

CAPTAIN LOUIS DE FREYCINET

AND HIS
VOYAGES TO THE TERRES AUSTRALES

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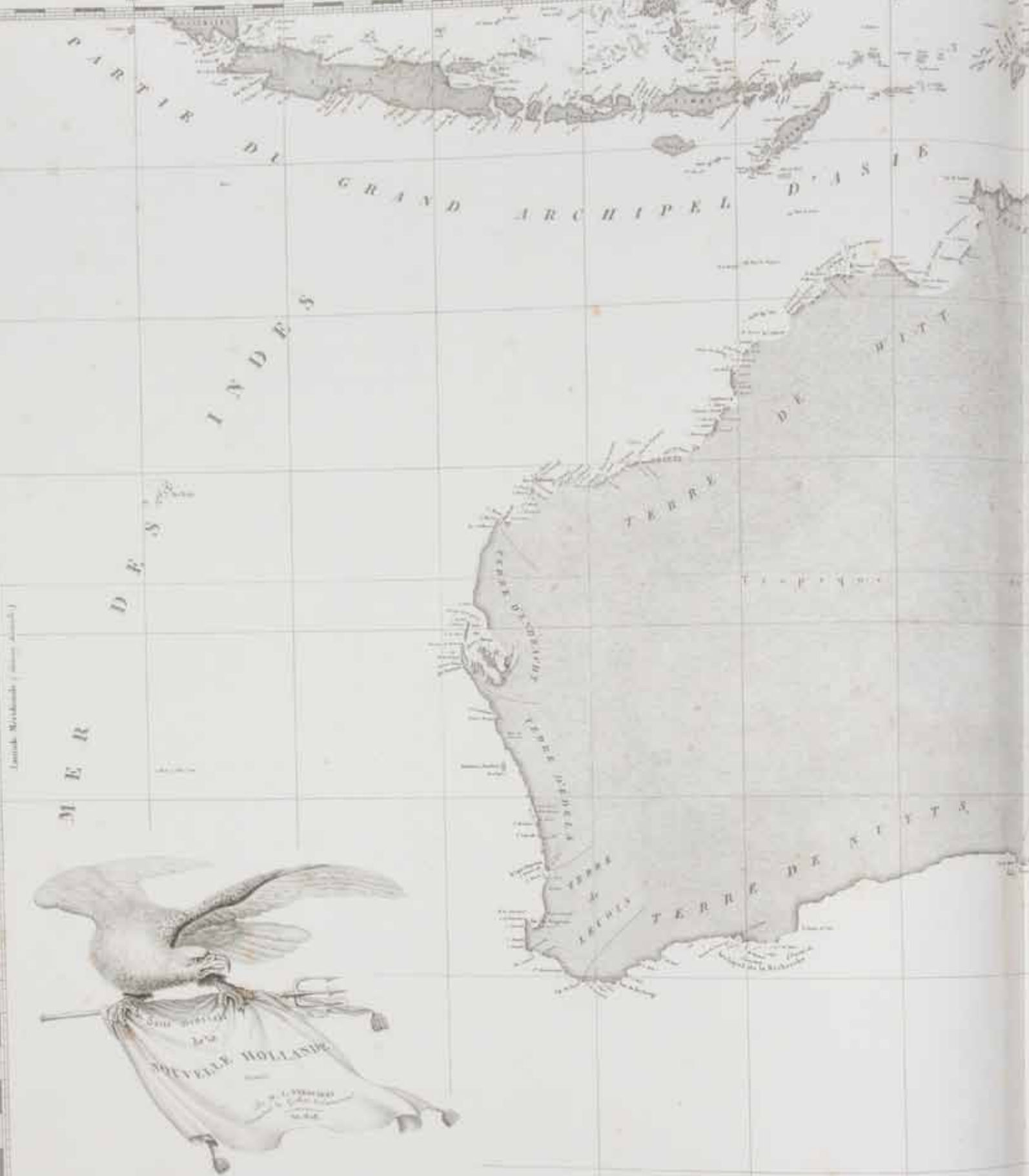
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(L'Asie Méridionale (partie Austral))



GRAND



Partie de la
NOUVELLE GUINÉE

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Nouvelle Hébrides

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HÉBRIDES

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CALÉDONIE

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HÉBRIDES

NOUVELLES
HÉBRIDES

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HÉBRIDES

A U S T R A L

INTRODUCTION

We offer for sale here an important collection of printed and original manuscript and pictorial material relating to two great French expeditions to Australia, the 1800 voyage under Captain Nicolas Baudin and the 1817 voyage of Captain Louis-Claude de Saulces de Freycinet.

Louis de Freycinet is the figure who unites these two important voyages: he sailed with Baudin as a junior officer, quickly establishing himself as one of the great hydrographers, but also learning the demands of scientific exploration on the remote coastlines of Australia. He has a further claim on our attention, because he was ultimately the driving force behind the official accounts of both voyages, work which would consume him for the rest of his life.

For many years overshadowed by his two English contemporaries and rivals, Matthew Flinders and Phillip Parker King, recent years have seen a renewed interest in these French expeditions, with a deeper understanding of the real contributions they made to science and hydrography. Freycinet's two voyages were exploring expeditions specifically despatched by the French government to examine and report on the "*Terres Australes*" or Southern Lands. In this light, one of the most significant pieces in this catalogue is also the smallest: Louis de Freycinet's sketch of the powerful image that he would later use as a vignette on the title-page of his Australian atlas, the rays of light from a star breaking through the clouds to illuminate the Australian continent (see the detail

on the contents page). To illuminate with knowledge was the avowed aim of each of the two expeditions: knowledge in the widest sense, encompassing geographical, scientific, technical, anthropological, zoological, social, historical, and philosophical discoveries. In the convention of the time, the specialists who boarded these French voyages to add the intellectual component to the personnel were known as "*savants*", in significant distinction to the British who described their equivalents as scientists, or as natural philosophers.

Freycinet's two voyages followed in the wake of the La Pérouse expedition and its aftermath. La Pérouse's ultimate fate would not be known until some ten years after the return of Freycinet's second voyage, but the D'Entrecasteaux voyage that searched unsuccessfully for him made its own notable contribution. La Pérouse in turn had followed others, most notably Bougainville, the first French circumnavigator, and of course James Cook. These were copious debts that Freycinet himself was quick to acknowledge in his printed accounts, while his voyages established the French way of doing such things, the pattern that would be followed by the subsequent "*grands voyages*" of Duperrey, Dumont d'Urville, Bougainville the younger, Dupetit-Thouars, Vaillant, Laplace, and their successors.

The well-fitted vessels of these nineteenth-century French explorers were essentially floating research laboratories, with highly qualified and trained personnel. Advances in astronomy, mathematics

and optics made it possible to chart positions with accuracy, whilst in the field of natural history, the latest scientific methods were employed. Skilled artists and draughtsmen accompanied these expeditions, producing some of the most beautiful early views of Australia and fine natural history images. The superb portraits of Aborigines published in both accounts represent the most compassionate yet honest portrayal to be seen in any of the early voyage accounts.

The official accounts, present in this collection in superb copies, are distinguished by the exceptional quality of artistic vision coupled with the fullest command of the printing processes: the colour-plate atlases to their voyage accounts are among the most beautiful books ever published. They recorded objects, peoples, natural history and lands discovered, communicating to the European public the beauty and curious richness of the South Seas.

Freycinet's greatest personal monument was his work on charting the Australian coast, resulting in the magnificent large-format hydrographical atlas of 1812, the first genuine pilot of the Australian coast, and a towering achievement. The bitter debate about the priority or otherwise of French mapping in Australia is a sad legacy of the Napoleonic Wars, particularly the vexed issue of Flinders' unreasonable detention in Mauritius by a governor who had been personally instructed by Baudin to extend every courtesy to the Englishman. Freycinet was greatly pained by the accusation that he had made use of these circumstances to copy English work, and specifically the cartography of Matthew Flinders. Freycinet's tragedy is that this debate, continuing to some extent even today, has tended to belittle his prodigious legacy.

It is our hope that this catalogue will be a contribution to the wider understanding of the French achievements in Australia, and to the work of Louis de Freycinet in particular; in which light, we also hope the catalogue might encourage someone to

write, at last, the biography of Louis and his gracious wife Rose, a story well worth the telling.

This catalogue assembles books and manuscripts from various sources, chiefly from a private collector who has gathered choice pieces as they have become available over the last few decades. This approximates to the period during which the descendants of the Freycinet family gradually divested themselves of their long-retained archives, beginning in the 1960s. A few of the manuscripts offered for sale here have the neat red stamps of the "Archives de Laage", L'Age-Bertrand near Bordeaux in the Charente having been a Freycinet family property until the 1980s. These stamps are mentioned in the descriptions as "archive stamp" where they occur.

This catalogue has been arranged in approximately chronological order within two sections representing Freycinet's two voyages. Some items may belong in more than one place, some even refer to both voyages. Readers may find the appendices useful to make their way around the catalogue, particularly appendix 1, biographical notes on the main characters, and appendix 2, notes on the ships. The appendices also include full details of the publishing history of the official accounts.

Hordern House
Sydney, 2010



1. *Blatt*

2. *Blatt*

3. *Blatt*

MOLLUSQUES ET ZOOPIHYTES.

- | | | | |
|-------------------------------------|--|--|--|
| 1. <i>PIRUSOMA albicans N.</i> | 3. <i>Corps longitudinal de PIROSOMA</i> | 4. <i>SPIRUELA Protelipse N.</i> | 4. <i>Corps de tout. 5. Partie granulee.</i> |
| 2. <i>CUVIERIA Carciniformis N.</i> | 2. <i>CUVIERIA Fleu en deuant</i> | 5. <i>LOLIGO Cardoptere N.</i> | 5. <i>CALMAR Cardoptere N.</i> |
| 3. <i>ALPA (Cuvieriana) N.</i> | 3. <i>SALES Anthelephora N.</i> | 6. <i>VELELLA Scyphidia N. (dumet)</i> | 6. <i>VELELLA Scyphidia N. (dumet)</i> |

THE VOYAGE OF THE *Géographe* AND THE *Naturaliste* UNDER NICOLAS BAUDIN IN 1800-1804

Baudin's two ships, the *Géographe* and the *Naturaliste*, left Le Havre on 19 October 1800. Sailing via Tenerife and sighting the Cape of Good Hope they reached Mauritius after a long six months, where shipboard quarrels and illness caused a mass defection of scientists and sailors.

Having rejigged his crew, Baudin set sail for New Holland, sighting Cape Leeuwin on 27 May and anchoring in Geographe Bay three days later. He sailed north and examined Rottneest Island and Swan River, but the two ships became separated on 11 June. The *Géographe* finally anchored at Shark Bay on 27 June, but had left by the time the *Naturaliste* arrived. The latter vessel stayed on in Shark Bay to make an extensive survey – including the discovery of the Vlamingh plate – while Baudin and the *Géographe* worked along the difficult coast past the North West Cape. The two ships ultimately arrived in Timor in August and September; tropical diseases were already causing deaths among the crew.

In November they sailed south for Cape Leeuwin where Baudin, ignoring his instructions to begin charting the south coast immediately, headed for Tasmania, making the D'Entrecasteaux Channel in early January. The two vessels began a close survey of the east coast, again becoming separated. Hamelin on the *Naturaliste* crossed Bass Strait and made a survey of Western Port before running for Port Jackson. Meanwhile Baudin began his survey of “*Terre Napoleon*”, meeting Matthew Flinders at Encounter Bay in April. Worn out, Baudin turned for Sydney, but chose to again round the southern tip of Tasmania, meaning that he did not arrive off Port Jackson until 17 June, his crew severely weakened by scurvy.

Hamelin had actually already headed out to search for Baudin in Bass Strait, but the combination of a storm and poor provisions saw him back in Sydney a few days later, and the two ships stayed in Sydney until November. Warmly and hospitably entertained by Governor King, the French spent their time recuperating and making sense of their collections.

In Sydney Baudin purchased a small vessel which he named the *Casuarina*, placing Louis de Freycinet in charge. The *Casuarina*, just 29 feet in length, was acquired to help make the difficult inshore surveys, and Louis' appointment should be understood as an early notice of his skills in charting. The three vessels left Sydney together, but Baudin decided to send the *Naturaliste* directly back to France, and Hamelin reached Le Havre on 7 June 1803, having sailed via Mauritius.

The *Géographe* and the *Casuarina* made close surveys of King Island, Kangaroo Island and the Gulf of St Vincent (“*Golfe Joséphine*”), before continuing to King George's Sound in western Australia, whence they returned to Shark Bay and the northwest before finally reaching Timor on 7 May 1803. They made a quick return visit to the northwest coast of Australia – their third – and reached Mauritius in July, where Baudin died on 19 September. Command was given to Pierre-Bernard Milius, who had been recuperating in Port Louis where he had been left by Hamelin. The decision was made to abandon the *Casuarina*, and the remaining crew transferred to the *Géographe*, which returned home on 25 March 1804, almost three-and-a-half years after they left.

Péron, and later Freycinet, co-authored the publication of the official narrative of the voyage: its complicated publishing history is discussed in Appendix 3.

ES.



NOUVELLE-HOLLANDE: C^o DALLE DU SUD.

