste* being the slower of the two, but she did have a large hold for the collections. The third ship, a 30-ton schooner named, *Le Casuarina*, was only purchased on the expedition’s arrival in Port Jackson to allow the expedition to sail closer to the shore and conduct more accurate coastal surveys (Fornasiero *et al.* 2016: 45).

The expedition itself was to be purely scientific, having only indirect territorial and military ambitions: benefits to France would come from the national prestige associated with the philanthropic advancement to science and from the commercially and militarily relevant geographical information gathered. In a major innovation, but in keeping with the egalitarian principles of the Revolution, the expedition would be France’s first Pacific voyage to be led by a man of humble birth (Heterington 2016: 53). A French claim to Western Australia prior to Baudin’s visit and officially made on Dirk Hartog Island in Turtle Bay on 30 March 1772 by expedition commander Louis-François-Marie-Aleno de Saint Aloüarn (1738-1772), may have

been part of a longer-term secret agenda.⁹ The French influence in the world was dwindling at the time and the successful settlement of New South Wales (Australia) by the British, made the French wonder if there was a strait that separated the western and eastern side of Australia. If so, they aimed to establish a naval and colonial French base there (Fornasiero *et al.* 2004: 124). During his expedition Baudin prepared a report for Napoléon I on ways to invade and capture the British colony at Sydney Cove (Fornasiero & West-Sooby 2014). Péron would later claim, in a controversial report he wrote for the Governor of Mauritius, that one of the expedition's objectives was to spy on the British (Fornasiero *et al.* 2004: 201).

The British Admiralty, inspired by a proposal of Matthew Flinders (1774-1814) to make the first circumnavigation of Australia, which was approved around 21 November 1800 by Joseph Banks and King George III (1738-1820), sent Flinders off to Australia too. The ship HMS *Investigator* was selected for him, leaving England on 18 July 1801, and there is no doubt that the Admiralty were worried about the French discovering large parts of their overseas territory before them. In addition to this, the ambitions of Napoléon I on the world stage were very alarming. The Admiralty even expected Baudin to found a settlement in the Bass Strait and therefore sent the *Cumberland*, captained by Charles Robins (1782-1805), from Port Jackson to King Island for an inspection. Robins handed a letter to Baudin from the British government stating that it was British Territory on 8 December 1802.



Fig. 2-011 | Aerial view of MAINLAND TASMANIA, showing Chicken, Hen and De Witt Islands with the Maatsuyker Islands in the background, 23 November 2006 (Justin JFJ Jansen).



Fig. 2-012 | SANTA CRUZ DE TENERIFE, Tenerife, 4 November 2016 (Justin JFJ Jansen).

SAILING FROM FRANCE AND THE VISITS TO TENERIFE AND MAURITIUS

On Sunday 19 October 1800, *Le Géographe* (captained by Baudin) and *Le Naturaliste* (captained by Jacques-Félix-Emmanuel Hamelin) left the port of Le Havre in Normandy saluted by a military fanfare and artillery salvos. The voyage did not get off to a good start when *Le Naturaliste* ran aground in the harbour followed, a few hours later, by the ships being apprehended by the British frigate, the *Proselyte*, to check if they had been given safe conduct documents by the British Empire (Brosse 1983b: 98). These setbacks added to the 17-day delay which was already causing commander Baudin considerable concern due to the tight schedule included in the voyage's instructions. Time was of the essence if they were to beat the English in charting the unknown southern coastline of Australia (Fornasiero *et al.* 2004: 22). To make this epic journey visible, a map of the journey can be seen on figures 2-003 and 2-004 and a table of locations where the expedition landed can be found in chapter 3.2. The expedition's landing places lasting the expedition have been marked in **bold** in this chapter.

On 2 November 1800, the two ships dropped anchor in the harbour of Santa Cruz de Tenerife, **Tenerife** in the Canary Islands (Spain).¹⁰ The ships remained here until 14 November and made various excursions inland to places such as Oratava, meeting up with local dignitaries and revisiting acquaintances made during a previous visit to Puerto de la Cruz, Tenerife, by commander Baudin and his crew between 6 November 1796 and 15 March 1797. Natural history items were also collected then and a total of 28 specimens of 12 bird species returned to the MNHN; 14 are still present (see chapter 3.1).¹¹ The visit in 1800 resulted in several drawings of Barbary Partridge *Alectoris barbara*, Grey Heron *Ardea cinerea* and Bulwer's Petrel *Bulweria bulwerii* (see Appendix 1). A single bird, a White-winged Black Tern *Chlidonias leucopterus*, is also known from the same visit.¹² The stop at Tenerife was primarily to take on supplies but took longer than intended. The expedition received extra fresh supplies, due to a gift from the Marquis of Nava, to whose Orotava gardens Baudin had brought plants and seeds on his previous visit.

On 3 February 1801, the two ships sighted the Cape of Good Hope. After 122 days at sea, they anchored in Port North-West, now Port Louis, on the Ile de France (Mauritius) on 16 March 1801.¹³ The journey to Mauritius took longer than planned, as Baudin sailed along the African coast rather than following the normal route taken by James Cook and Mathew Flinders. Baudin was held up by the slow *Le Naturaliste* and also by strong currents and contrary winds. The lengthy journey greatly contributed to the deterioration of morale on board, which resulted in the disembarkation of 10 naturalists and assistants, and the desertion of 21 members of the crew. One of the crew members left behind on Mauritius was Jean-Baptiste-Désiré Dumont, who successfully collected birds there. The birds were eventually picked up on the voyage's return journey by *Le Géographe* in 1804. Two particularly notable deserters were Bory de Saint-Vincent and Gicquel, who were malicious in their reporting on various

incidents as sea. The war against Britain, which started in 1793, had disrupted the links with the mainland and the warehouses of the colony were empty. The uncooperative local authorities kept Baudin occupied during his whole stay on the island and forced the expedition to use the services of Danish captains who were present for the provisioning; they received a bad local beverage instead of wine and spoiled goods. A third ship that should have joined the expedition never appeared (Brosse 1983: 99). The expedition left Ile de France on 25 April with a bad atmosphere on board which was aggravated by the fact that Baudin kept his plans for the following leg of the journey secret.¹⁴

NEW HOLLAND

The crossing of the Indian Ocean was achieved swiftly and without incident, although supplies remained an issue. However, instead of going to Tasmania, as was originally planned, course was set for Western Australia.¹⁵ Both ships arrived at the New Holland coast near Cape Leeuwin on the south-western point of Australia on 27 May 1801. When they sailed northwards looking for a safe place to anchor, they observed two Cape Petrels *Daption capense australe* (Fornasiero *et al.* 2004: 44). On 30 May, **Geographe Bay**, or more precisely Bunker Bay, was discovered in the Vasse Estuary and a party was sent ashore. In Geographe Bay, Maugé collected 130 new species (sic) of no less than 60 species (Collection Lesueur, MHNH 21003, 79058, Fornasiero *et al.* 2004: 64); 15 of the specimens surviving today were collected here (see chapter 3.4).¹⁶ Léon-François de Brèvedent noted in his diary that he had seen teal, Carnaby's Black Cockatoo *Calyptorhynchus latirostris*, parakeets and small birds here. Jean-Baptiste-Louis Claude-Théodore Leschenault de la Tour collected Western Rosella *Platycercus icterotis* (Red-bellied Parrot) in Geographe Bay and saw Black Swans *Cygnus atratus* and Australian Pelicans *Pelecanus conspicillatus* there too. On 31 May, François-Michel Ronsard noted that herons had been collected and ducks and quails sighted (Archives Nationales 5/JJ/29). The parties sent ashore

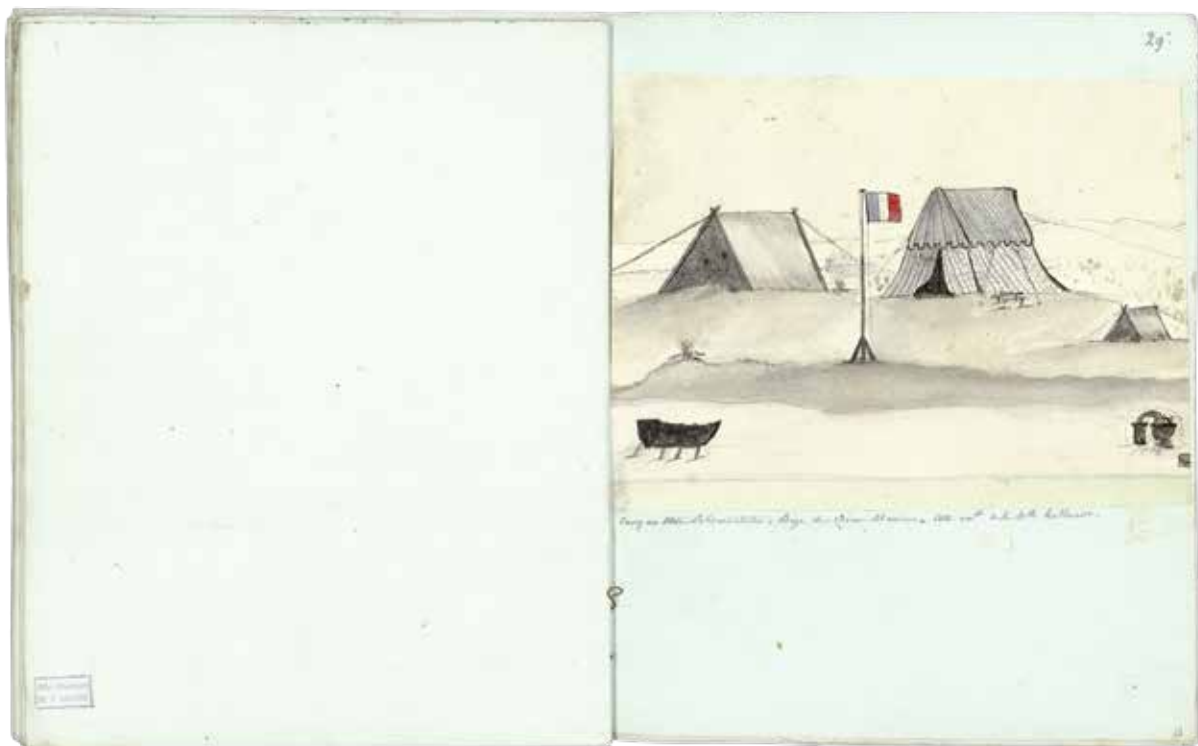


Fig. 2-013 | SHARK BAY (© Le Havre, Muséum d'histoire naturelle, Levillain? 07010M).