1. L'ESPÈCE DE LA MER.
2. L'ESPÈCE DE LA TERRE.
3. L'ESPÈCE DE LA MONTAGNE.
4. L'ESPÈCE DE LA PLAINES.

G



LARGE PAPER COPY OF THE FULL VOYAGE ACCOUNT

1. PERON, François & Louis de FREYCINET. *Voyage de Découvertes aux Terres Australes, exécuté par ordre de Sa Majesté l'Empereur et Roi, sur les corvettes le Géographe, le Naturaliste, et la goélette le Casuarina, pendant les années 1800, 1801, 1802, 1803 et 1804.*

Five volumes bound in six; the complete official edition, comprising two volumes quarto of narrative text; the first part of the historical atlas as one volume quarto and the second a special large folio version; together with the "Partie Navigation", comprising a quarto text volume and large folio hydrographical atlas; a few very sporadic instances of spotting; strictly contemporary bindings of quarter crimson morocco with marbled boards, flat spines lettered and banded in gilt, each binding done at time of publication to match an overall design but with some peculiarities of size and detail, the whole forming a large and quite dramatic and unusual set, in generally pristine condition, plates crisp and colouring bright. Paris, Imprimerie Impériale [Royale], 1807-1816-1807-1811-1815-1812.

A magnificent complete set of the official account of the Baudin voyage, in splendid condition, some volumes in their rare "large paper" versions, all volumes notably large with generous margins, and in a most striking and handsome contemporary binding. This is the full official account of the Baudin-Freycinet voyage, which is not often found complete; the navigational text and its accompanying atlas were for sale separately, and since their contents were specialised, they were not often added to copies of the narrative section, and are now very much rarer.

This set was acquired by the Northern Lighthouse Board in Edinburgh as each volume was published between 1807 and 1816, and each volume must have been bound at the time of acquisition since the design is uniform but there are differences in detail of materials and finishing between the various volumes. Originally known as the Commissioners for Northern Lights, the Northern Lights (or Lighthouse) Board was founded in 1786 as the general lighthouse authority for Scotland. They were a wealthy body; their headquarters is still in the original grand Georgian building in George Street Edinburgh. They are famous of course for the sometimes daring lighthouse constructions undertaken off the coast of Scotland by and for them, particularly under the direction of their most famous engineer, Robert Stevenson. Their quite substantial library, concentrating on voyages and travels, has now been widely dispersed. This set of the Baudin voyage has their distinctive gilt stamp on each spine as well as their ownership stamp on the back of each title-page. The set has a number of surprising features, with several of the volumes examples of the rare large paper versions which were published in extremely small numbers. It is made up as follows:

Historique text:

1) Text part 1, 1807. *Quarto, LARGE PAPER ISSUE (347 x 255 mm.); pp: viii (including errata & blank leaf), xv, 496.*

2) Text part 2, 1816. *Quarto, LARGE PAPER ISSUE (untrimmed, 370 x 275 mm.); pp: xxxii, 471, frontispiece portrait of Péron by Lambert after Lesueur engraved by Langlois, two folding tables.*

Historique Atlas:

3) Atlas part 1, 1807. *Small folio (345 x 262 mm.), with 40 plates (two folding, 23 coloured).*

4) Atlas part 2, 1811. *Large folio, LARGE PAPER ISSUE (untrimmed, 590 x 425 mm.); 2 pp. list of plates reset to fit this format (it runs over 3 pp. in the normal issue); 14 charts (two double-page).*

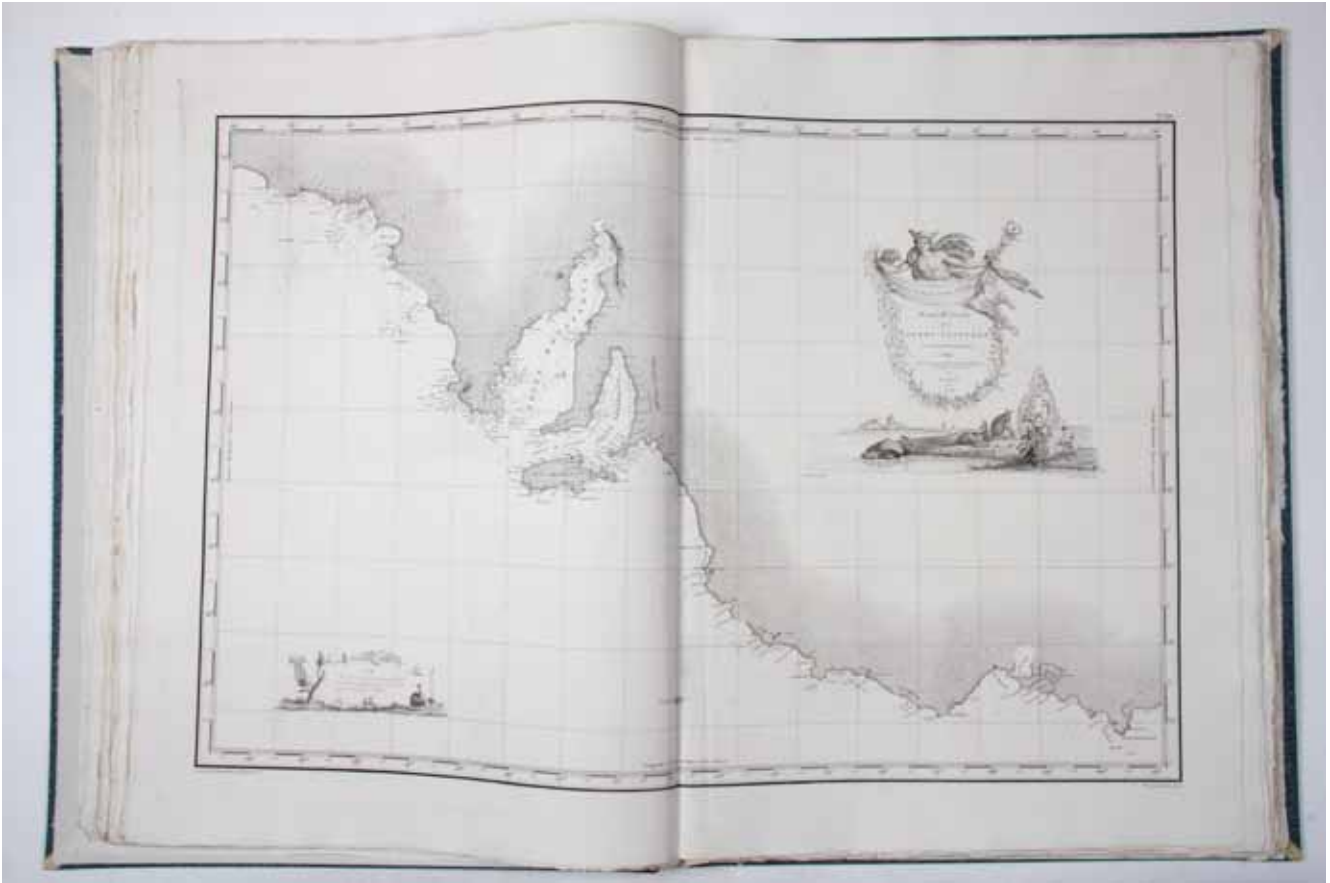
Navigation et Géographie:

5) Text, 1815. *Quarto (untrimmed, 310 x 228 mm.), pp: xvi, 576, [ii].*

6) Atlas, 1812. *Large folio (untrimmed, 570 x 450 mm.), 32 engraved charts (25 double-page).*

See appendix 3 for details of the publishing history of the Baudin voyage.

Ferguson, 449, 536, 603; Hill, 1329 (Historique only); Wantrup, 78b, 79a (part 1) & 79b (part 2), 80a, 81.



A FINE SET OF THE FULL REGULAR ISSUE

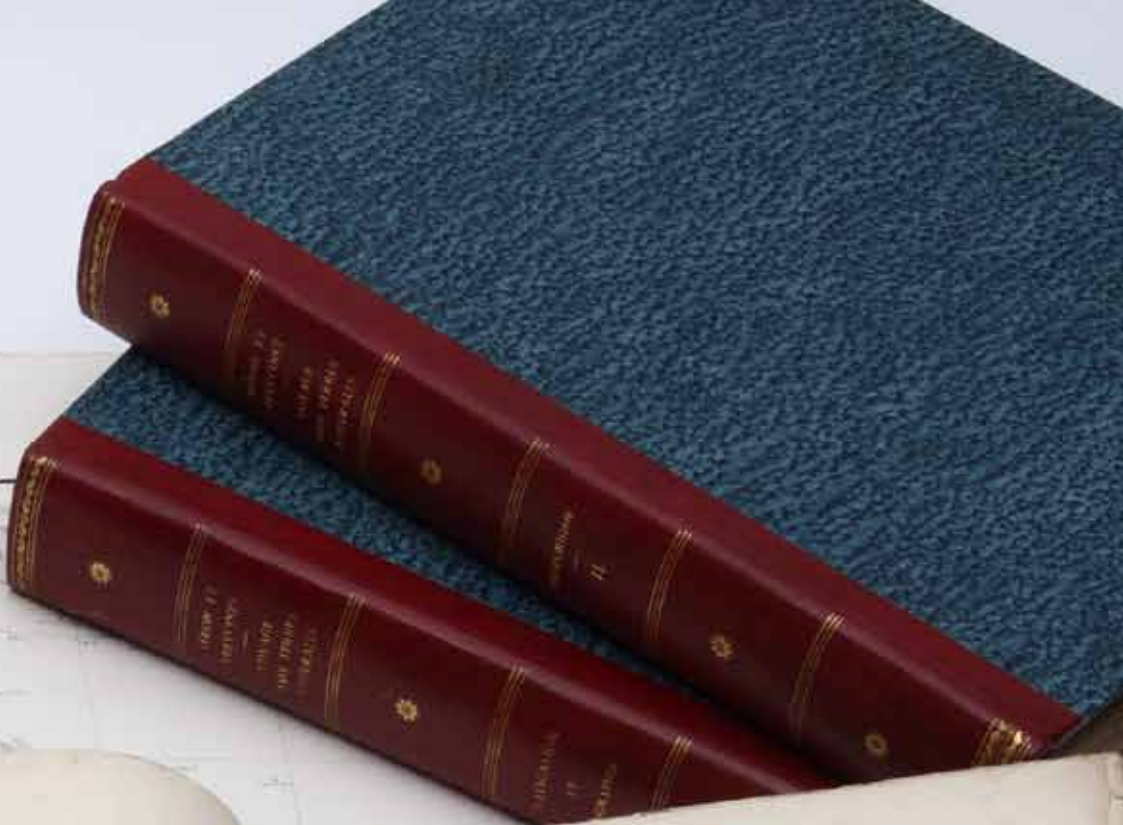
2. PERON, François & Louis de FREYCINET. Voyage de Découvertes aux Terres Australes... Sur les corvettes le Géographe, le Naturaliste, et la goélette le Casuarina, pendant les années 1800, 1801, 1802, 1803 et 1804.

Five volumes; comprising the two-volume quarto text with portrait frontispiece and two folding tables, the two-parts of the large quarto atlas bound as a single volume containing 40 plates (23 coloured and two folding) and 14 maps (two double-page); together with the "Partie Navigation", comprising a quarto text volume and imperial folio hydrographical atlas, the latter with engraved title, contents and 32 engraved charts; a few very sporadic spots, but the set in fine untrimmed condition, the plates crisp and the colouring bright, bound in matching period French quarter red morocco over marbled boards, corners pointed in vellum. Paris, Imprimerie Impériale [Royale], 1807-1816-1807-1811-1815-1812.

An extremely good set of the first edition of the complete official account of the Baudin voyage, in its complete form accompanied by the important hydrographical text and atlas. This set is in unusually fine condition, with the plates notably crisp and delicately coloured.

See appendix 3 for details of the publishing history of the Baudin voyage.

Ferguson, 449, 536, 603; Hill, 1329 (Historique only); Wantrup, 78a, 79a, 80a, 81.



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VOYAGE
 DE
DÉCOUVERTES
AUX TERRES AUSTRALES.

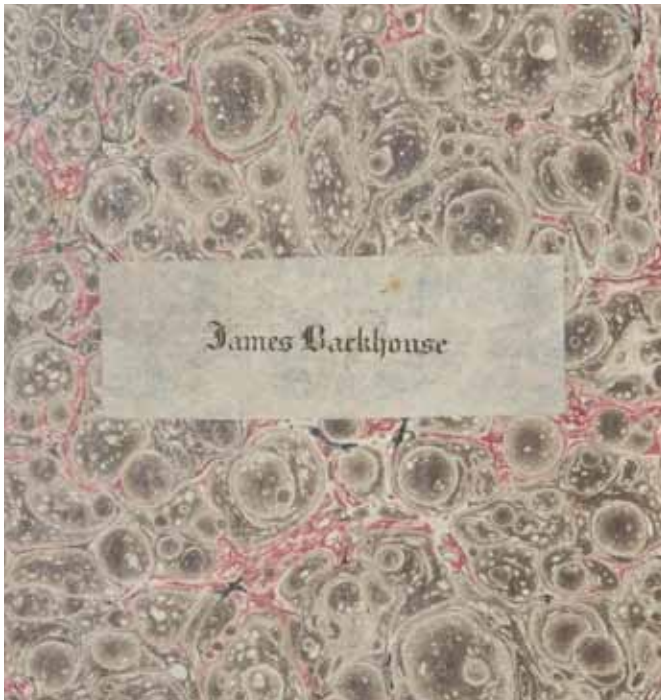
EXÉCUTÉ PAR ORDRE
 DE SA MAJESTÉ L'EMPEREUR ET ROI,
 POUR LES GOUVERNEMENTS DE LA GÉOLOGIE, DE LA NATURELLE,
 ET DE LA GUERRE DE LA GÉOLOGIE,
 PENDANT LES ANNÉES 1800, 1801, 1802, 1803 ET 1804,
 PAR LE GÉNÉRAL DE LA FLEURIERE,
 SOUS LE MINISTÈRE DE M. DE CHAMPAGNY.

ET RÉDIGÉ PAR M. F. PERON,
 Naturaliste de l'expédition, Correspondant de l'Institut de France, et de la Société de l'histoire
 de naturelle de Paris, des Sciences géologiques et minérales de la même ville.

TOME PREMIER.



A PARIS,
 DE L'IMPRIMERIE IMPÉRIALE,
 N. DCCC. VII.

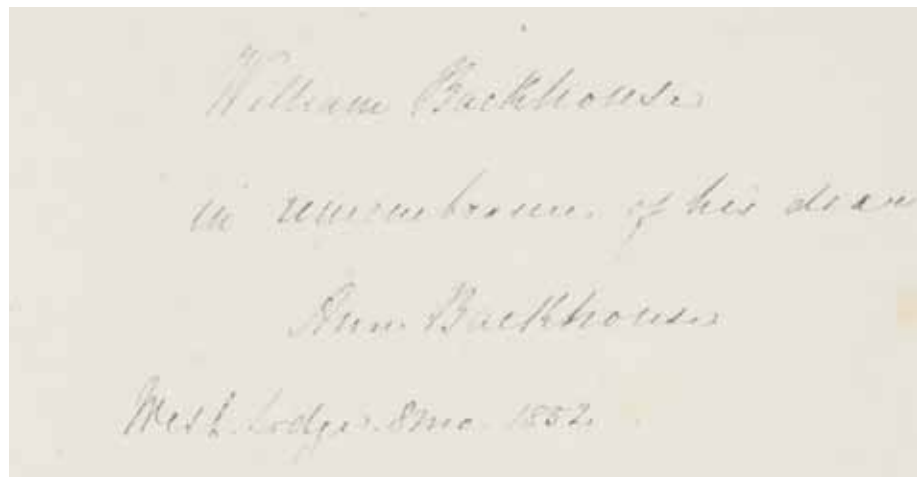


CROSSING PATHS AT ENCOUNTER BAY

3. FLINDERS, Matthew. 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...

Complete set of the Flinders account, comprising: two volumes, quarto, with nine engraved plates, some of the light spotting and offsetting familiar to this work, but generally very good, first text volume with the elegant bookplate of James Backhouse, both text

volumes with manuscript note 'William Backhouse in remembrance of his dear Aunt, Ann Backhouse', and dated West Lodge 1852; text bound in contemporary crimson straight-grained half morocco, spine banded and beautifully worked in gilt; the standard atlas bound to match by Aquarius, nine large charts, seven single-page charts, two double-page plates of coastal views and ten botanical plates, all first-issue plates untrimmed and with large margins, some light spotting and offsetting. London, W. Bulmer and Co., 1814.



The classic English circumnavigation of Australia: although when they met at Encounter Bay Flinders and Baudin behaved amiably to each other, going beyond the conventional courtesies and even sharing information, rival claims by the Baudin and Flinders camps to priority of discovery and ownership of information would continue for centuries, even to the present day; added fuel to the controversy was of course the French imprisonment of Flinders at Mauritius on his way home to England. Both men would be dead before their narratives could reach the public in complete form.

This is a particularly attractive set of Flinders' classic account of his voyages on the *Investigator*: the text volumes both with provenance from the Quaker Missionary and Australian author



James Backhouse, and in the striking crimson straight-grained half morocco bindings in which he must have owned them; the folio atlas volume skilfully bound to match.

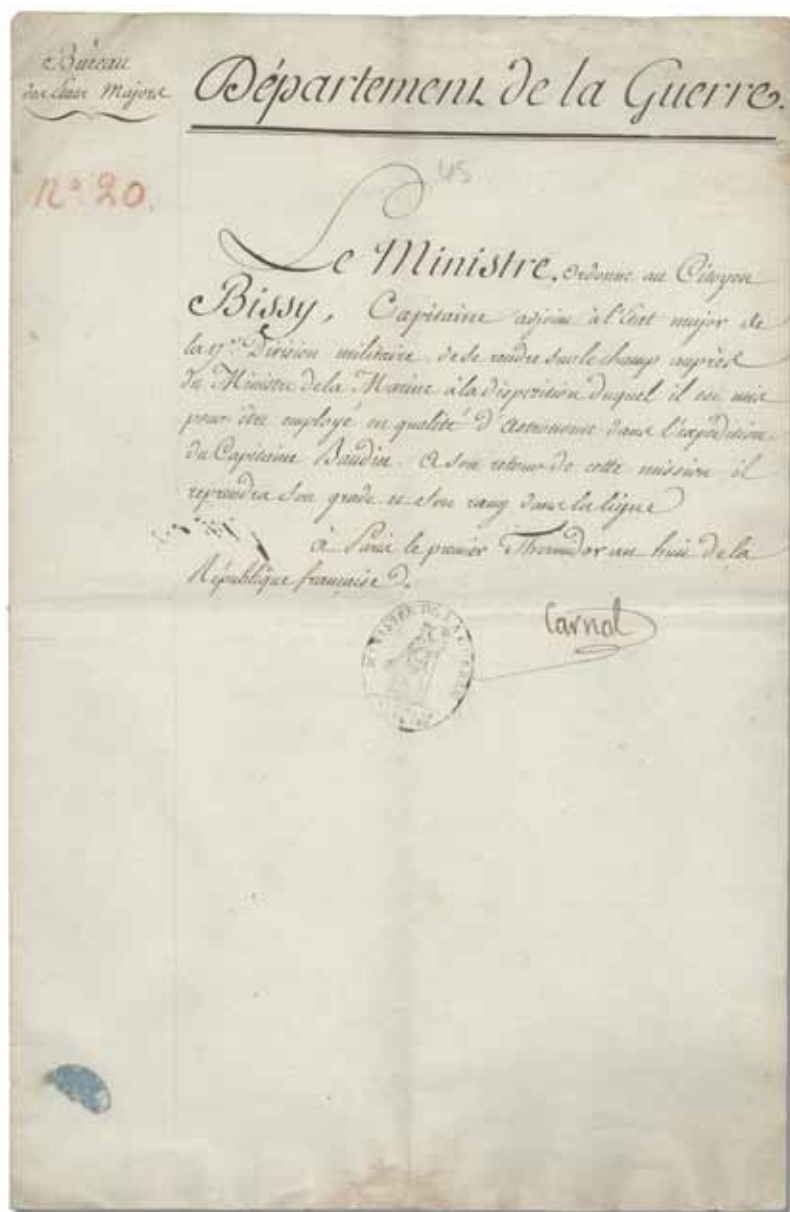
Backhouse (1794-1869) arrived in Hobart in 1832, and spent the following six years travelling widely in the scattered and remote regions of Australia, visiting almost every settlement in the country. From his published works it is clear that Backhouse had studied Flinders' account, not least because it was still the best – in many cases the only – account of some of the remote regions he visited, particularly as regarded the south coast of the mainland and the islands in Bass Strait, including Flinders Island itself (see Backhouse's *Narrative of a visit to the Australian Colonies* of 1843). In late 1837 Backhouse also visited the new settlement at Port Phillip, and was one of very few to publish his impressions of the area.

Flinders sailed as a midshipman on Bligh's second breadfruit voyage, which was, incidentally, the first time that the great navigator visited Tasmania. The Flinders voyage was a full-scale expedition to discover and explore the entire coastline of Australia (which was the name that Flinders himself preferred and championed).

The three volumes form a complete record of the expedition, including an authoritative introductory history of maritime exploration in Australian waters from the earliest times. The text contains a day-by-day account of the *Investigator* voyage and Flinders' later voyages on the *Porpoise* and the *Cumberland*. Robert Brown's "General Remarks, geographical and systematical, on the Botany of Terra Australis", which is illustrated by Ferdinand Bauer's botanical plates in the atlas, is printed as an appendix in the second volume.

The text is illustrated by nine engraved plates and two double-page plates of coastal views in the atlas by the landscape painter William Westall, who travelled as official artist on the voyage. These are in many cases the very earliest views of the places visited and discovered on the voyage. Flinders' charts in the atlas were of such accuracy that they continued to be issued by the Admiralty for decades and form the basis of all modern charts of Australia. All the charts in the atlas here bear the imprint "W. & G. Nicol Pall Mall... 1814", an important point that identifies them all as being in the correct first issue form.

Hill, 614; Ingleton, 6487; Kroepelien, 438; Nissen BBI, 637; Stafleu & Cowan, I, 1806; Wantrup, 67a.



APPOINTED TO THE BAUDIN VOYAGE

4. BISSY, Frédéric de. Manuscript appointment of Bissy as astronomer to the Baudin voyage.

Single sheet of laid paper, 316 x 410 mm., folded to form two leaves; manuscript in neat secretarial hand on the first sheet, signed "Carnot" and stamped "Ministre de la Guerre"; old docket number in red crayon, excellent condition; preserved in a red cloth slipcase, neat morocco label to spine. Paris, Département de la Guerre, 1 Thermidor An 8, that is, 20 July, 1800.

The official document appointing the astronomer Frédéric de Bissy to the Baudin voyage: such manuscripts, which represent the earliest records of the voyage, are of great rarity.

Bissy (1758-1833), in the formal language of the high Revolutionary period here referred to as "*citoyen Bissy*", was one of the first of the officers to clash with Baudin, and was among scores of personnel to desert while they were at Ile de France (Mauritius). He had been born in London to an English mother and French father, and served in the French army for many years before being imprisoned during the Terror as a British subject. Baudin discussed Bissy's refusal to rejoin the expedition at the Ile de France in his journal, commenting that the '*Naturaliste's* astronomer, Citizen Bernier, joined the *Géographe* to replace Mr. Bissy who had remained ashore, and in hospital, either as a matter of form or until he had collected a sufficient number of pupils, for he proposes to teach drawing' (*Journal of Nicolas Baudin*, p. 138).

The manuscript is signed by Lazare Carnot (1753-1823). Elected to the Legislative Assembly in 1791, he became a close colleague of Danton and as one of the instigators of conscription in France was partly responsible for the creation of the French Revolutionary Army. In 1800, after a brief exile in Geneva, Carnot was appointed Minister of War by Napoleon, in which role it was his duty to oversee the outfitting of the Baudin expedition, particularly as regards appointments from the Army: Bissy, as this manuscript confirms, was a major in the 17th Division of the Army, but by virtue of this order was seconded to the Baudin expedition. The order notes that '*à son retour de cette mission il reprendra son grade et son rang dans la ligne*' (on the return of the expedition he will return to his original rank and position).

WHITE METAL VERSION OF THE BAUDIN MEDAL

5. MONTAGNY, P.A. Medal commemorating the voyages of the corvettes commanded by Captain Baudin. Obverse: Portrait of Napoleon 'Bonaparte Premier Consul de La Rep. France'. Reverse: 'Les Corvettes le Géographe et le Naturaliste, Commandées par le Capitaine Baudin.'

White metal medal, 38 mm, attractive silver-gray patina, peripheral die break obverse, reverse "Die 2" (with 'C' over 'B'), very fine. France, Pierre Montagny, An 9, that is, 1800.

Very uncommon issue of this rare voyage medal, commemorating the departure of the Baudin ships *Géographe* and *Naturaliste* for Australia and the Pacific. The medal was known to have been struck in various metals, including the more familiar silver and bronze, but it is not clear exactly what numbers were created of each sort. There is anecdotal evidence to suggest that the Baudin medal was issued in several unusual metals, including pewter and, as here, in white metal. This is the first such example we have handled, and it has an attractive silver-grey patina, almost like zinc.

There are various references to the presence of such medals on the expedition. For example, as Peter Lane has pointed out in the *Journal of the Numismatic Association of Australia* (volume 8), off the coast of Le Havre an English captain went aboard the *Géographe*, and Baudin later wrote about the incident in his journal, 'upon his departure, I begged him to accept a medal struck to commemorate the voyage, he did with pleasure, and then we parted'.

At King George's Sound in western Australia, Baudin found two monuments erected by natives, either side of a stream. They were surrounded by eleven finely tapered spears painted red at the tips with eucalyptus resin. Baudin speculated that what he had found were two warriors' graves and he forbade anyone to deface them. He then placed 'two medals and some glass beads on each one'.

The portrait is of Napoleon, first consul of the French Republic, and the great sponsor of the Baudin voyage.

Bramsen, I, 72; Milford Haven, 174.



**EARLY SCIENTIFIC REPORTS, INCLUDING PRINTED LETTERS BY
BAUDIN AND RIEDLE**



6. [BAUDIN, Nicolas et al.] *Annales du muséum national d'histoire naturelle, par les Professeurs de cet établissement.*

Four volumes, quarto, in total 74 engraved plates (two folding, five with original hand-colouring), title-pages and plates with neat "Athenaeum Liverpool" stamps, later library stamp of the Aquatic Research Institute of San Francisco to renewed endpapers; some toning, but overall a handsome tall set in modern brown half calf. Paris, Levrault, 1802-1805.

Rare and important series of scientific articles, comprising the first four years of publication of one of the great journals, the *Annales* of the Museum of Natural History in Paris. Several of the articles are among the earliest scientific notices of Australian and Pacific specimens, and this extraordinary series includes 17 articles specifically relating to Baudin's voyage.

Most significantly, there are three letters by Baudin himself, as well as work by the voyage scientists Péron and Labillardière, and detailed reports on specimens collected on the voyage and studied by French scientists including Cuvier, Lamarck and Geoffroy Saint-Hilaire. As these articles make clear, from the very beginning the Baudin voyage was planned with the close co-operation of the scientific community and had, moreover, a great impact on the development of the work of some of the most important scientists in France.