were often late in returning to the ships. One even remained ashore for two nights, much to the frustration of Baudin as it was against the agreements made. Also on 31 May, Cape Naturaliste, Point Piquet and Hamelin Bay were named.¹⁷ On 5 June, Ronsard noted that the quails encountered here were darker than those in France. Strong winds forced Baudin and the crew to put out to sea to prevent their ships from being smashed against the rocks. The ships were separated by a storm on 10 June; their first rendezvous point was to be Rottneest Island.

***Le Géographe* (Geographe Bay - Timor)**

Le Géographe left Geographe Bay and, on 15 June, sailed into the place where modern-day Fremantle is situated at the mouth of the River Swan; they named it Cape Péron on 18 June. On the same day, they were close to their rendezvous point on Rottneest Island, but bad weather again drove them out to sea. Meanwhile *Le Naturaliste* was anchored on the northern side of Rottneest Island. In the face of such unfavorable weather, Baudin decided to sail further north to a second rendezvous point in Shark Bay. On 26 June, the ship anchored in Shark Bay off the northern tip of **Bernier Island**.¹⁸ During the next two weeks, numerous parties were sent to Bernier Island, **Dirk Hartog Island**, **Dorre Island** as well as other islands. On 28 June, Maugé and Baudin hunted birds on Bernier Island, collecting seven birds (Fornasiero *et al.* 2004: 57) amongst which was probably a Variegated Fairy-wren *Malurus lamberti bernieri*.¹⁹ However, on that day Péron failed to return, much to the annoyance of Baudin, he returned the day later.²⁰ On 30 June, *Le Géographe* set out on her search for *Le Naturaliste*, anchoring near the end of the Peron Peninsula, only to return to her initial anchoring place on 4 July. Exploration trips were sent to Dorre Island (6-9 July) and to Bernier Island (5-11 July) (Christensen 2008: 59-60).²¹ On 2 July, a raptor, perhaps a Whistling Kite *Haliastur sphenurus*, was seen by Ronsard in Shark Bay. On 6 July, the crew collected 20 kangaroos, Pied Oystercatchers *Haematopus longirostris* and Brahminy Kites *Haliastur indus* (Whittell 1954: 61, Fornasiero *et al.* 2004: 62). Brèvedent noted in his diary that small birds, raptors and five birds were collected (possibly Sooty Oystercatchers *Haematopus fuliginosus*). On 14 July, Baudin reported that Maugé had collected 10 species of birds (Fornasiero *et al.* 2004: 64). In total, 13 specimens which are still present can be traced to this day (see chapter 3.4). The weather worsened on 14 July and they left Shark Bay to make for the North-West Cape, today known as the Ningaloo Reef area.²² The ship reached the Bonaparte Archipelago, off the north-west of today's Mitchell River National Park, in 38 days. The loss of a longboat in Geographe Bay and unfavorable weather conditions restricted the opportunities to land, much to the disappointment of the naturalists. By 19 August, the supplies of wood and water were running dangerously low and there was no alternative but to make for Timor. With very few supplies and a tense atmosphere on board, they arrived at Kupang on 22 August 1801.

***Le Naturaliste* (Geographe Bay - Timor)**

A Brown Skua *Stercorarius antarctica lonnbergi* was collected by hand by Stanislaus Levillain (Journal Levillain, MHNH 07008CE) somewhere between 10 and 12 June 1801, and Cape Petrels (Journal Levillain, MHNH 07008CE, 07008CF) and a Giant Petrel were caught on 12 June (Journal Levillain, MHNH 07008CF). On 14 June, the ship anchored at the rendezvous east-north-east of Rottneest Island and spent two weeks surveying the **River Swan** and various off-shore islands, including **Rottneest Island** itself and Carnac Island.²³ One Cape Petrel, which is still preserved, was collected here. Between 17 and 22 June, François-Antoine-Boniface Hérisson and Louis de Freycinet made the first detailed map of the River Swan, travelling far upstream for fresh water. Bailly and Hérisson collected some Black Swans and Australian Pelicans, possibly for dinner (Whittell 1954: 60). On 28 June, *Le Naturaliste* left Rottneest Island and set sail for Shark Bay. Levillain collected White-chinned Petrel *Procellaria aequinoctialis* (2) on 3-4 July. The ship dropped anchor east of the northern tip of **Dirk Hartog Island**, opposite the central entrance to Shark Bay on 16 July. On 24 July, four Cape Petrel were collected by Levillain (Journal Levillain, MHNH 07008CF). Hamelin started to chart Shark Bay, having entered it by the channel north of Dirk Hartog Island, Naturaliste Channel, Peron Peninsula, and conducted a very thorough exploration of the large bay and its extremely indented coastline; he also discovered the plaque left by Willem de Vlamingh in 1697.²⁴ On 2 August, the ship sailed further and anchored off the Peron Peninsula. Various parties were sent out to map the area, taking measurements along the entire length of the Peron Peninsula and discovering Faure and Pelican Islands. After a few months here, *Le Naturaliste* left Australia bound for Kupang



Fig. 2-014 | Aerial view of PARTRIDGE ISLAND, BRUNY ISLAND, Tasmania, 23 November 2006
(Justin JFJ Jansen).



Fig. 2-015 | ENCOUNTER BAY, South Australia, 27 September 2017 (Justin JFJ Jansen).



Fig. 2-016 | MEMORIAL, Loftus Street, Opposite Jessie Street Gardens, Sydney, New South Wales, 23 November 2006 (Justin JFJ Jansen).



Fig. 2-017 | Original FRENCHMAN'S ROCK location, Penneshaw, Kangaroo Island, South Australia, 23 September 2017 (Justin JFJ Jansen).



Fig. 2-018 | ORIGINAL FRENCHMAN'S ROCK, visitors Centre, Kangaroo Island, South Australia, 23 September 2017 (Justin JFJ Jansen).

on 5 September. From this stint, eight birds remain available to science today (see chapter 3.4).²⁵ On 21 September, *Le Naturaliste* arrived in Kupang Bay, Timor, where she was eventually reunited with *Le Géographe* after a separation of more than three months.

THE FIRST TIMOR VISIT

On the expedition's arrival on Timor, the two stowaways from the Low Countries who had boarded the ships on Tenerife²⁶ facilitated contact with the Dutch Governor. Three buildings were made available to the crew, one of which was used as a sick bay. The 11 weeks spent in **Kupang** were used to build a new longboat to replace the one lost in Geographe Bay, although illness caused delays in its construction. During this time, fever and dysentery tragically claimed the lives of six men (including the gardener Anselme Riedlé).²⁷ Others became ill here too and were cared for by the expedition's doctor, François-Étienne L'Haridon de Créménec. Several men were ordered to leave the expedition, including Le Bas de Sainte Croix and Ensign Picquet due to misbehavior. Little is known about exactly how far members of the expedition ventured into the interior of West-Timor during this visit, but apparently not very far as only daytrips were noted (see chapter 3.5). However, it is known that Maugé lived in a house in Kupang for a while with fellow naturalists including Péron (Duyker 2006: 96). He went on excursions into the countryside around Kupang with Charles-Alexandre Lesueur, Pierre-François Bernier and Louis Depuch and returned with 'rich' collections on 26 August 1801 (Péron 1807a: 147). On 29 August, he joined Lesueur, Depuch and Riedlé on a reconnaissance of the hinterlands, presumably collecting as they went (Péron 1807a: 151). Maugé is recorded as having attended a dinner with Baudin on 31 August (Baudin 1974: 263-264), but by 15 September, Maugé was seriously ill with scurvy (Péron 1807a: 171). Lesueur was not officially appointed as one of the naturalists, but he may have been responsible for most of the birds collected here, as, when *Le Géographe* returned to Timor in May 1803, Lesueur was recognized by the locals as '*orang mati bourou*' (the bird-killer man) (Péron 1807b: 257, Duyker 2006: 194).²⁸ Another crew member who noted bird sightings was Leschenault de la Tour.²⁹ In his summary of activities on Timor (see chapter 3.5), Bonnemains (*et al.* 1988: 398) mentions that Maugé collected and prepared 300 birds during this visit.