The Muséum d'histoire naturelle was founded in 1643, but the prestigious institution had been newly invigorated under the recent appointment of Antoine Laurent de Jussieu. Jussieu was an ardent supporter of the Baudin voyage, and his particular interest in exotic plants meant that the museum gardens cultivated many of the earliest propagated specimens to derive from the Baudin voyage. The articles published here are some of the earliest prompted by the voyage, and are rich in incredible detail: there is, to cite one obvious example, a two-page list of the living animals brought back on board the *Géographe* and given to the museum, a list with Australian specimens including a red kangaroo and no fewer than five *Perroquets royaux*.

The wealth of information provided by these articles can barely be summarised here, but a few are particularly noteworthy. Pre-eminent are the three published letters from Baudin to Jussieu, each of which represents a very rare opportunity to read Baudin's thoughts unmediated by the efforts of his highly critical editors, Péron and Freycinet. The first letter of eight pages was written at Port Jackson and reports on the return of the *Naturaliste* to France loaded with specimens: Baudin is enthusiastic about the diversity of Australian flora that has been collected and speculates on the acclimatisation of the plants bound for France. The second letter is written from Coupang in Timor and proudly discusses the success of the expedition. The third – very brief – is a sombre counterpoint: dated Ile-de-France, Baudin writes that diseases contracted on the northern coast of Australia have taken a heavy toll on the crew, and the letter is followed by an editorial footnote commenting that the public newspapers have reported Baudin's death at Ile-de-France, but that no official notice has yet been received.

The first volume also contains a thirteen-page letter sent by Anselme Riedle, "gardener" of the Baudin expedition, who reports having collected some 270 specimens for the museum. Riedle, who died in Timor in late 1801, was one of the few members of the expedition that Baudin counted as a genuine friend: as with all of the captain's supporters, Riedle's input was later downplayed in the published accounts.

Otherwise, the set includes an article by Péron which details a beautiful species of *pyrosoma*, the bioluminescent organisms common to warm waters. Four entries by Étienne Geoffroy Saint-Hilaire are based on information communicated by Baudin from Australia, with articles on the wombat, a species of possum, and two species of bandicoot, each illustrated on an engraved plate. Interestingly, both Lamarck and Cuvier contribute articles on invertebrate anatomy; Lamarck's article concerns two invertebrates collected by Baudin, one from the Australian coast and another from Timor.

A full collation and calendar of articles relating to the Baudin voyage and Australian content is available on request.

CORRESPONDANCE.

LETRE du capitaine Baudin au citoyen de Jussieu.

A bord de la corvette *le Géographe*, Nouvelle-Hollande,
port Jackson, le 30 brumaire an 41.

Le retour du *Naturaliste* en France sous le commandement du capitaine Hamelin vous mettra à même de juger de l'emploi de notre temps quant à ce qui concerne l'histoire naturelle. Je lui ai confié le soin de rendre à leur destination tous les objets que nous avons recueillis jusqu'à ce moment, persuadé qu'il s'en acquittera avec le zèle et la vigilance dont il m'a souvent donné des preuves : je vous le recommande à ce titre.....

Par ma lettre au ministre de la marine, contenant plusieurs extraits de mon journal, vous verrez que depuis deux ans j'ai fait tout ce qui a dépendu de moi pour augmenter nos collections en tout genre.

La mort prématurée des citoyens Riedlé et Mangé, que je ne puis oublier, m'a mis dans la nécessité de remplir par moi-même la partie dont l'un et l'autre s'acquittoient avec un zèle que je ne puis me flatter d'atteindre.

Je ne vous entretiendrai pas, pour le moment, de tout ce

ai véritablement relevé à la terre de L'Espérance la partie de cette mer
qui est entre le Cap de même nom et l'île Botenest.

C'est moi à qui le capitaine Dauidin confiait le commandement de
un bord lorsque l'état de sa santé l'empêchait de se tenir sur le pont.
C'est à moi enfin que devait demeurer le commandement du Géographe, en
l'absence du commandant durant le cours de l'expédition.

Si l'on m'a été la rétribution la plus naturelle de mes travaux j'apprécie
la reconnaissance que j'ai la conscience de ne m'avoir méritée. On parlera
d'un autre par le bord du Géographe un officier jugé par son
mérite de prendre en succession par l'honneur du commandement: cette exalte
réputation du public serait-elle donc la seule récompense de sa
persévérance et de ses succès?

Mon frère qui vient de quitter le commandement de la goélette le Cornarina avec
laquelle il a exploré les bords du Ruyter une partie de la côte N. O. et la côte du Nord
de la Nouvelle-Hollande, aura-t-il droit aux services et les droits sont les
mêmes à l'ancienneté pour et il doit être à partager avec moi une défaveur
non méritée?

C'est aux seuls officiers qui ont été sans cesse attachés à l'expédition de découvrir
qui appartient d'en rendre compte au gouvernement, et si vous jugez par quel
mérite leur refus par la récompense qu'ils ambitionnent le plus, elle
de commander le Géographe en France chargé de collecter de la campagne.

Indépendamment de la nomination honorifique du capitaine Dauidin,
mon frère et moi avons été nommés par le ministre de la marine au grade
de lieutenant de vaisseau.

J'ai maintenant vingt-trois ans et près de dix années de services continus
dans la marine. En partant pour l'expédition de découvrir il faut vous souvenir,
mon général, que j'ai abandonné le commandement de la goélette le Niche
au général Lacombe-Léville m'a fait honorer.

Je suis tout le temps sur lequel je fonde mes prétentions au commandement.
du Géographe je les soumette, mon général, à votre justice.

J'ai l'honneur de vous saluer dans les sentiments d'un profond
respect.

[Faint handwritten text at the bottom of the page, possibly bleed-through or a second draft.]

‘THE DEATH OF CAPTAIN BAUDIN LEAVES THE COMMAND OF THE
GÉOGRAPHE VACANT...’

7. FREYCINET, Henri de. Draft autograph letter, applying for the command of the *Géographe*, after the death of Baudin.

Small quarto stitch-sewn retained letter book, 240 x 195 mm., the relevant letter 2 pp. written in ink in a hasty hand, a further 2 pp. dating from post-1804 as well as fragments of 14 pp. in the gutter where the pages have been roughly torn out (these apparently dating from Henri's later life); the relevant pages very good indeed and the booklet as a whole an attractive object retaining its original pink ribbon sewing. Ile de France, n.d. but September, 1803.

Henri de Freycinet, serving as First Lieutenant on the *Géographe*, announces the death of Captain Baudin to the senior French naval officer at the Cape of Good Hope, and recites his own credentials as the best candidate to take on the command.

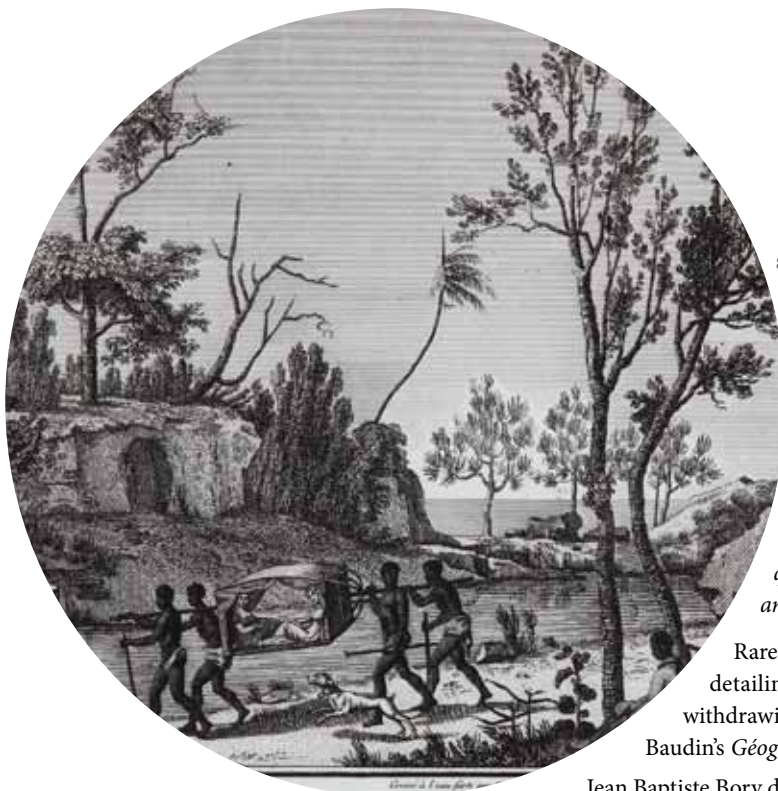
This draft or retained copy letter is addressed to Contre-Amiral Charles-Alexandre Linois, commanding the naval forces at the Cape of Good Hope: in 1803 Linois had been appointed by Napoleon to harass British shipping in the Indian Ocean. This draft was retained by Henri de Freycinet in a group of sensitive letters regarding his career (three other letters date from after his return, each with material requests to senior officers). The sensitive nature of these letters is effectively confirmed by the fact that a further 14 pages have been roughly torn out, just as one would expect if Henri or a family member were later troubled by some of his frankness.

As a result, the survival of this first and most important letter, written just after the death of Baudin, is astonishing. The remaining ships of the expedition, the *Géographe* and the *Casuarina*, had reached the Ile de France in August 1803, the crew ill and despondent; Baudin himself finally passed away on 16 September. Intriguingly it was Milius, former second-in-command of the *Naturaliste* and now known for his own journal of the voyage, who was given command. Milius had been left behind in Mauritius because of poor health as the *Naturaliste* returned to France, and his recovery there had evidently given him the inside running: a further bitter blow to Baudin, as Milius was yet another of his junior officers who actively disliked the commander.

As the present letter implies, therefore, the appointment of Milius would have been a shock for Henri, who was confident that he had all of the experience necessary for command. He refers to himself as having been the first lieutenant (“*premier officier*”) on board since September 1801, used to acting in command during the illness of Baudin. It then goes on to give examples of the important duties he has taken on beyond his simple naval position: “it is me”, he asserts, who traced the course of the “northern river” originally mapped by d’Entrecasteaux (evidently the mapping of the further reaches of the d’Entrecasteaux Channel); it is me, who reconnoitred Frederick-Henry Bay; it is me who, together with the astronomer Bernier, mapped the coastline of south-west New Holland from Wilson’s Promontory in Bass Strait to the Ile St. François (that is, the stretch of the coast which would later be christened Terre Napoleon); it is me who traced the unknown coast on the “*Terre du Lewin*” right up to Rottneest Island; it is me who acted for Baudin in moments of bad health; and it is me who was told by Baudin to take command in the event of his death. Ironically, Henri even states that there is surely not another officer on board capable of taking on the duty of the commander, and who could ensure that all of the scientific collections – clearly referring to the great number of natural history specimens collected – would be safely transmitted to France.

As well as listing his own impressive credentials, Henri also points out the achievements of his brother Louis, who had just completed his command of the *Casuarina*, in which vessel he had explored the Hunter group at the western edge of Bass Strait. Is he also to be ignored in the round of promotions following Baudin’s death? I am, Henri concludes, twenty-six years old, and have served in the navy for the last decade. To serve on this expedition I gave up my command of the schooner *La Biche* with which General Latouche-Héville had honoured me. It is on all these grounds that I submit my request to be given the command to your judgement.

This draft of a remarkable letter that, if sent, appears not to have survived, represents an unparalleled insight into the immediate aftermath of Baudin’s death, and is a reminder that Henri, Louis’ older brother, was one of the most important figures of the Baudin expedition.



**THE FORGOTTEN ACCOUNT OF THE
BAUDIN VOYAGE**

8. BORY DE SAINT-VINCENT, J.B.G.M. *Voyage dans les quatre principales îles des mers d'Afrique... Avec l'Histoire de la Traversée du Capitaine Baudin...*

Three volumes octavo, and folio atlas; neat repairs to a few text pages and a few spots; atlas with three large folding charts and 55 plates (including two "bis" plates), some folding, and the last with contemporary hand-colouring, all the plates crisp and untrimmed; period quarter red morocco, gilt spines with green morocco labels, an attractive set. Paris, F. Buisson, 1804.

Rare: the earliest published account of the Baudin voyage, detailing the dissent on board which led to the author withdrawing from the expedition, published in the same year that Baudin's *Géographe* returned to France.

Jean Baptiste Bory de Saint-Vincent (1778-1846) was appointed to the Baudin voyage as a natural history scientist, but he left the vessel in Mauritius after conflict with Baudin. 'Probably none of the *savants* of the expedition epitomized the new spirit among young natural scientists... better than the principal zoologist of the *Naturaliste*, Bory de Saint-Vincent, aged 22. He combined the burning curiosity, love of action, and catholic breadth of scientific interest that seem to have characterized many of the young French naturalists at this time...' (Horner, *The French Reconnaissance*, p. 75). This is a lavish and important work, and its publication was both a genuine contribution to the scientific impulse of the original planners of the voyage, but also an attempt to rehabilitate Bory de Saint-Vincent's reputation.

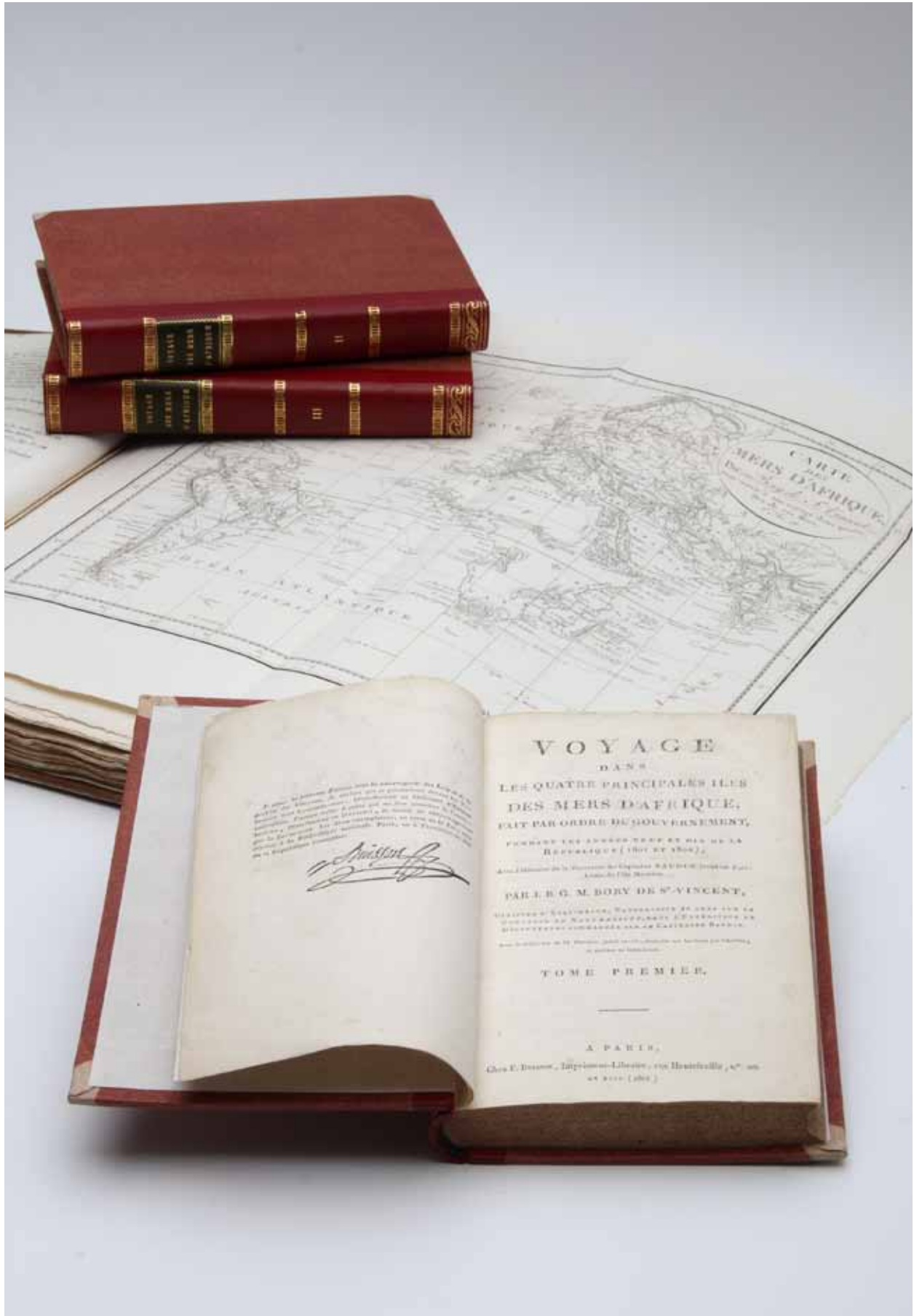
Baudin's relationship with his scientists was notoriously difficult, and his reputed philistinism was fostered in no small part by the attacks made in this book, which was widely read in France. The account was published in a small-format English translation by the publisher Phillips in 1805, and became the source of any number of jibes and stories critical of Baudin which circulated in England, many of which were republished in the professional journal for officers of the British navy, the *Naval Chronicle*.

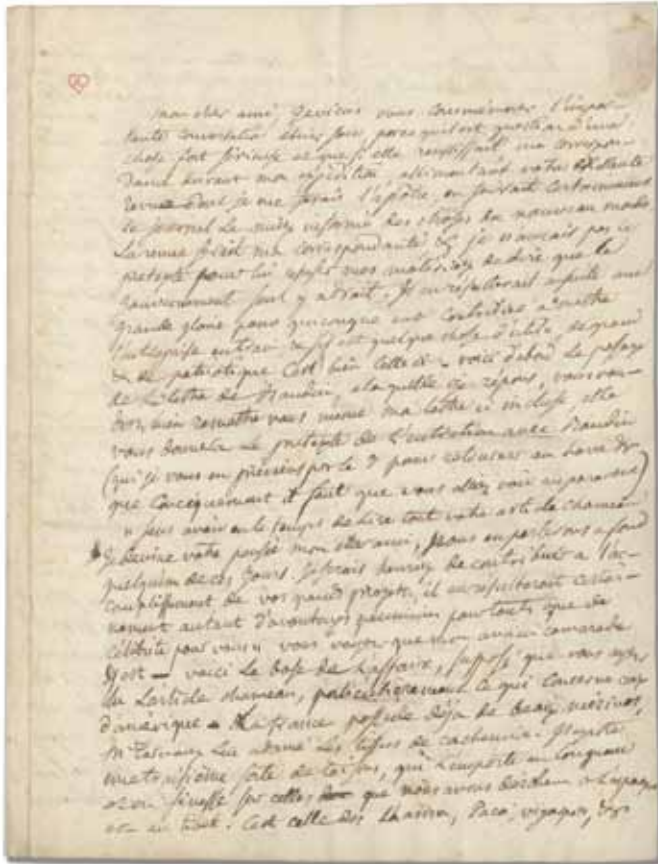
As the track chart included here shows, Bory de Saint Vincent sailed as far as Réunion (formerly Ile Bourbon) in the Indian Ocean east of Mauritius, but jumped ship with several compatriots before the expedition continued towards New Holland. He spent the ensuing two years exploring the major islands in the Indian Ocean, most particularly Réunion itself. After he returned to Europe he joined the army, and served at the battle of Austerlitz. A supporter of Napoleon, he was exiled for several years by the Bourbons, but like many of his fellows quietly returned to Paris and once more took up his scientific studies. He published widely, and was editor of the magisterial *Dictionnaire classique d'histoire naturelle* (1822).

This work includes several fine natural history plates and coastal views, and an exceptional large folding chart of Réunion itself. Most charming are the several topographical views, many after originals by Patu de Rosmond, which include coastal scenes as well as interesting depictions of the scientists of the voyage on their inland explorations. Thus, for example, the view of the Piton des Neiges, a volcano on Réunion, depicts one figure standing at the doorway of a rough lean-to, while a second writes at a desk inside.

Despite its interest, this account is not often seen for sale, and is not held by many libraries outside France.

Not in the catalogue of the Hill collection.





CASHMERE FANTASIES: BORY DE SAINT-VINCENT STILL SCHEMING

9. BORY DE SAINT-VINCENT, Jean Baptiste G.M.
Autograph letter signed.

Five-page autograph letter, folded to letter-size 224 x 171 mm., the sixth page blank; neatly written with some original scratching-out and corrections; secured together at the left margin; in fine condition. [Paris], 28 October, 1825.

A long letter from Bory de Saint-Vincent to an unknown correspondent (“*Mon cher ami*”) mentioning in passing his experiences on the Baudin voyage, and his own exploration of the islands of the Indian Ocean (see his published account, no. 8), as qualifications for his involvement in a proposed project for the collection and marketing of exotic

wools, and also for writing material for a contemporary French journal concentrating on the “*nouveau monde*”. From the context it seems likely that his correspondent is the editor of that journal.

There is some mention of the Americas, of Colombia especially. Bory mentions the breeding of merinos in France, talks about llamas, camels, Tibet, cashmere, among many other references to the subject, apparently soliciting a commission to write an article on the subject as well as to be the leading light in a new venture. *‘Jose croire que je suis la personne la plus en état de conduire à bien une telle entreprise, j’ai déjà fait mes preuves comme voyageur avec Baudin, et en faisant connaître les Iles d’Afrique’* (‘I dare say I am the single person most suited to run such an enterprise, having proved myself as a voyager with Baudin and by making known the Islands of Africa’). To the extent that the scheme seems hare-brained, it should probably be read in the context of Bory de Saint-Vincent’s difficult later life in Paris (see note to no. 10) and its attendant complications. As Charles H. Smith has pointed out (online resource) ‘Bory de Saint-Vincent’s almost too colourful life story has sometimes overshadowed his reputation as one of the most thoughtful and productive naturalists of the early nineteenth century. A free-spending extrovert who also dabbled in literary ventures, his career was complicated by involvement in a near-mutiny at sea, various political intrigues, and financial debts – to the extent that he spent years at a time avoiding the authorities, or actually being incarcerated. Throughout it all, however, he managed to keep up a career as a natural history collector. Bory was the first important island biogeographer...’

From the collection of Henri Ledoux (eccentric Parisian collector; one of his fetishes was to acquire important title-pages and jettison the rest of the books) with his distinctive small red stamp (H.L. in a heart) at beginning and end and a note identifying the authorship of the letter in his hand in red ink.

LOUIS TO BORY DE SAINT-VINCENT
IN DEBTOR'S PRISON

10. FREYCINET, Louis de. Autograph letter signed to Bory de Saint-Vincent.

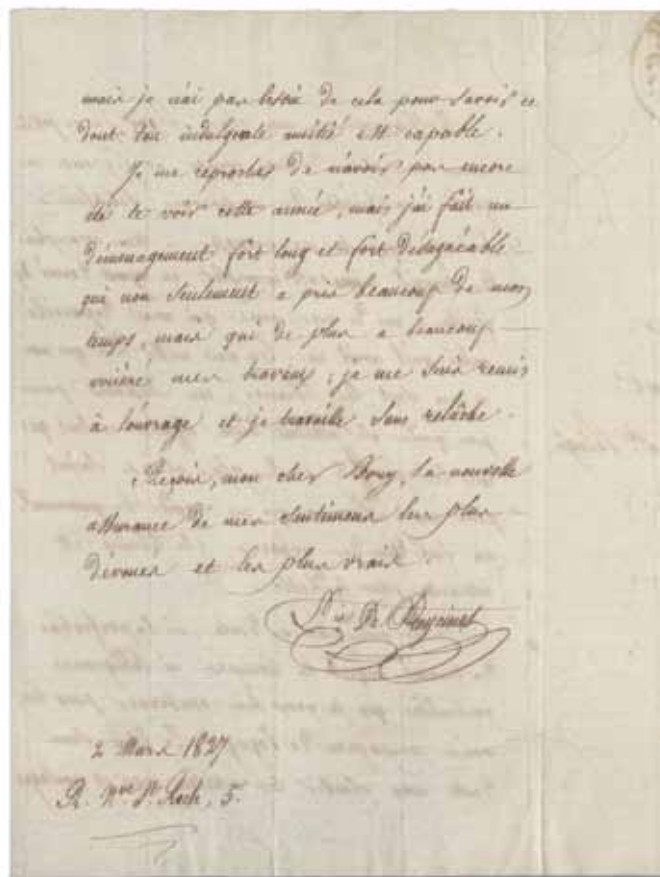
Two-page autograph letter, on a single sheet of laid paper, folded to letter size 200 x 162 mm., neat autograph manuscript on two pages, the third blank and the fourth address panel; remnants of seal, postal stamp also dated 2 March 1827. Paris, Rue St Roch, 5, 2 March, 1827.

An intriguing letter from Louis de Freycinet, apparently warm but perhaps a little evasive, to his former shipmate on the Baudin voyage and the author of the only other first-hand narrative account of the voyage, Bory de Saint-Vincent.

Bory had evidently written to Freycinet requesting to swap some of his own books for a copy of one of Freycinet's voyage publications (Freycinet here simply refers to "*mon voyage*", and the 1827 date does not confirm whether this means the second edition of the Baudin voyage or the early parts of the Freycinet voyage: both accounts date from 1824). Freycinet is mortified that he cannot spare Bory a copy: he only has his own working copy, and even that is incomplete, as he has had to give up a number of leaves to complete a friend's copy. As to getting hold of another copy, Bory should know how difficult it is to part a publisher from their profits.

Although the relationship of the two men was evidently friendly, there is a reticence in Freycinet's letter that may be explained by an uneasiness that likely still existed between those who, like Bory, had quit the Baudin voyage and those who saw it through to the end, like Freycinet. The tone is friendly but cautious, displaying some of the circumlocution common in Freycinet's relations with more remote colleagues. Nonetheless Freycinet shows that he follows Bory's work, and particularly comments that he will read his articles on the "sea and mountains" with great pleasure and interest – presumably these are the forthcoming articles that Bory offered to exchange. Freycinet is sorry not to have seen Bory at all this year, but he has had a lot on his plate.

Perhaps some of Freycinet's hesitation may be explained by Bory de Saint-Vincent's address: at the time of writing he was evidently to be found in the debtors' prison at Saint-Pelagie in the fifth arrondissement of Paris. Bory's life went through numerous ups and downs (see note to catalogue number 9). As a side note, Freycinet gives his own address as Rue Neuve Saint Roch number 5.



NOTICE

SUR L'INTRODUCTION DE LA VACCINE AU CAP DE
BONNE-ESPÉRANCE ;

Par M. PÉRON, naturaliste de l'expédition de décou-
vertes aux Terres Australes.

Tout le monde sait assez, combien dans les colonies européennes de l'Inde ou de l'Amérique, la petite-vérole exerce des ravages effrayans ; c'est sur-tout parmi les hommes de couleur (quelle qu'en puisse être d'ailleurs la cause) que ce fléau fait tomber un nombre plus grand de victimes. Aussi tous les réglemens de police générale, consacrent-ils dans ces régions les mesures les plus sévères et les plus multipliées pour en prévenir l'introduction : les visites les plus scrupuleuses sont faites à bord de tous les vaisseaux qui se présentent, et les peines les plus graves sont prononcées contre tout capitaine qui pourrait dissimuler quelques indices de cette maladie ; sur le plus léger soupçon, les vaisseaux sont repoussés des ports, et forcés à des quarantaines rigoureuses sur des îles voisines et non habitées.