JOURNEY TO PORT JACKSON

On 13 November 1801, *Le Géographe* and *Le Naturaliste* left Timor for Van Diemen's Land (Tasmania); several men on both ships were still suffering from dysentery and fever. The loss of Levillain at sea from a fever contracted on Timor on 23 December 1801 was a big blow for the bird-collecting activities of the expedition. He was the primary bird-collector on *Le Naturaliste*. Levillain was one of 10 more men who died on board. No bird specimens are known to have been preserved on *Le Naturaliste* after Levillain's death. Commander Baudin was ill for three weeks of this leg of the voyage. The three specimens collected on the voyage between Timor and Tasmania that still survive are White-bellied Storm-petrel *Fregetta grallaria*, Bridled Tern *Onychoprion antarctica* and Caspian Tern *Hydroprogne caspia*.³⁰

On 13 January 1802, *Le Géographe* and *Le Naturaliste* sailed into D'Entrecasteaux Channel, Van Diemen's Land, where they first anchored in **Recherche Bay**.^{31 32} This was followed by landings on Partridge Island, mainland Tasmania and Bruny Island. Lesueur became the expedition's main bird-collector due to the ill health of Maugé (see chapter 3.4).³³ When in Southern Tasmania, Baudin mentioned the existence of large 'eagles' (Wedge-tailed Eagle *Aquila audax*) (MNHN, Bibliothèque centrale, Ms 2082). The first encounter with the Aborigines of Van Diemen's Land (Tasmania) was on 14 January and numerous notes and drawings were executed during the Tasmanian stage of the voyage which included the mainland, Partridge, Bruny and Maria Islands. On the same day, on **Partridge Island**, Leschenault de la Tour collected Pied Oystercatcher and noted small parrots and Brown Quails *Coturnix ypsilophora*. Lesueur went collecting at the mouth of the **River Huon**, Tasmania, where he caught a dozen birds including a Superb Fairy-wren *Malurus cyaneus* and 3 parrots (Fornasiero *et al.* 2016: 111). On 19 January, the ships moved to **North West Bay**, opposite the northern tip of Bruny Island. Here they explored the area including the **River Derwent** where Ronsard shot Black Swans

for food as did Louis de Freycinet on 22 January; they also visited Norfolk and Blackman Bays. Hyacinthe de Bougainville mentions that Freycinet shot eight Black Swans on 27 January 1802. A few days later, on 2 February, geographer Pierre Faure reported an important correction to the chart of south-east Tasmania: "Tasman Island" was, in fact, attached by an isthmus (Eaglehawk Neck) to mainland Tasmania. From this visit, and in particular **Bruny Island**, no less than 30 birds are still known to be present (see chapter 3.4).

By 16 February, the ships had left D'Entrecasteaux Channel³⁴ and *Le Géographe* and *Le Naturaliste* anchored in Great Oyster Bay, on the western side of **Maria Island** on 18 February.³⁵ The principal bird collector, René Maugé, died of the dysentery he had contracted on Timor, on 20 February. He had landed briefly on Bruny Island a few days previously, but had collapsed on arrival and had had to be brought back on board; he was buried on Maria Island. In current collections in Europe, 14 bird specimens can be traced back to their collection locality on Maria Island (see chapter 3.4) (Plombey *et al.* 1990: 24, Duyker 2006: 121). After a short but successful stay, the ships left the island and headed north to continue the survey of the east coast of Tasmania on 27 February.

On 6 March, *Le Géographe* lost contact with a dinghy containing the geographer Charles-Pierre Boullanger, midshipman Jean Maurouard and six sailors, which had been sent to conduct a closer survey of the coast. Baudin was confined to bed with colic pains on 8 March and remained there until at least 15 March; the two ships became separated in the course of the evening. Boullanger's party was picked up by a British brig, the *Harrington*, which had been hunting seals in the area, on 9 March.

***Le Géographe* (Tasmania - Port Jackson)**

On 10 March, Leschenault de la Tour observed Little Penguins on **Preservation Island**, which were possibly the birds mentioned by Stresemann (1951a). *Le Géographe* ceased its search for the lost dinghy and headed north on 11 March. François-Désiré Breton³⁶ noted the collection of birds in his own diary, as did Louis de Freycinet.³⁷ Clarke Island was also sighted (Plombey 1983: 98). Short-tailed Shearwaters *Ardenna tenuirostris* were collected from their holes for food by Pierre-Bernard Milius. Eight days later, on 19 March, *Le Géographe* sighted Waterhouse Island, the rendezvous point in Banks Strait, but *Le Naturaliste* had just departed - the two ships had passed one another in the mist! After several days of stormy weather and rough seas, *Le Géographe* headed towards Wilson's Promontory to begin its survey of the 'unknown' south coast of New Holland on 24 March.

Le Géographe sighted Wilson's Promontory on 27 March. Leschenault de la Tour observed the following birds in the Western Port (Victoria): Black Swans, Silver Gull *Chroicocephalus novaehollandiae*, Pacific Gull *Larus pacificus*, teal, Cormorants, Royal Spoonbills *Platalea regia*, Curlews, Oystercatchers and Australian Pelican. He also collected two Australian King Parrots *Alisterus scapularis* (they became spoiled) and noted some very tame and trusting flycatchers and Brown Quails. On 29 March 1802, *Le Géographe* left Wilson's Promontory and followed the coast in a westerly direction.³⁸ On 1 April, they caught an Australian Pipit *Anthus australis* aboard the ship just off Lady Julia Percy Island ('Ile aux Alouettes'). In the late afternoon of 8 April 1802, the crew of *Le Géographe* spotted a ship in Encounter Bay which they thought was *Le Naturaliste*. However, the ship was waving the white flag and turned out to be the HMS *Investigator* commanded by Matthew Flinders. When Baudin and Flinders met for roughly one hour, one of the first things Baudin did was to show Flinders a drawing of a bird, probably by Lesueur, to break the ice (Bougainville diary, Archives Nationales 155/AP6).³⁹ Flinders visited *Le Géographe* for a second meeting in the early morning of 9 April. He gave Baudin a map showing his findings so far, including the discovery of Kangaroo Island as well as other maps produced by Arrowsmith.⁴⁰ Flinders followed the coast in an easterly direction that day, with Baudin entering Backstairs Passage to begin his survey of the north coast of Kangaroo Island. Unfortunately, Baudin was unable to land on the island and he went on towards the St. Vincent Gulf and Spencergulf. *Le Géographe* left the gulf waters of South Australia on 25 April and headed for the St Peter and St Francis Islands in the Nuyts Archipelago, surveying the western coast of Eyre Peninsula along the way. On 7 May, Baudin broke off his survey of the south coast at Point Adieu, having been unable to circumnavigate the islands of St Peter and St Francis due to unfavorable weather and the deteriorating health of the crew; he decided to head for Port Jackson, via D'Entrecasteaux Channel (Tasmania) as he knew he could take aboard supplies of water and wood here. Bad weather prevented Baudin from entering D'En-

trecasteaux Channel so he anchored instead in **Adventure Bay**, on the eastern side of Bruny Island on 20 May. *Le Géographe* left Adventure Bay after two days and made off to survey the east coast of Tasmania, from Cape Tourville northwards en route for Port Jackson. Baudin halted his survey of Tasmania's east coast and headed for Port Jackson (Sydney) on 4 June.

Le Géographe only arrived in Port Jackson on 20 June, with the crew in such a bad state that they could not execute the maneuvers necessary to moor the ship. The British were kind enough to send out a sloop with a pilot and sailors to help them anchor at Bennelong Point.⁴¹ Here Baudin and the *Le Géographe* crew learned that *Le Naturaliste* had already been there but had left again.

***Le Naturaliste* (Tasmania - Port Jackson)**

Le Naturaliste encountered the *Harrington* at the entrance to Banks Strait and recovered Boulanger and his boat party. On 10 March, *Le Naturaliste* began the survey of Bass Strait while waiting for *Le Géographe*, although this was not the prearranged rendezvous point of Waterhouse Island. *Le Naturaliste* left Banks Strait to search for *Le Géographe* to the south along the east coast of Tasmania on 18 March. *Le Naturaliste* returned to Waterhouse Island after her unsuccessful search for *Le Géographe* around Maria Island on 3 April; they undertook further survey work of Port Dalrymple. The ship left Tasmania and headed for the northern side of Bass Strait on 7 April. A boat party was sent to determine the position of Wilson's Promontory and chart the coast from there to Western Port while other boat parties were sent to examine Western Port and Port Dalrymple itself. *Le Naturaliste* left Bass Strait and headed for Port Jackson on 18 April.

On 25 April, *Le Naturaliste* anchored inside the Heads at Port Jackson and the day after moved to Sydney Cove. *Le Naturaliste* left Port Jackson on 18 May, on its return journey bound for the Ile de France (Mauritius) as *Le Géographe* was not in Port Jackson their rendezvous point; Hamelin's first lieutenant, Pierre-Bernard Milius, was ill and remained in Sydney. *Le Naturaliste*, having been unable to round the southern point of Tasmania, turned back and headed for Port Jackson on 8 June. The ship entered the port on 28 June, but could not reach its moorings until 3 July due to calms and contrary winds.

PORT JACKSON

The Baudin expedition was well received in Port Jackson. This was the direct result of France and Britain having signed the preliminaries for the Treaty of Amiens (25 March 1802).⁴² Half of the crew on *Le Géographe* had scurvy and, unfortunately, two crewmembers died soon after arrival in Port Jackson. The remainder quickly recovered under the good care of the British. On the day of their arrival, Baudin managed to meet Flinders again, who had arrived on 9 May. The two men dined with Governor Philip King and Colonel William Paterson, Baudin being accompanied by Hamelin and Péron. Governor King in particular became a close acquaintance of Baudin and they corresponded in a friendly manner after Baudin left Port Jackson. By 22 July, Flinders had left Port Jackson with the HMS *Investigator* and the *Lady Nelson* to chart the eastern and northern coasts of Australia.

On 24 and 25 August 1802, *Le Naturaliste* was fumigated in order to destroy the rats on board, but this was not very successful and during the passage from Port Jackson to France the ship again became infested with rats which ate and destroyed everything. The outbreak was so bad that they even nibbled the fingertips and the soles of the crew's feet during the night (Bougainville's diary, Archives Nationales 155/AP6). The French commemorated the 10th anniversary of the Republic on 22 September; differences in flag protocols led to a misunderstanding with the British colonists, who wrongly accused the French of maligning their government.

Lesueur secured 'no less than 200 birds' in the Port Jackson region (Caley 1966: 52, Finney 1984: 113, Starbuck 2009b: 184). Of these, 107 specimens from Port Jackson can still be found in European collections to date, along with four donated birds (see chapter 3.4). Excursions were made up-river as far as **Parramatta** (25 kms inland) and the environs of Toongabbie and Hawkesbury (Windsor) (52 kms). The exact number of bird specimens donated by George Bass to the Baudin expedition was not recorded, but small numbers were donated in addition to the Pacific Triller *Lalage maculosa*, Tui *Prosthemadera novaeseelandiae* and Tongan *Ptilinopus porphyraeus* and Samoan Fruit-dove *Ptilinopus fasciatus*. The pigeons were alive and were shipped

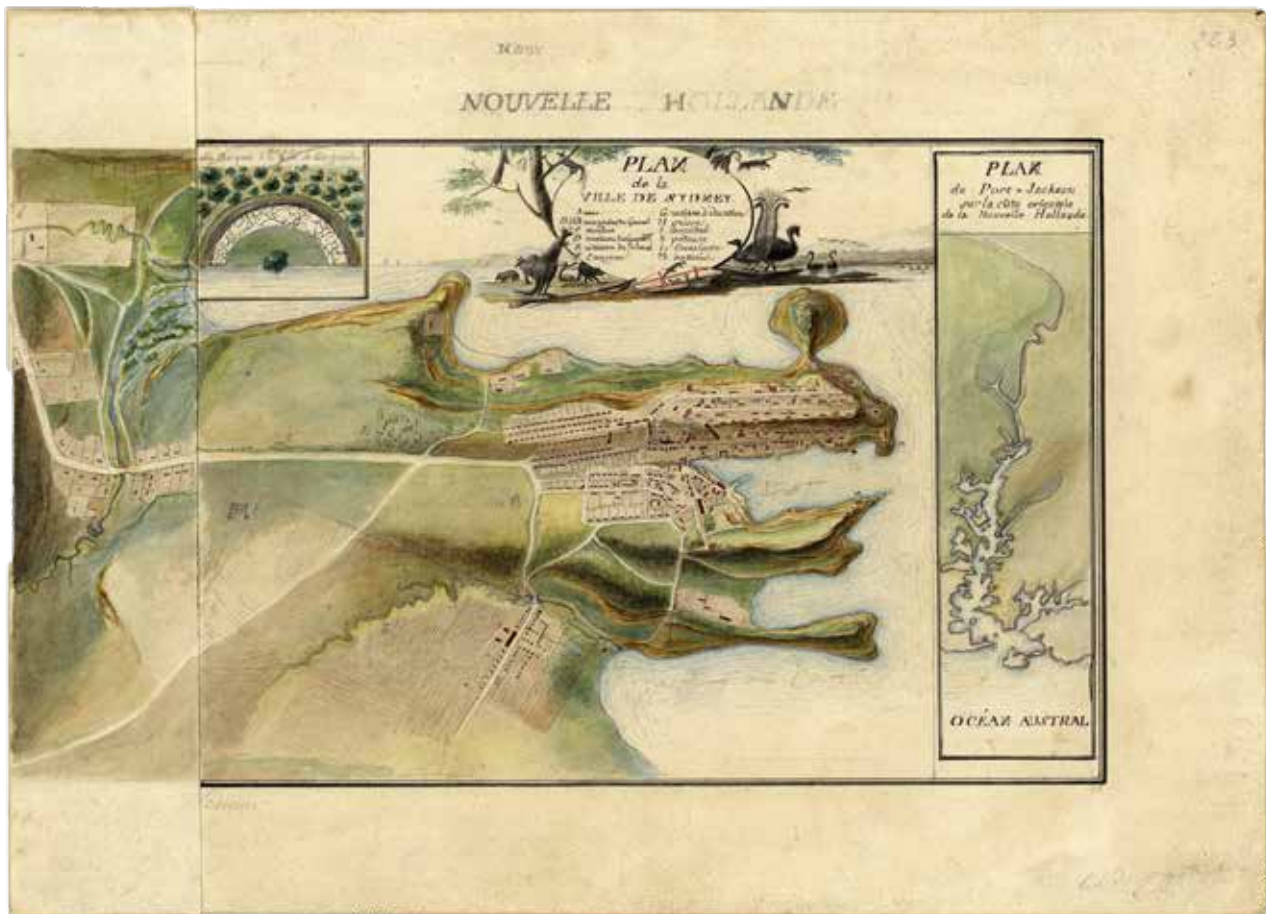


Fig. 2-019 | PORT JACKSON in 1802 (© Le Havre, Muséum d'histoire naturelle, Lesueur 16074.2).

on *Le Naturaliste*^{43 44}; the skins travelled on *Le Géographe* (see chapter 3.7). Ronsard noted a Grey Goshawk *Accipiter novaehollandiae* on 28 June (Archives Nationales 5/JJJ/29). Captain H. Weld Noble of the brig *Fanny* donated an unknown number of birds to the expedition (Starbuck 2009b: 135, 184-185).

Baudin was dissatisfied with the work of his geographers and he therefore purchased the 30-ton schooner *Le Casuarina* to allow them to sail closer to the coast and conduct more accurate coastal surveys. *Le Naturaliste* was prematurely sent back to France with roughly 40,000 natural history items collected up until that point. With her she also took the less zealous crew members back to France (Finney 1984: 113, Duyker 2006: 145, Fornasiero *et al.* 2016: 45).⁴⁵ Three or four Emus *Dromaius novaehollandiae*, two Black Swans and other birds (Jangoux *et al.* 2010) were included in the livestock.

LE NATURALISTE SAILS BACK TO FRANCE

Le Naturaliste, captained by Jacques Hamelin, sailed from Port Jackson with *Le Géographe* and *Le Casuarina* on 18 November 1802. The latter was purchased in Port Jackson and was captained by Louis de Freycinet. Despite measures taken to prevent such events, some stowaways had managed to board the ships and, with the exception of one man, they were left behind on King Island (Finney 1984: 113).⁴⁶ The ships were accompanied by the American merchant ship, the *Fanny*, which was sailing for Batavia.⁴⁷ Near King Island, *Le Géographe* signaled farewell to *Le Naturaliste*, but, due to adverse winds *Le Naturaliste* turned around and rejoined the convoy.

On 6 December 1802, all three Baudin's ships arrived at **King Island** and anchored off Sea Elephant Bay remaining there until 8 December, when Hamelin and Baudin had a farewell dinner together. Only then did *Le Naturaliste* sail homewards, but not before being boarded by two Englishmen, Captain Charles Robbins (1782-1805) and surveyor Charles Grimes (1772-1858).⁴⁸ These men had just arrived with the *Cumberland*, sent by Governor King to forestall any plans the French might have for a settlement in Tasmania (e.g. Bass Strait); Grimes informed Hamelin that he had been sent to establish a settlement in D'Entrecasteaux Channel; Hamelin left without consulting Baudin on the matter.

Le Naturaliste called in at Ile de France on its journey home on 31 January 1803. Alexandre Le Bas de Sainte-Croix brought back numerous birds from Java, where he had travelled after leaving the expedition on Timor in 1801 and then travelled from Java to Mauritius, to meet his colleagues again. He collected Cerulean Kingfisher *Alcedo coerulescens*, Lineated Barbet *Psilopogon lineatus*, Javan Myna *Acridotheres javanicus* and Long-billed Spiderhunter *Arachnotera robusta*. He also purchased the entire collection obtained by Antoine-Raymond-Joseph de Bruni d'Entrecasteaux on his voyage with *Le Recherche* and *Le Espérance* during his stay on Mauritius; it is unknown if the collections contained any birds. On 10 February 1803, *Le Naturaliste* left Ile de France and headed home. In the course of this journey the ship was again overrun with rats and all live plants were instantly stripped of any new leaves they produced (Jangoux 2018a). *Le Naturaliste* completed its return journey, arriving in Le Havre on 7 June 1803, having been detained by the English in Portsmouth for 10 days. They were released thanks to the intervention of Joseph Banks.

In his diary, Hyacinthe de Bougainville mentioned the following sightings of birds during the journey home: tropicbirds on 20 January 1803, as well as between 27-30 January 1803; on 27 January, a frigate bird; on 28 January, some 'gulls' were noted; on 20 March 1803, more frigatebirds and tropicbirds were noted and tropicbirds were also seen on 25 March and 28 April 1803.



Fig. 2-020 | CAPE DU COUEDIC, Kangaroo Island, South Australia, 25 September 2017 (Justin JFJ Jansen).



Fig. 2-021 | PROSPECT HILL, Kangaroo Island, South Australia, 26 September 2017 (Justin JFJ Jansen).