Les bienfaits de la vaccine, si grands déjà pour les contrées européennes, reçoivent donc un caractère d'intérêt plus précieux encore

PERON ON THE VACCINE FOR SMALL-POX

11. PERON, François. Notice sur l'introduction de la vaccine au Cap de Bonne-Espérance; par M. Péron, naturaliste de l'expédition de découvertes aux Terres Australes.

Quarto, 4 pp.; in very good condition, bound in modern marbled wrappers. Faubourg Saint-Germain, De l'Imprimerie de Migneret, circa 1804.

Apparently unrecorded printing of a significant letter written by François Péron while returning from the Baudin voyage, reporting on a small-pox vaccine being trialled at the Cape of Good Hope. The letter is a tribute to the Dutch doctor, revolutionary and poet Reinier de Klerk Dibbetz, a pioneer of Jenner's small-pox vaccine and friend of Péron's: the two men spent a good deal of time together in 1803, and are perhaps better known for their collaboration in the study of the Hottentots.

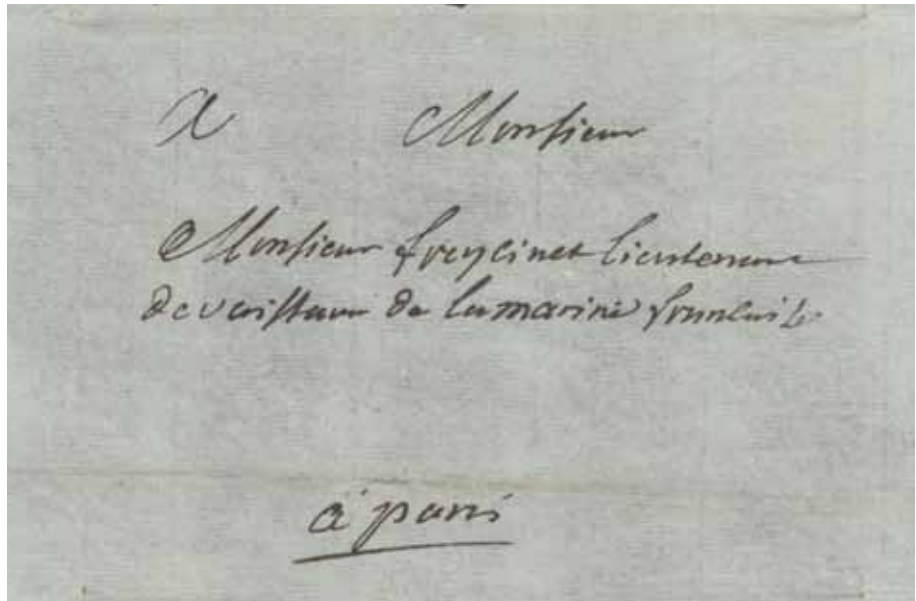
Péron begins with a note that the influence of the *petite-vérole* has been devastating throughout the world, most particularly in the European colonies in the Indies and America. Noting that the illness has been most virulent among indigenous populations, Péron explains that this has led to the practice of very scrupulous checking for evidence of the disease on board ships, with heavy penalties for captains who fail to take adequate measures to contain the infection.

Although not mentioned here, the vaccine for small-pox was actually discovered by Edward Jenner in 1796, only a few years earlier but, as Péron does note, the need for the vaccine was recognised to be of the greatest urgency, and for some time the officials of the Iles de France and Bourbon (Mauritius and Reunion) had been trialling the recently published method with some success, despite the general prejudice against what was still regarded as a novelty.

However, Péron continues, while the Dutch colonies in South Africa are close to Mauritius, the new vaccine was unknown there until the arrival on 18 November "last" (that is, 1803) of the Portuguese slave-ship *Belisario* at Table Bay. Dibbetz, inspector-general of the hospital at the Cape of Good Hope, became aware that people on board the vessel had the disease and asked to be allowed to go on board. Distracting the attention of others on board, Dibbetz colluded with the surgeon on board to take a swab ("*un fil imprégné au virus*") from the vessel, and returned to make his own successful experiments which won the admiration of the Dutch Governor Janssens, who allowed Dibbetz a small island in the Bay, to continue his research.

Dibbetz's continued success led to the formation of a hospital, to which Péron had travelled, where he greatly admired the work of the administration. Dibbetz said to Péron, at the moment of the departure of the Baudin vessels, that he would continue to inform him of the success or otherwise of his trials. Dibbetz, Péron concludes, had thanked the Portuguese doctor who had helped him with the present of a magnificent box of surgical instruments; an attention which only accords further respect to the brave efforts of the Dutchman, which Péron is anxious to record (for a note on Dibbetz more generally, and this trial, see Duyker, *François Péron*, p. 208).

Although of the greatest rarity, it is not difficult to surmise how this bifolium came to be printed. Péron might have written to one of his colleagues in Paris, who would have caused a small number of these pamphlets to be prepared, but it is probably more likely that it was published by Péron himself, after his return. The "Imprimerie de Migneret" was a press in Faubourg Saint-Germain, known for producing smaller pamphlets as well as fuller works. Despite a fairly extensive search, we have not been able to find any other copy of this printed letter.



“UN CAPITAINE AUSSI INEPTE”: FAUJAS’ VERDICT ON BAUDIN

12. FAUJAS DE SAINT-FOND, Barthélemy. Autograph letter signed to Louis de Freycinet mentioning discord on the Baudin voyage.

One-page autograph letter, on a sheet of light blue watermarked laid paper, folded to letter-size 235 x 200 mm., closely written to the first page, the fourth page an address panel, others blank; old folds, small tear at the original seal, but very good. St Fond, Montélimar, 23 Prerial (sic) XII, that is, 11 June, 1804.

A welcoming and encouraging letter from Faujas de Saint-Fond to Louis de Freycinet, written two months after the return of the Baudin voyage, and lamenting Baudin’s “*inepte*” command.

Barthélemy Faujas de Saint-Fond (1741-1819), French geologist and traveller, had a close relationship with the Freycinet family (writing here of the friendship he has with “*votre famille*”), a connection almost certainly deriving from their neighbouring residences at Montélimar in the Drôme département in south-eastern France, where Louis de Freycinet was born in 1779. A friend and correspondent of Sir Joseph Banks, Faujas was appointed the first professor of geology at the Jardin des Plantes in 1793, retiring to his Montélimar estate in 1818.

Faujas writes that he is delighted with Freycinet’s news of his safe return, and regrets that he cannot be in Paris to meet him. Hopefully his son, just back from Guadeloupe, will do the family honours by welcoming the voyagers.

Faujas encourages Louis and his brother Henri to carefully record their recollections of such an interesting as well as difficult voyage in order to see it all to publication. Even though the problems and discontent caused by their poor luck in having such an inept captain have doubtless compromised numerous important undertakings on the voyage, nonetheless they should console themselves at the obvious debt that the sciences owe to them for having brought back so much natural history, as well as nautical and geographical observations. He acknowledges the role of “*pauvre Bernier*” in this too, referring to the sad loss of his protégé the promising young astronomer François Bernier, who had diligently recorded all manner of observations during the voyage, including spending five months in the observatory the French established in Port Jackson, but who died aged 24 shortly after the expedition left Coupang.

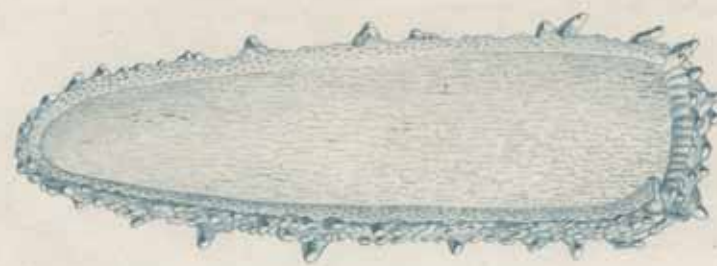
Faujas’ remarks about Baudin reflect the manner in which the French scientific establishment was closing ranks on the issue of Baudin’s captaincy, and this letter gives a rare opportunity to reconstruct contemporary sympathies for Freycinet through the privileged window of private correspondence between old friends.

The letter closes with Faujas’ wordy but heartfelt esteem for his young friend.

si été extrêmement sensible, Monsieur. cause manquée de votre
venir, et ai au bien d'un regret de ne pas m'être trouvé à Paris
l'époque de votre arrivée pour vous y recevoir avec toute l'amitié
que je porte à votre famille. Et à vous et à moi votre frère
personnellement; mais j'espère que je ne tarderai pas de vous
voir, et mon fils en attendant tiendra ma place; il est probable
qu'il aura déjà eu le plaisir de vous voir s'il vous l'a fait espérer
il vous le va aller chercher; il vient d'univers de la Guadeloupe
et je desirerais bien qu'il ne retourne pas.

Je vous exhorte ainsi que moi votre frère à conserver
les souvenirs de vos intéressants et pénibles voyages, et de
les rédiger par écrit; le contraire est le malheur d'avoir
eu un Capitaine aussi incapable qu'au dessus de son astuce
sans doute le contraire d'importante opération, mais
l'histoire naturelle à l'égard de la partie possible de
le voyage, ainsi que l'astronomie et quelques observations
nautiques et géographiques, et c'est à vous messieurs
ainsi qu'à la pauvre Bernier que les sciences en sont
redevables.

Je vous renouvelle de tout mon cœur les assurances de
de mon amitié et de mon estime
Traujay



Pyrosoma Atlanticum.

ONE OF PERON'S FIRST SCIENTIFIC ARTICLES FROM THE VOYAGE

13. PERON, François. *Mémoire sur le nouveau genre Pyrosoma*.

Quarto, hand-coloured plate and 10 pp.; some toning, but an excellent copy in modern half calf with marbled paper wrappers. Paris, An XII, that is, 1804.

Very rare indeed: the first printing of one of Péron's earliest scientific articles based on his work during the Baudin voyage.

In 1804, newly returned from the voyage, Péron was living in Paris, where he and Lesueur began work on the official Baudin account. He had been resigned to the fact that by sending many of his specimens home, the scientific descriptions of a great number fell to important figures like Cuvier and Jussieu (see catalogue no. 6, for example). On his return, however, he pressed on to publish several essays of his own, and one of the first was this essay on "Pyrosoma", bioluminescent organisms common to warm waters (from the Greek *pyro* "fire", *soma* "body"). His work on unheralded sea creatures like pyrosoma was the product of his tremendous collecting enthusiasm; he and Lesueur had been overwhelmed and delighted with the myriad different oceanic species they had discovered during the voyage, and later commented that 'their number and diversity afforded an inexhaustible fund of pleasure, and were the subject of philosophical enthusiasm' (quoted in Duyker, *François Péron*, p. 87).

'Péron's work on jellyfish would ultimately include pioneering observations of their anatomy and physiology, and the collection of many previously undescribed species' (Duyker, p. 64). It was for this reason that the various mollusca and zoophytes he collected were so beautifully illustrated in the official account: the subject of the present article, the *Pyrosoma atlanticum*, was later figured at the upper left corner of plate 30 of the Atlas. The species is also, interestingly, one of only a handful to now be named after Péron, as its official nomenclature has since been updated to *Pyrosoma atlanticum Péron*, 1804.

Any separate scientific publication relating to the voyage is a rarity: very few indeed survive, probably because of the limited audience to which they were distributed. Although not noted here, this article was published the same year in *Annales du muséum national d'histoire naturelle* (pp. 437-46); this does confirm, however, that the present article, newly paginated, is a proper offprint rather than simply an extract from the museum journal. Such offprints, where they exist, are recognised as the original editions since they normally precede the journal printing and were typically done in very limited numbers for the author to distribute.

**'CHARGE PAR L'IMPERATRICE DE LUI ENVOIER DE JEUNES PLANTES
DE LA Nlle. HOLLANDE'**

14. PERON, François. Autograph letter signed to Louis or Henri de Freycinet.

Three-page autograph letter, on a single sheet of laid paper, folded to letter-size 230 x 190 mm., closely written manuscript to three pages, the fourth an address panel; old folds, fine. No place or date but probably Paris, 1804 or 1805.

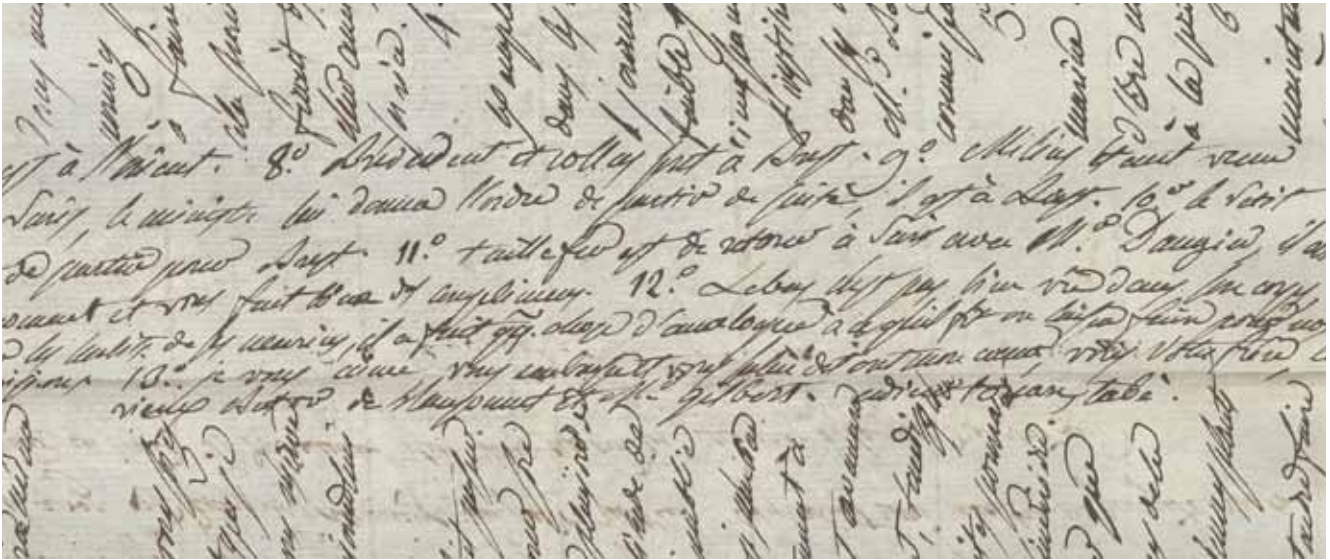
A remarkably rich and detailed letter in an intimate tone from François Péron to “*mon cher Freycinet*”. Péron’s correspondent could be either Louis or his brother Henri de Freycinet, with both of whom he enjoyed a close friendship, and either of whom would have been grateful for all the news of Baudin veterans discussed in such detail here: Péron had sailed on the *Géographe*, on which Henri was one of the senior officers, but was also by this time collaborating with Louis on the publication of the voyage account.