LE GÉOGRAPHE AND LE CASUARINA CONTINUE THEIR SURVEY WORK

On 7 December, Louis de Freycinet, in *Le Casuarina*, was sent to survey the Hunter Islands off the north-west tip of Tasmania and the geographer Faure was sent to circumnavigate and chart **King Island**; it was the first European circumnavigation of the island. On 9 December, Robbins and Grimes from the *Cumberland* made Baudin aware of the letter drafted by Governor King about Tasmania. The *Cumberland* remained at King Island until 23 December.⁴⁹ On 12 December, bad weather forced Baudin to weigh anchor and move out to sea for the night, returning to the island the next day. The same happened on 15 December and they were only able to return to Sea Elephant Bay on 23 December. Here the *Le Géographe* was finally able to retrieve the scientists who had been left on the island (Lionnet 1999: 426); *Le Casuarina* had not yet returned from its survey of the Hunter Islands. From King Island, 14 specimens are still present (see chapter 3.4).⁵⁰ King Island Emus *Dromaius minor* were obtained from Daniel Cooper and one of them managed to live on in Paris for many years.⁵¹ At six o'clock in the evening on 24 December, *Le Géographe* left King Island and headed towards the Hunter Islands, hoping to join *Le Casuarina*. When they failed to meet up, *Le Géographe* returned to Sea Elephant Bay and was finally reunited with *Le Casuarina* on 27 December.

On 2 January 1803, *Le Géographe* and *Le Casuarina* sighted **Kangaroo Island**⁵² and began their survey of it, starting with the previously uncharted south coast. *Le Géographe* and *Le Casuarina* arrived off the eastern tip of Kangaroo Island and made the first recorded circumnavigation of the island on 4 January. At 3 or 4 January Ravine des Casoars was visited and two living Kangaroo Island Emus *Dromaius baudianus* were brought on *Le Géographe*. All this survey work has resulted in the predominance of French place-names on the south and west coasts of what is now called Australia. These were places which Matthew Flinders had not visited and, amongst others, were named D'Estrées and Destaing Bays, Baudin Beach, Cape Linois, Vivonne Bay, Cape du Couedic, Casuarina Island and Cape Borda. *Le Géographe* anchored inside Kangaroo Head, in Eastern Cove, near present-day Penneshaw on 6 January; *Le Casuarina* only arrived the following morning.⁵³ An inscription on a rock on Kangaroo Island was left by



members of *Le Géographe* which reads, "Expédition de découverte par le commandant Baudin sur le *Géographe*, 1803", or translated, "Expedition of discovery by Captain Baudin in the *Géographe*, 1803".⁵⁴ On 10 January, Baudin sent *Le Casuarina* to conduct a close survey of the St Vincent and Spencergulf; the crew of *Le Géographe* remained on Kangaroo Island, collecting specimens, looking for water and constructing a new longboat as one had been lost at King Island. On 30 January 1803, Baudin reported, "Be so good as to tell Jacques de St. Cricq that I earnestly beg him to send us back any rare and valuable birds that he kills." Baudin went on to mention that St. Cricq killed a Wood pigeon-like bird and that it could be used to repair a bird shot previously (Baudin 1974: 319). Many Emus were seen, but only two were caught on 31 January (Fornasiero *et al.* 2004: 236). The Glossy Black-cockatoos *Calyptorhynchus lathami halmaturinus* and two Brush Bronzewings *Phaps elegans* (Whittell 1954: 67, Fornasiero *et al.* 2004: 237-238) were a particularly good catch. Seven birds collected on Kangaroo Island are still present in European collections (see chapter 3.4).⁵⁵

On 1 February, *Le Géographe* weighed anchor and left Eastern Cove, heading west;⁵⁶ *Le Casuarina*, whose return was overdue, was sighted at two in the afternoon running in an easterly direction but Freycinet did not tack to follow Baudin and the two ships were separated. This incident served to further exacerbate the animosity between Baudin and Freycinet.

On 6 February, *Le Géographe* made landfall near Streaky Bay, present-day Eyre Peninsula, and the next day anchored in Denial Bay; the area was carefully surveyed and more specimens were collected. On 10 February, the island of **St Peter** was explored and a mystery bird was drawn (see chapter 3.8); various other birds were also observed or collected.⁵⁷ *Le Géographe* left Denial Bay the next day. On 17 February, she anchored in King George Sound and the two ships were reunited: *Le Casuarina* had already arrived here on 13 February.⁵⁸

On 20 February, during a surveying excursion, sub-lieutenant Ransonnnet encountered an American sealer, the *Union*, under the command of Isaac Pendleton (1777-1804). They named the place they met **Two People Bay** in commemoration of this meeting. Captain Pendleton visited Baudin in King George Sound on 23 February and he dined with Baudin on *Le Géographe* the next day. *Le Géographe* and *Le Casuarina* left King George Sound on 1 March.



Fig. 2-022 | VIVONNE BAY, Kangaroo Island, South Australia, 20 September 2017 (Justin JFJ Jansen).

Brèvedent noted the following in his diary: waterfowl, small turtle-doves, parrots, teal, ducks (one was killed) and seabirds in King George Sound. Of the birds collected here, two Musk Duck *Birziura lobata* (Stresemann 1951a: 67) and Western Corella *Cacatua pastinator* can still be found in museums (see chapter 3.4).⁵⁹

Two People Bay - Timor

Baudin, having lost sight of *Le Casuarina* on 6 March, decided to sail on to their rendezvous at Rottneest Island two days later. *Le Géographe* sighted Cape Leeuwin and St Allouarn Island on 9 March.⁶⁰ Baudin found *Le Casuarina* anchored at Rottneest Island and the two ships headed for Shark Bay together on 13 March, arriving just off the north-western tip of **Peron Peninsula** on 16 March. A party was sent to **Faure Island** to collect turtles and others were ordered to map the area north of Peron Peninsula with *Le Casuarina* between 18-22 March. Six birds which were collected here can still be found in the MNHN (see chapter 3.4).⁶¹

The ships left Shark Bay and began their survey of the coast from North-West Cape to the Bonaparte Archipelago on 23 March. Near Cassini Island, the French encountered some Malay fishermen on an expedition to fish for *trepang*, or sea cucumbers. On 25 April, Baudin broke off his survey of the north-west coast of New Holland on 29 April and headed for Timor as his health had seriously deteriorated. Two Azure Kingfishers *Ceryx azureus ruficollaris* collected here are still in the MNHN (see chapter 3.4). On 6 May, *Le Géographe* and *Le Casuarina* arrived at Timor and anchored in Kupang Bay.

Péron and Lesueur went out crocodile hunting and brought a skin back to Paris (Brosse 1983b: 105, Fornasiero *et al.* 2004: 267-268). Unfortunately, the expedition left Leschenault la Tour at Timor due to health problems.

Le Géographe and *Le Casuarina* left Timor to survey the north coast of New Holland, including the Gulf of Carpentaria, on 3 June.⁶²

Timor - Mauritius

Slightly more than a month later, on 7 July, Baudin halted the survey of the north coast of New Holland at a point just east of Melville Island in the Arafura Sea and decided to head



home. Eastern winds and deterioration of the crew and livestock's health forced him to sail for Mauritius. During the night of 24-25 July, *Le Géographe* and *Le Casuarina* became separated in rough seas and stormy weather; two of the four live Emus died on the journey to Mauritius. A Wedge-tailed Shearwater *Ardenna pacifica* was collected somewhere between Timor and Mauritius (see chapter 3.4) and a few Red-billed Tropicbirds *Phaeton aethereus* and a Red-footed Booby *Sula sula* were captured on 20 July.⁶³ *Le Géographe* arrived at Port North-West, **Ile de France** (Mauritius) on 7 August and *Le Casuarina* five days later, on 12 August.⁶⁴ Baudin finally succumbed to his illness at noon on 16 September; he was buried next day on Ile de France. Pierre Milius was given command of *Le Géographe* for the remainder of the homeward journey.

The collection from the Baudin expedition contains 37 surviving specimens from Mauritius and at least 10 of these were donations (see chapter 3.4).⁶⁵ Birds were donated by Jean-Baptiste-Désiré Dumont to Comte de Lacépède, but specimens donated to the remainder of the crew are also included in the total numbers, as Dumont was part of the original crew (see Appendix 3). Other notable donations are those from Charles-Mathieu-Isidore Decaen, who donated live animals such as a Southern Cassowary *Casuarius casuarius* (Collection Lesueur, MHNH° 21001). Most of the aforementioned species were donated to Decaen by Simon Nicolaasz Dekker. Dekker also donated specimens from Sumatra and New Guinea (Collection Lesueur, MHNH° 21001) such as Western Crowned Pigeons *Goura cristata* and a Pink-necked Green Pigeon *Treron vernans*. Jean Macé donated no less than 135 specimens from India (see chapter 3.6).