In this letter as well as making detailed reference to Baudin voyage shipmates and their present disposition, Péron discusses the movement of Australian plant specimens from the Empress Joséphine’s famous botanical gardens at Malmaison to the Freycinet family chateau at Montélimar in Drôme. As Edward Duyker points out (private correspondence), ‘Lesueur mentions these Australian species in Saulces in his journal of 1809’ but there is no trace of them surviving today. (Nor for that matter is there any trace of Australian botanical plantings at present-day Malmaison, now gathered into spreading suburban Paris and much reduced from its substantial original spread; still less, sadly, are there any descendants of the kangaroos, black swans, emus or any of the other fauna deposited by the expedition at Malmaison for the Empress’ delight).

In the first part of the letter Péron refers several times to “*une Petite Difficulté*”, which apparently refers to some problem in the publication of the Baudin voyage, and probably in the scientific detail, perhaps to do with the measurement of sea temperatures, a subject of particular interest to Péron. He makes a joking comparison between Freycinet’s character (he has the spirit of a devil, he says) and some of the scientific terms that they must have been bandying about: zero temperatures, oscillations, etc. He is inventive, speaks of Freycinet’s “thermometer of the human spirit”, and in a word-spree announces that ‘*Dans un cas je le vois au dessus de votre zéro, dans l’autre comme fanatique, furibond, rêveur, radoteur, de’raisonneur, embrouillard barbouilleur, redouilleur, arpenteur &c.*’ He mentions their mutual friend Ransonnet, a midshipman on the voyage, and evidently refers to the death of a shipmate when he says that he won’t speak of the awful news that appeared recently in the press except to quote Virgil “*Apparent rari nantes in gurgite vasto*” (“a few are seen swimming in the vast deep”) and to note that day by day they become rarer, the survivors of the voyage. There is mention of a book apparently dedicated to him (by Bory? The handwriting is unclear).

What follows is a remarkable series of numbered items, beginning with some comments about Alibert on some affliction, possibly of a family member (Alibert is the great dermatologist, who has ‘just published a Magnificent work on the subject’: this must be his magnum opus *Descriptions des maladies de la peau* (Paris, 1806), thus helping to date the letter). Péron has just written to Freycinet’s father advising him of the imminent arrival of young plants from New Holland which have been sent to Freycinet at the family property in Montélimar in the south by Mirbel, director of the Malmaison gardens, on the instructions of the Empress following favourable reports of Freycinet’s work on the voyage (‘*mon ami Mirbel directeur des jardins et des Plantations de la Malmaison est chargé par l’Impératrice de lui envoyer de jeunes plantes de la Nlle. Hollande*’). Mirbel was dismissed from his post at Malmaison by Bonaparte in 1806, confirming that this letter must have been written before that date.

The following eleven numbered items mention former shipmates, many of them medics, and generally indicate a gathering of them taking place in Brest at the time of the letter. This most probably refers to planning and fleet movements taking place before Napoleon’s renewed bid to invade the United Kingdom. The French fleet was blockaded by the British: the daring plan



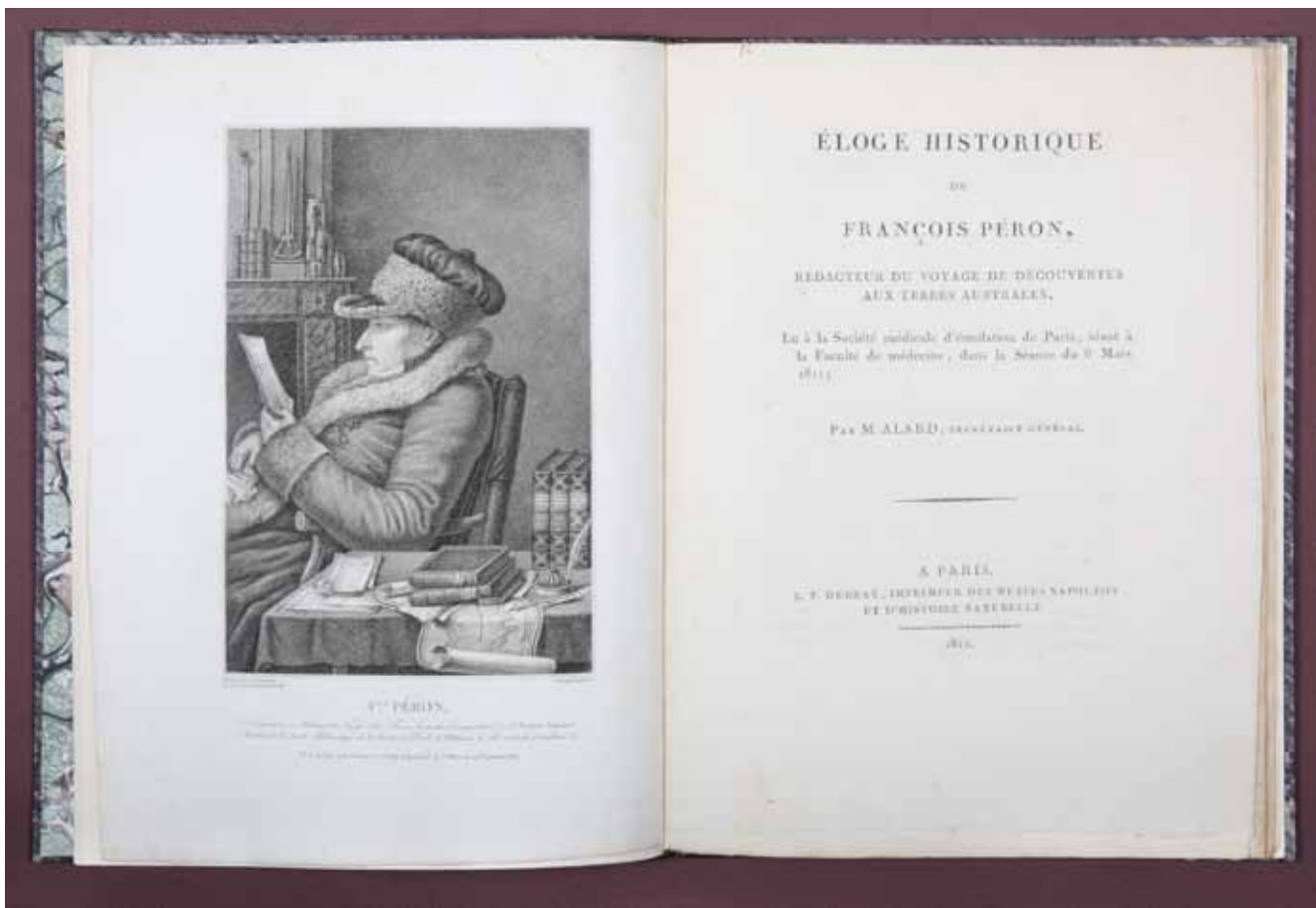
to break the blockade succeeded only in Toulon where the fleet broke through in March 1805. Since the Brest fleet failed to make the rendezvous the invasion was called off. This suggests that the date of this letter is therefore most likely late 1804 or early 1805.

Can Freycinet, Péron continues, use influence to get a posting for L'Haridon [surgeon François L'Haridon, an old shipmate], in Anvers (=Antwerp) where Freycinet happens to know the prefect? Péron has sent the two brothers the first copies of any of his scientific memoirs to be published (in the *Annales de Muséum d'histoire naturelle*, and the *Journal de Médecine*, mentioning Bougainville, Labillardière and Lamarck; it is interesting to note that the former article would have been his article on pyrosoma; see catalogue no. 13); their mutual business arrangements in Lorient have come to an end and he should send Freycinet some funds (this may refer to the discharge of some of the specimens from the *Géographe*); he has news of various shipmates: Bayard [perhaps Jean Pierre Billard?] is at Lorient; [Léon] Brèvedent and [François Nicolas Auguste] Collas are ready at Brest; Milius [commander of the *Géographe* after Baudin's death] has been recently living in Paris but has been ordered to Brest immediately; "petit Baudin" [either the lieutenant François or more likely the more junior midshipman Charles Baudin, or possibly Nicolas Baudin's younger brother Augustin] has just left for Brest; [Hubert Jules] Taillefer, a medic on the *Géographe*, is returning with [François Henri Eugène] Daugier, and although sick at the moment sends his compliments; and various other Baudin voyage figures are mentioned, including Lebas [?Sainte Croix Le Bas, capitaine de frégate on the *Géographe*], and the midshipmen [François Desiré] Breton and [Jacques Joseph] Ransonnet.

The letter ends with great expressions of affection, beyond the merely formulaic, for both brothers, and "le père Lesueur" sends his affectionate greetings too – this refers to their mutual friend, the father of the Baudin voyage artist Charles-Alexandre Lesueur. Lesueur senior may even have been something of a father-figure to Péron after his own father's death.

This is an absolutely remarkable letter, uniting two of the most important figures on the Baudin voyage.

We thank Edward Duyker for some of the information summarised above. Duyker's wonderful biography *François Péron: an impetuous life* (Melbourne, 2006) is the standard work on the subject, and his bibliography lists a number of original manuscripts by Péron consulted by him for the writing of the work, notably the splendid series held in the Muséum d'histoire naturelle du Le Havre. Péron manuscripts are however almost unheard of on the market.



TWO ORIGINAL ELEGIES FOR PERON'S PREMATURE PASSING

15. [PERON]ALARD, M. & J.P.F. DELEUZE. *Eloge Historique de François Péron* [bound with] *Notice Historique sur M. Péron*.

Quarto, two works bound as one, engraved portrait frontispiece and one plate; attractively bound in modern quarter morocco with marbled boards. Paris, Dubray [and] Belin, 1811.

Two rare elegies for François Péron, the naturalist on the Baudin voyage, commissioned by his great friend Lesueur.

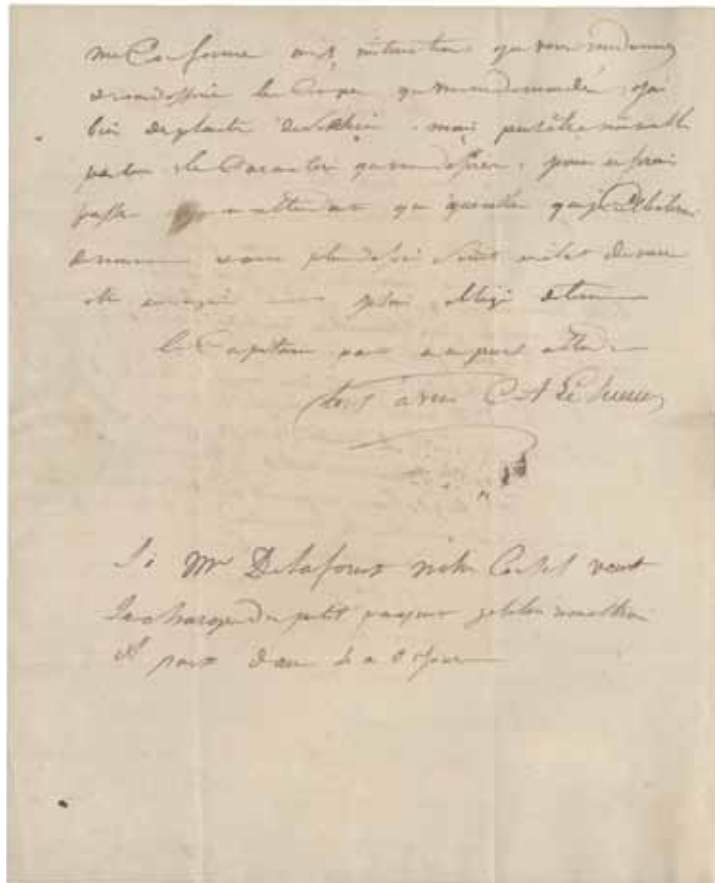
On his return from the voyage, Péron was given the task of preparing the narrative account for publication, but his health – never good – was deteriorating, and despite time spent on the Mediterranean coast trying to recuperate, he died at home in Cérilly in December 1810 from tuberculosis, his boon companion Lesueur by his side. Lesueur was devastated, and as an homage to his friend commissioned these two rare elegies and had them printed.

The first is Alard's *Eloge historique de François Péron* (Paris: Dubray, 1811). This work has the same portrait of Péron as appeared in the official account, but newly engraved with an updated caption. Ferguson noted only the National Library of Australia copy.