On 16 December, *Le Géographe* set sail from Port North-West (Ile de France), leaving *Le Casuarina* at the colony; Matthew Flinders arrived the next day. In December 1803, two tropicbirds were collected on their journey as well as two Brown Boobies (collection Ravelet, MHNH 21035).⁶⁶

***Le Géographe* (South Africa - France)**

On 3 January 1804, *Le Géographe* anchored in Table Bay at the Cape of Good Hope, South Africa⁶⁷ where Lesueur collected 16 birds from the Cape region (Girard 1856: 34, 45); in addition to Lesueur's birds, were donations or purchases from others. Jan Willem Janssens

donated several natural history specimens to the expedition including livestock such as three Common Ostrich *Struthio camelus*, South African Shelduck *Tadorna cana*, two African Rails *Rallus caerulescens* and Spotted Eagle Owl *Bubo africanus* (Collection Lesueur, MHNH 21001, Jouanin & Benoit 1997: 117).⁶⁸ No less than 30 birds were donated by Paravicini di Capelli, including birds from Sierra Leone.⁶⁹ Reinier de Klerk Dibbetz donated 27 birds collected in Bengal. Pieter Heinrich Polemann donated two live Secretarybirds *Sagittarius serpentarius* to the expedition (Collection Lesueur, MHNH 21001). At least 23 specimens from the Baudin expedition can be traced as having been brought back from South Africa, although a higher number is more likely. Only four specimens and three donated specimens survive in 2017 (see chapter 3.4). On 24 January 1804, *Le Géographe* left the Cape of Good Hope, dropping anchor off Ile de Groix, a few kilometers off the coast of Lorient in Brittany, on 24 March 1804. She anchored in the docks of Lorient next day.

THE RECEPTION IN FRANCE, DISBURSEMENT OF SPECIMENS AND THE WRITE-UP OF THE AVIAN EXPLOITS

André Thouin (1746-1824) supervised the transfer of 48 huge cases of collections containing preserved animals and botanical specimens on *Le Naturaliste*, which were mostly transported to the MNHN, arriving there on 23 April (Jangoux 2018a, b).⁷⁰ And Étienne Geoffroy Saint-Hilaire (1772-1844), professor of mammals and birds, was sent by the MNHN to take charge of all the natural and ethnographic materials discovered by the expedition and brought back on *Le Géographe*.



Fig. 2-023 | TWO PEOPLE BAY, Western Australia, 12 September 2006 (Justin JFJ Jansen).

The vast collections were unloaded and the majority transported to the MNHN by wagon. The livestock had a very difficult time on board: of the 50+ live birds on *Le Géographe* noted when she arrived in Timor for the second time (Baudin 1804: 476), only 14 survived the journey to France (Jangoux *et al.* 2010: 270-271). Full lists of what was being shipped have already been reproduced by Jangoux *et al.* (2010: 268-271). Some of the livestock which were part of the instructions were transported to Empress Joséphine's estate.⁷¹ The others ended up in the Jardin du Plantes in the grounds of the MNHN.^{72 73}

The staff responsible for mounting the Baudin expedition birds after their arrival in the MNHN (see chapter 3.3 and 3.10) included Louis Dufresne and his wife, Michel-Adrie Lalande, whose son or father also worked as a taxidermist in the museum, M. Bécœur, M. Desmoulin, M. Perefile, Mlle. Charpentier and M. Le Roy.⁷⁴ The role of a taxidermist after the arrival of the specimens in a museum or collection was a crucial one, as the workshop signature can help establish the specimen's origin through examination of notes made on the specimens' pedestal undersides and X-radiation of specimens (see chapter 3.10). Also, the better the work was carried out, the longer the specimens remained in a decent state. Birds from the Baudin expedition were skinned and preserved as such throughout the expedition and only mounted on their arrival in France. They were not preserved in alcohol or mummified either during the expedition or after their arrival. In researching this paper, the author was unable to identify original Baudin expedition skins using x-ray (five presumably candidate skins were examined): all the specimens examined were mounts or ex-mounts (see chapter 3.10).⁷⁵

On its return to France in 1803 and 1804, despite the expedition's achievements and the scientific accolades, the surviving crew encountered a very different political climate and a government that had entirely lost interest. The government also had other naval concerns on its mind and, more importantly, the government from Napoléon I downwards was prejudiced against them due to the persistent rumours surrounding Baudin which had been spread by former colleagues.

Baudin had an abrasive character, a strong sense of protocol, was impatient with those who failed to meet his own high standards and was extremely conscious of status, especially his own (e.g. Horner 1987, Brown 2004). However, he is known for having a gift for friendship and inspired loyalty amongst those who came to know him. He faithfully wrote letters to his friend Jussieu in Paris throughout the journey and Maugé was among his closest friends (Fornasiero *et al.* 2004: 21). One of the principal human problems on the expedition was undoubtedly Baudin's leadership style, in which he used his position to drive people rather than to lead them with respect, trust or affection (Rice 2005: 185). It is clear from reading his diary that he was faithful to the instructions drafted for him and tried, despite often very difficult circumstances, to meet their expectations, which was not appreciated by the rest of the crew. Once the expedition got underway, things soon started to deteriorate aboard the ships as they were far too crowded and few of the men had had the naval training Baudin could work with. The first deserters, crew members who had had disagreements with Baudin, left the expedition on Mauritius in 1801. On their return to France they immediately started an assassination of Baudin's character. One of the main antagonists was Bory Saint-Vincent, who published his own version of the voyage up to Mauritius (Bory Saint-Vincent 1805).⁷⁶ The other antagonist was Pierre-Guillaume Gicquel des Touches who had arrived in France by 16 October 1801. He sent various letters with libellous content and had an audience with the first consul on 4 February 1802 (Jangoux 2018a). Others who were unhappy with Baudin's handling of the expedition only started their attacks when they arrived back in France with *Le Géographe*.

After the natural history items had arrived safely in the MNHN, François Péron went back to his birthplace of Cérilly to be with his mother and sisters. He had been greatly weakened by the long journey and his strength was constantly sapped by the tuberculosis he had contracted. In 1805, however, having been told that a rumour was being spread that the expedition had been a failure, Péron immediately returned to Paris. He requested a meeting with Denis Decrès (1761-1820), the Minister for the Navy, to tell him that the expedition was not a failure. After meeting Decrès, he was sent to the Minister of the Interior, Jean-Baptiste de Nompère de Champagny (1756-1834), to spread the word. Péron received a grant and was appointed to work on the official expeditions narrative. Péron was assisted in this by the artist Charles-Alexandre Lesueur, while Louis de Freycinet worked on the maps from August

1806. Péron and Freycinet both conspired to write Baudin out of the history books by simply referring to him as the Commander and contriving not to mention his name in the official expedition journals. They changed names given to the various places on the Australian coast and ignored the exploits of Flinders, as far as these were known to them (Fornasiero *et al.* 2016: 48).

Not everyone was uninterested in the expedition's return, however. The staff at the MNHN very gratefully accepted the enormous number of specimens the expedition brought back. It played a key role in natural history exploration of the world at the end of the 18th and the beginning of 19th century, and the addition of the Baudin expedition's specimens provided numerous new possibilities.^{77 78}

Studying Baudin's ornithological exploits

Investigation into the history of the expedition commanded by Nicolas Baudin and its crew members has intensified considerably over the past 50 years, with attention being paid to various aspects of the expedition by specialists.⁷⁹ Over the years, portraits have been made of the various crew members.⁸⁰ Unfortunately, most of the descriptions by Péron and the drawings made by Lesueur remain unpublished.

No less than 72,170 items, logbooks, journals, notes, drawings and reports were brought back from the journey (Sankey 2010b). From this mass of information, Bonnemains & Chappuis (1985) published a list of bird watercolours by Charles-Alexandre Lesueur and bird descriptions in Péron's handwriting (see chapter 3.11). However, some of the identifications are incorrect and the names used in Péron's manuscript have not been translated (see chapter 3.11). These Bonnemains & Chappuis (1985) bird names were used by Plombey *et al.* (1990). Berlioz (1938) mentioned the Baudin expedition in his description of the Paris collection on several occasions.

Some details on birds can be found in publications by Jean-Baptiste-Geneviève-Marcellin Bory de Saint-Vincent (1804), Nicolas Baudin's own journal which was translated by Christine Cornell in 1974, the biography of François Péron (Duyker 2006) and the biography of Pierre-Bernard Milius (Duyker 1987, 2013). Michel Jangoux (2005, 2018a) studied some of the zoological manuscripts by François Péron, but not in great detail. Coenraad Jacob Temminck and Louis-Pierre Vieillot were both heavily involved in studying birds from the Baudin expedition.

No thorough study has been carried out on the ornithological findings of the Baudin expedition until now, with Whittell (1954: 58-69) and Stresemann (1951b) being among the few people who studied a small part of the entire expedition. Only a few specimens have been studied collected at the Baudin expedition, these include Carnaby's Black Cockatoo *Calyptorhynchus latirostris* (Johnstone *et al.* 2014), Black Swan (Jouanin 1997, Jangoux *et al.* 2010), Galah *Eolophus roseicapilla* (Gammage 2009, Schodde *et al.* 2016), Kangaroo Island Emu *Dromaius novaehollandiae baudinianus*, King Island Emu (Jouanin 1962, 2002, Balouet & Jouanin 1990, Pfennigwerth 2010) and Western Grasswren *Amytornis textilis* (Black *et al.* 2013).

In 1807, when the first birds from the Baudin expedition were described, 2,014 taxa were known and by the time the last bird from the expedition was described in 1873, no less than 10,871 taxa had been described; this is an average of 130 new taxa each year.⁸¹ Between 1807 and 1873, new species to science from the expedition were described ($\pm$ 180), although none by any of the Baudin expedition crew members themselves; most of these descriptions followed the cessation of the Napoleonic Wars in 1815. A list of the names can be seen in fig. 2-024, which shows the approximate 180-type species described from the Baudin expedition, with both valid and synonym names.⁸² For the timeline, see fig. 2-025. The authors of the species names shown in the table can be traced through references and these can be found in Appendix 1 and chapter 3.5. Given the number of type-specimens described from the Baudin expedition's Australian birds, this amount was only surpassed by the collecting activities of John Gould and his employees from 1838 onwards. Birds collected on the Baudin expedition and their type locations have been discussed by several authors. They made assumptions on the collecting locality, but as no surviving lists exist from the expedition and no original labels are in place this makes for very unreliable data. The available material in diaries and other documents and the notes attached to the specimens themselves also leave much to be desired in the modern scientific sense.⁸³ This information is supplied in Appendix 1 of

Fig. 2-024 | The number of new species (n=180) and their authors described from the Baudin expedition. In blue valid names and in orange synonyms.

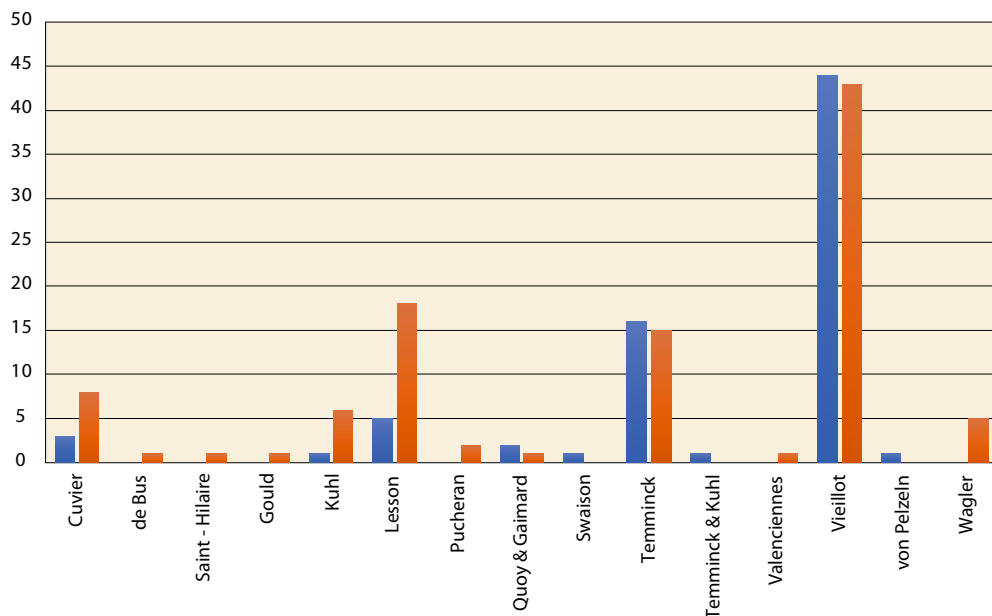
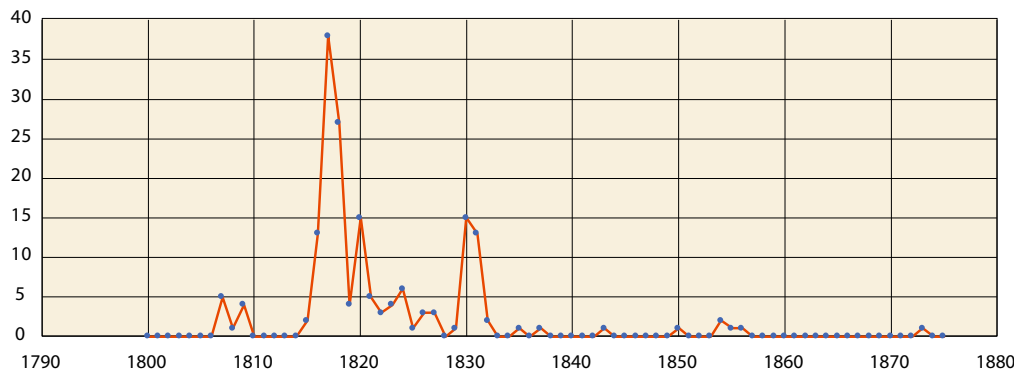


Fig. 2-025 | Number of described type - names from the Baudin expedition (n= 180).



this dissertation, e.g. collecting data and locality.⁸⁴ Research for this dissertation involved pinpointing the collecting locality of as many specimens as possible and, with this information in place, it is now possible to accurately establish which species originally occurred in those largely unspoiled places. The Baudin expedition, for example, was the sole collector of both King Island and Kangaroo Island Emus on their respective islands, Galah in Shark Bay (Gammage 2009, Schodde *et al.* 2016) and possibly also the Mangrove Honeyeater *Gavicalis fasciogularis* in Port Jackson.⁸⁵

The re-examination of historic expedition's natural history exhibits, especially the birds, is rarely undertaken these days. This dissertation aims to do this in a straightforward manner for the Baudin expedition in order to give a clear overall picture.⁸⁶

The number of bird specimens brought back and their current whereabouts

At least 100,000 natural history items, including the dried or preserved organisms of more than 2,500 new species, were brought back to France and needed describing.⁸⁷ The number of birds which were brought back as a skin or alive was established at 1,055 specimens from ± 300 taxa; this is further discussed in chapter 3.3.⁸⁸ Péron, Lesueur and Freycinet only wrote

a paltry number of scientific works compared to the vast amount of specimens which were collected (Péron 1804a, b, c, d, e, 1994, Péron & Lesueur 1809, 1810a, b, Lesueur 1815, 1812), none of which were specifically on birds.^{89 90}

When looking at the specimens found in both literature and in museums, 589 of the 599 specimens that arrived with the *Le Naturaliste* cargo can be traced (see chapter 3.3 and Appendix 1). The number that left Port Jackson was probably much higher. The number of surviving specimens from the first leg may be so high due to their skilful skinning by Maugé and the relatively good circumstances around Port Jackson for Lesueur to skin his specimens in. At least 422 specimens and 34 live birds (456 in total) arrived with *Le Géographe* (see chapter 3.3). From the cargo that arrived in France with *Le Géographe*, 112 of the 422 specimens have been traced. In December 2017, at least 389 specimens, 36.8 % of the total number of 1.055 specimens (representing 313 species) which arrived, were traced during research for this dissertation (Appendix 1). The difficulty with the Baudin expedition's specimens is that they did not stay in one place, namely the MNHN.⁹¹ They became dispersed throughout Europe due to a number of events and exchanges (see table 2-002). However, 41 specimens remain unaccounted for (I could not find them despite working various collections nor could curators) and could still be out there (e.g. stored in a different place then looked) (see Appendix 1), they are indicated as *Not found* in table 5-001 of Appendix 1. In the MNHN, 25 birds could not be located despite 21 days of work on the collection between 2013-2017. The collection at Musée Boucher de Perthes, Abbeville could only be examined for a short time on 15 April 2015; the lack of original labels meant only two surviving specimens were found as there was no text on the pedestal undersides, however these specimens could be matched with exchange lists present in MNHN. The same applied to Naturalis where some specimens could not be researched due to the museum's closure between 2016-2019.

As explained in chapter 3.6, the 135 specimens donated by Jean Macé were included in the total of the 456 specimens which arrived with *Le Géographe*.⁹² However, it remains unclear which of Macé's specimens were brought back by the Baudin expedition and which arrived earlier. There are 175 Baudin specimens unaccounted for, minus the 87 birds only identified at family level by Moulins and Rouen (see chapter 3.4, but excluded from Appendix 1), leaving 88 birds with no data at all. Baudin himself complained about the bad condition of the specimens from this particular shipment (Baudin 1803: 417), so maybe these were the specimens that were lost. The expedition had a fair number of donors and these specimens are discussed in Appendix 1; they are also all included in table 2-002.⁹³ Part of the collection ended up in other museums (Jansen 2017g).⁹⁴ The entire Baudin collection has been integrated into the collection in Paris and the specimens are distributed over various parts of the museum.

In total, there are 1,500-3,000 surviving bird specimens which date from before 1800 (Steinheimer 2005a: 45). Until 1800, the expedition and/or collector which has the largest number of surviving specimens, is the collection containing 140+ specimens from Baudin's Caribbean voyage between 1796-98 (see chapter 3.1). If this number is put into the context described by Steinheimer (2005a), and it is borne in mind that 140+ specimens were the largest number for a single expedition and/or collector before this time, the 389 specimens still surviving from the Baudin expedition (1800-1804) are truly exceptional, 180-new species which were described (note the number of serving specimens and new described species vary in chapter 3).

There are numerous Australian or Pacific birds housed in Vienna (see Appendix 2) and Naturalis. It cannot, however, be assumed that they are necessarily from the Baudin expedition; more sources are possible (Jansen & van der Mije 2015 a, b, Jansen & Roe 2016). This has been the source of misguided assumptions made by some authors such as Stresemann (1951a, 1953a), who explicitly stated that Australian birds in C.J. Temminck's private collection were *not* from the Baudin expedition (Jansen 2017a).

Documentation on the specimens

The complicating factor with the Baudin expedition birds is the lack of original labels, lists, or diaries with notes on collected natural history items. The instructions given to the crew on both ships did not demand decent documentation of the collected bird specimens.

Other family groups, such as flora, were documented slightly better. The collection dates, however, were never indicated on the herbarium labels, with often only a rough indication of the collecting locality being given, such as 'west coast', 'south coast' or 'east coast of New

Holland'. Sometimes the only information which was supplied was 'Baudin voyage' or 'voyage to the *Terres Australes*'; even the original collector is only noted on 1/3 of all labels (e.g. Nelson 1976, Jangoux 2017). The amount of detail, or lack thereof, depended very much on the individual collector.

For the birds, information was added to the pedestal underside during the mounting process, especially when it was undertaken by Louis Dufresne. This information was probably supplied by Lesueur and Péron, who both worked in the MNHN after the expedition. The specimens were originally crated up by Péron and Lesueur, and the Port Jackson cargo was labelled as 'An (*année*) XI'.⁹⁵ This number indicates the 11th year of the French Republican Calendar and was used by the French government from 22 September 1792 to 23 September 1805. Year 'An XI' started on 23 September 1802, the year *Le Naturaliste* left Port Jackson and year 'An XII' started on 23 September 1803, the year *Le Géographe* arrived back in France. For the birds brought back on *Le Géographe*, 'An XII' can be found on the specimens and this gives some clues to their origin as it can be linked to the chronology of the voyage. However, it has to be remembered that information was altered by Péron after the specimens' arrival.

When working the collections, a difference can be found between specimens from *Le Naturaliste*, which were mounted before *Le Géographe* arrived and were therefore free of the influence of Péron and Lesueur, and those which were subsequently handled by them. Until the voyage reached Tasmania, all the collected birds formed part of the 'Maugé collection', including the birds collected in Tasmania by Lesueur; Maugé, however, was mentioned as their collector. The distinction between the collectors became obvious from Port Jackson onwards when it was Lesueur who collected birds and was appointed as the expeditions bird collector. Specimens collected from King Island onwards were recorded by Péron (Collection Lesueur, MNH 21002). This clearly shows that some of the data attached to the specimens were altered, a practise which was also applied to the landmarks the expedition discovered (Fornasiero *et al.* 2016: 48).

Small stickers, all with nearly identical text, were attached to the pedestal undersides of around 52 specimens which were mounted for the galleries before *Le Géographe* docked in France. The handwriting clearly differs on the various specimens and demonstrates the influence of others on what the original collectors initially recorded.

Incomplete notes recording collecting localities provided another difficulty during research. In document Collection Lesueur, MNH 21003, Péron mentions a new species he encountered. However, he went on to contradict himself in document Collection Lesueur, MNH 21002, when D'Entrecasteaux Channel which he refers to is absent.^{96 97} Document 21002 would be the list to follow as it provides more details and was more drawn at the spot. The same applies to birds received via donations or purchases, where various mistakes were made for instance when birds from Java were labelled as coming from Timor. Birds handled by Péron and Lesueur that were collected in Timor were also recorded as originating from Australia or vice versa. The exact location is only rarely noted, with the six references on the pedestal underside of specimens to Maria Island being a welcome exception.

Vieillot and the other scientists who worked on most of the Baudin collection were unaware of the alterations and no original crew members were present in the museum to correct them. This explains why several 'mistakes' were made in his works and therefore also by subsequent authors.

The importance of being able to establish the collector and collection locality today is paramount as museum⁹⁸ specimens are used for systematics, ecology biology, evolutionary biology,⁹⁹ and for type-specimen,¹⁰⁰ morphometrical,¹⁰¹ DNA,¹⁰² forensic¹⁰³ and isotope research.¹⁰⁴ However, the problems particularly encountered nowadays are the bad labelling of specimens and misinformation.¹⁰⁵ The questions raised by current scientific thinking differ widely from those put forward during the early days of bird collecting. Thorough archival research and x-raying¹⁰⁶ may help¹⁰⁷ in the search for the required information. The publication of this dissertation aims to provide a contextual and comprehensive overview of the ornithological exploits of the Baudin expedition, thereby facilitating future research into this rather under-exposed and neglected contribution to the birth of modern natural history exploration and science.

Table. 2-001 | This table displays the origin and number of specimens from the various countries. 'Not found' means that the specimen could still be present, but was not located, and 'Lost' indicates that the specimen has definitely vanished. Not documented in any of the researched acquisition books.

	Total	Found	Not-found	Lost	Unknown
Australia	431	228	28	142	33
Indonesia	1	0	0	1	0
Java	12	6	1	3	2
Madagascar	4	3	0	1	0
Mauritius	38	24	4	10	0
Moluccas	1	0	0	0	1
New Guinea	3	0	1	1	1
New Zealand	3	1	0	2	0
Samoa	1	1	0	0	0
Sierra Leone	3	3	0	0	0
South Africa	23	4	3	3	13

Table. 2-002 | This table makes the routes the different specimens took when they left the MNHN, displaying a web of transactions and exchanges which led to the specimens' current home.

Second owner	Year and transition of owner, and number of individuals	Third owner
Private collections		Private collections mingled with Museums
L. A. F. Baillon	1804-1818, 5 ex.	Musée George Sand et de la Vallée Noire - La Châtre / Musée Boucher de Perthes - Abbeville
M. Bécoeur	<1815, 5 ex.	Naturhistorisches Museum Wien - Vienna
F. A. Bonelli	1812-1822, 3 ex.	Università di Torino, Museo Zoologico - Torino
A. L. Brogniart / A. Thouin	1804, 5 ex.	
C-F. Brisseau de Mirbel	1803, 7 ex.	Joséphine de Beauharnais
W. Bullock	1814, 1 ex.	
P. A. Delalande	1803, 20 ex.	Musée George Sand et de la Vallée Noire - La Châtre
É. Geoffroy Saint-Hilaire	1803, 20 ex.	P. A. Delalande
A-G. Desmarest	1803, 2 ex.	
L. Dufresne	1803-1818, 108 ex.	National Museum of Scotland - Edinburgh

	Total	Found	Not-found	Lost	Unknown
Sulawesi	4	3	0	1	0
Sumatra	2	1	0	1	0
Tenerife	4	1	0	1	2
Tenerife - Mauritius	5	0	0	3	2
Timor	146	111	4	28	3
Timor - Mauritius	8	1	0	2	5
Timor - Tasmania	1	0	0	1	0
Tonga	2	2	0	0	0
Unknown (some details)	8	0	0	4	4
Unknown (nothing)	355	0	0	0	354
	1055	389	41	204	420

Year and transision of owner, and number of individuals	Fourth owner	Year and transision of owner, and number of individuals	Present	Lost	Unknown
1804-1818, 5 ex.			✓	✗	
1815, 5 ex.			✓	✗	
1812-1822, 3 ex.			✓		
				✗	
<1815				✗	
					✗
1803, 20 ex.					✗
1803, 20 ex.	Musée George Sand et de la Vallée Noire - La Châtre / Musée Boucher de Perthes - Abbeville	< 1823, 20 ex.			✗
			✓		✗
1818, 108 ex.			✓	✗	

Second owner	Year and transition of owner, and number of individuals	Third owner
L. Dufresne	<1815, 12 ex.	Naturhistorisches Museum Wien - Vienna
L. Dufresne	1803-1804, 1 ex.	Muséum nationale d'histoire naturelle - Paris
von Fichtel	1809, 3 ex.	Naturhistorisches Museum Wien - Vienna
B. Faujas de Saint-Fond	1804, 7 ex.	
L. R. Germain	1881, 1 ex.	
M. Gigot-Orcia	1805, 1+ ex.	
N. Huet	1803, 2+ ex.	
Joséphine de Beauharnais	1803, 117 ex.	
M. A. Lalande	<1815, 14 ex.	Naturhistorisches Museum Wien - Vienna
B. Leadbeater	>1818 - <1840, 1 ex.	E. Smith-Stanley, 13th Earl of Derby
M. Letourneau	<1805, 9 ex.	
F. Prévost	1825, 1 ex.	
C. J. Temminck	1803-1820, 70 ex.	Naturalis Biodiversity Center - Leiden

Museums

Muséum d'histoire naturelle - Blois	1930, 4 ex.
Musée d'Initiation à la Nature de Caen - Caen	1879, 1 ex.
Indian Museum - Kolkata	1882, 1 ex.
Musée d'histoire naturelle - La-Chaux-de-Fond	1924, 1 ex.
Museum d'histoire naturelle - Geneva	1828, 1 ex.
Muséum d'histoire naturelle Victor Brun - Montauban	1877, 1 ex.
Lycée de Moulins - Moulins	1806, 63 ex.
Museo Civico di Storia Naturale di Milano - Milano	1812, 6+ ex.
Museo di Storia Naturale of the University of Pavia - Pavia	see Milan
Musée de Neuilly - Paris	1879, 1 ex.
Museo di Zoologia, Università di Bologna - Bologna	see Milan
Museo di Storia Naturale - Università di Firenze - Firenze	<1830, 1 ex.
Muséum-Aquarium de Nancy - Nancy	1931, 5 ex.
Naturhistorisches Museum Wien - Vienna	1810-1815, 29 ex.
Otago Museum - Otago	1876, 1 ex.
l'Hôtel de Ville de Rouen - Rouen	1806, 56 ex.
Manufacture nationale de Sèvres - Haute-de-Seine	1879, 1 ex.
Muséum d'histoire naturelle de Toulon et du Var - Toulon	1825, 8 ex.
National Museum of Natural History - Washington	1935, 1 ex.
Musée de la Prinerie - Verdun	1878-1883, 2 ex.

Year and transision of owner, and number of individuals	Fourth owner	Year and transision of owner, and number of individuals	Present	Lost	Unknown
1815, 12 ex.			✓	✕	
1804, 1 ex.			✓	✕	
1809, 3 ex.			✓	✕	
					✕
					✕
					✕
					✕
				✕	
1815, 14 ex.			✓	✕	
1840, 1 ex.	Liverpool Museum - Liverpool	1851, 1 ex	✓		
					✕
					✕
1820, 70 ex.			✓	✕	
			✓	✕	
					✕
					✕
			✓		
			✓		
					✕
				✕	
				✕	
			✓	✕	
					✕
				✕	
			✓		
			✓	✕	
			✓	✕	
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