The second, equally rare, is Deleuze's *Notice Historique sur M. Péron* (Paris: Belin, 1811; offprint from the *Annales du Muséum d'Histoire Naturelle*). This work has an engraved plate depicting the tomb of Péron in Cérilly as planned by Lesueur. Again, Ferguson noted only the National Library of Australia copy of this work (510cc).

The two elegies are commonly seen together, as here, with a total of two plates. Ferguson suggested that Alard's work had two plates and Deleuze's none, but the point seems to be that because the two elegies were often issued together, the second plate of Péron's tomb was bound at different places by different binders. In our copy, the tomb plate is at the end of the Deleuze text, as appropriate.

Ferguson, 590a, 510cc.



PERON'S PARTICULAR FRIEND, AND CO-AUTHOR

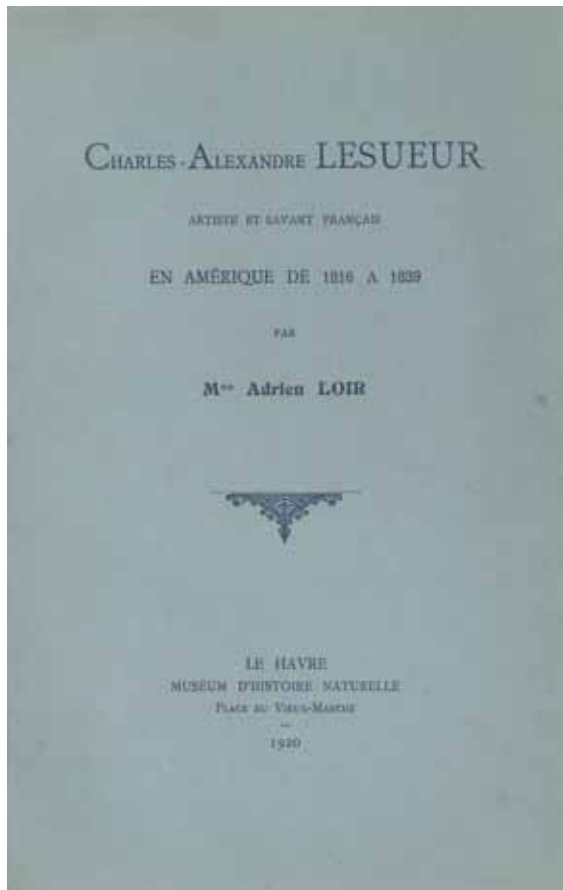
16. LESUEUR, Charles Alexandre. Autograph letter signed to Jean-Baptiste Bory de Saint-Vincent.

Three-page autograph letter, on a single sheet of wove paper, folded to letter-size 230 x 185 mm., manuscript to three pages, the fourth page an address panel, small tear at the original seal, but in excellent condition. Philadelphia, 7 March, 1825.

A very rare letter by Lesueur, naturalist and artist of the Baudin expedition, sent from Philadelphia to his fellow naturalist on the voyage, Jean-Baptiste Bory de Saint-Vincent (see nos. 8-10).

Here, Lesueur thanks Bory for sending him notes on the *Dictionnaire classique d'histoire naturelle* (a massively influential publication edited by Bory de Saint-Vincent and published between 1822-1831: Darwin had all seventeen volumes with him on board the *Beagle*). Lesueur particularly queries an article by Henri de Blainville regarding certain sea-animals and their structures, referring in the process to the earlier work of the zoologist François Marie Daudin. As becomes clear from the text of the letter, Lesueur opposes some of the mainstream theories from France, and particularly proposes that the *Hyalaea* should be considered a separate family and not part of the molluscs: Lesueur published widely on this species, and several were named after him (they are now known by the family *Cavolinioidea*, or "sea butterflies"). Furthermore, Lesueur undertakes to search for certain plants in the United States, as Bory de Saint-Vincent has asked him to do, and promises to send some drawings.

Lesueur letters are very scarce on the market, most being held in institutions: his personal archive is in the local natural history museum of Le Havre, his home town.



LESUEUR IN AMERICA

17. [LESUEUR] LOIR, Adrien. *Charles-Alexandre Lesueur Artiste et Savant Français en Amérique de 1816 à 1839*.

Large octavo, 42 plates; some leaves loose in the binding, but a good copy bound in marbled parchment boards, original wrappers retained. Le Havre, Muséum d'histoire naturelle, 1920.

A detailed and surprisingly rare monograph on Lesueur's travels in America, which includes a brief summary of his work as naturalist and artist on the Baudin expedition.

This work is of particular interest for Lesueur's later career. In 1815, he travelled to the United States with the American geologist William Maclure, and in 1825 joined the New Harmony commune in Indiana soon after it was founded. It was during this period that he cemented his reputation as a naturalist, especially for his work in conjunction with the American Thomas Say.

**REDOUTE'S GREAT WORK ON THE AUSTRALIAN
PLANTS AT MALMAISON**

18. BONPLAND, A.J.G. Description des plantes rares cultivées à la Malmaison et à Navarre.

Folio, 525 x 345 mm. (page and plate size), preliminaries with half-title, title, followed by redundant half-title and title for "Tome Premier", dedication leaf to Josephine, single leaf table of contents and errata; the 64 stipple-engraved colour-plates finished by hand, three plates trimmed with loss of technical caption regarding engravers, some of the original plate numbers shaved, a few marks and some of the text leaves with neat paper repairs to early tears; a couple of the plates with repaired tears; bound in early half calf over marbled boards, banded spine with large crimson morocco label, a handsome copy. Paris, P. Didot l'ainé, 1813.

One of the most beautiful botanical books, with fine plates chiefly by the botanical artist Pierre-Joseph Redouté. Almost a third of the plants featured in this magnificent botanical work are from Australia, most grown from seeds collected on the Baudin voyage. A fine example of Redouté's achievements as a botanical illustrator, the technical process of stipple-engraving proved to be a delightful medium for such illustrations, both botanically and artistically.

This work was intended as a companion to Etienne Pierre Ventenat's *Jardin de la Malmaison* (1803). Bonpland, von Humboldt's botanist during his explorations of the Americas, succeeded Ventenat as Director of Joséphine's garden at Malmaison. He was also closely involved with the second of the two great gardens associated with Joséphine, Navarre: the latter became her principal residence after her divorce from Napoleon, and was where she immediately endeavoured to recreate the horticultural splendours of Malmaison. With the waning of Joséphine's power Redouté lost his chief support, and this work brings to a close the great era of Napoleonic book production when all the technical resources available went into documenting and illustrating new and rare species. Redouté contributed 54 of the illustrations, a further nine are by Pancrace Bessa, and one is unsigned.

The Australian plants, including many collected by Baudin, but also with others which date from the earlier d'Entrecasteaux voyage, and a few that had been sent to France from English gardens, are as follows: *Metrosideros Saligna*; *Melaleuca Chlorantha*; *Goodenia Grandiflora*, which is noted to have flowered for the first time in 1809; *Gompholobium Furcellatum*, noting that the first and perhaps only specimen in France is at Malmaison; *Correa Viridiflora*, commenting that this is a new specimen although similar to the *Correa Alba* noted by Ventenat; *Acacia Linifolia*; *Pittosporum Tomentosum*; *Zieria Smithii*, named in honour of the English botanist James Edward Smith; *Tristania Neriifolia*; *Pimelea Linifolia*, with the note that the Aborigines of New Holland use the wood as a 'caustique puissant'; the bottlebrush or *Metrosideros Glauca*, flowering at Malmaison since 1811; *Chorizema Illicifolia*; *Metrosideros Pallida*; *Acacia Subulata*; *Banksia Marcescens*, 'très-rare dans nos jardins'; *Elæocarpus Acuminatu*; *Hovea Celsi*; *Bossiaea Coccinea*; *Duvalia Oxalidifolia*, about which Bonpland surmises, correctly, that this is "probably" from New Holland and collected by Baudin; *Acacia Armata*. One of the loveliest images is of *Eucalyptus Diversiflora*, which is actually drawn by Bessa rather than Redouté: Bonpland's charming note comments that he is waiting "avec impatience" for the botanist who accompanied Matthew Flinders, Robert Brown, to complete his *Flora*, and that 'les Eucalypts offrent une nouvelle richesse au midi de l'Empire.'

Interestingly, this copy of Bonpland has the extra half-title and title for the so-called "Tome Premier", not noted in the usual bibliographies: this is no doubt evidence that Bonpland's original plan was for an even grander work. A fuller listing of the plates is available on request. A substantial study of the gardens at Malmaison with specific reference to Redouté's work has recently been published by Jill, Duchess of Hamilton, as *Napoleon, the Empress and the Artist: The Story of Napoleon and Josephine's Garden at Malmaison; Redouté & the Australian plants* (Sydney, 1999).

Dunthorne, 240; MacPhail, Redoutéana, 13; Nissen BBI, 207; Sitwell and Blunt, 'Great Flower Books', p. 51.





KANGAROOS FROM MALMAISON

19. DESMAREST, Anselme Gaetan. Kanguroos [caption title].

Octavo, 24 pp., original plain paper wrappers with early manuscript title 'A.G. Desmarest sur le Genre Kangaroo'; strengthened with later thick paper spine, an excellent untrimmed copy, a few spots. Paris?, n.p., n.d. but 1817.

Extremely rare: the first separately published monograph on the kangaroo, based on the study of specimens in France including several collected during the Baudin voyage.

The French zoologist Anselme Gaetan Desmarest (1784-1838) describes seven species here, three of which have their first scientific notice. Desmarest wrote the study with access to the specimens collected on the Baudin voyage, many of them alive, in the collections of the Muséum d'histoire naturelle in Paris and the gardens of Malmaison. This is a major scientific monograph deriving directly from the Baudin expedition.

Desmarest was the disciple of Georges Cuvier and Alexandre Brongniart. Desmarest also collaborated closely with Geoffroy Saint-Hilaire, a French zoologist who would become a controversial expert on the platypus, and also with Charles Alexandre Lesueur, naturalist from the Baudin voyage (around the time of the present monograph the two men collaborated on studies of the sea mollusc). The work begins with a brief history of the kangaroo, including notes from Cook's first voyage, and some earlier work by Geoffroy. In passing, Desmarest comments on the kangaroos living in Paris, and notes that the specimens in England are thriving.

The seven species described in detail here are as follows (with Desmarest's own scientific nomenclature, now superseded):

1. Eastern Grey Kangaroo, *Kangurus labiatus*. Two of the live animals are in the Paris menagerie, and many more in Malmaison.
2. Western Grey Kangaroo, *Kangurus fuliginosus*. Newly described from a live specimen collected by Péron. Notes on Ile Decrès (Kangaroo Island) particularly.
3. Red-Necked Wallaby, *Kangurus rufogriseus*. Newly described.
4. "Red-Necked Kangaroo", *Kangurus ruficollis*. Notes on specimens collected by Péron and Lesueur on King Island; Desmarest seems to have been in error, and this apparent new species appears to have actually been a large Red-Necked Wallaby.
5. Tammar Wallaby, *Kangurus eugenii*. Newly described, with notes on Baudin's collection of this species. Desmarest comments are based on his own investigation of the specimen in Paris.
6. Banded Hare-Wallaby, *Kangurus fasciatus*. Described as the smallest and most elegant of the species, with extensive notes based on the western Australian sightings of the animal, including that of Dampier.
7. Brown Dorcopsis (Indonesia), *Kangurus brunii*. Notes that the specimen in Paris was a domesticated specimen brought back from Batavia.

Although there is no colophon or printing detail, it is likely that this work was published in Paris, and the date is effectively confirmed by the text, which comments at one point that the second volume of the official Baudin voyage was published "last year" in 1816. The date is confirmed by the three new species described by Desmarest, all of which date from 1817.

This is an attractive and exceptionally scarce piece: we have traced only two copies listed internationally, at the library of the Natural History Museum in London and at the Staatsbibliothek in Berlin.

KANGUROOS.

KANGUROO, *Kangurus*, Geoffr., Lacép., Dum.; *Jerboa*, Zimmermann; *Didelphis*, Gmel.; *Macropus*, Shaw.; *Halmaturus*, Illiger. Genre de mammifères marsupiaux, infiniment plus rapprochés des rongeurs que des carnassiers, et ainsi caractérisés : six incisives supérieures larges, ordinairement de même longueur (1), aplaties, disposées en fer à cheval et dirigées verticalement; une longue barre sans dents entre ces incisives et les molaires; celles-ci en nombre variable, de trois à cinq (2), selon l'âge, à couronne marquée de collines transverses et poussant d'arrière en avant, comme les molaires des éléphants; deux incisives inférieures, couchées en avant, longues, pointues, correspondant par leur tranchant extérieur, au bord inférieur des six incisives d'en haut; molaires inférieures semblables par leur forme aux supérieures et en même nombre; extrémités très-disproportionnées; pattes antérieures très-courtes, terminées par cinq doigts à peu près égaux, armés d'ongles longs et en gouttière; pattes postérieures très-longues et très-robustes sans pouce, ayant les deux doigts internes très-petits et réunis jusqu'à la base de leurs ongles, ce qui leur donne l'apparence d'un seul doigt

(1) Excepté dans le kanguroo d'Aroë. Voyez cette espèce.

(2) Les plus vieux individus n'en ont que trois.



**CUVIER'S GREAT STUDY OF THE ANIMAL KINGDOM, INCLUDING
AUSTRALIAN INSECTS FROM THE BAUDIN VOYAGE**

20. CUVIER, Baron Georges & Pierre André LATREILLE. *Le Règne Animal distribué d'après son Organisation, pour servir de base à l'histoire naturelle des animaux et d'introduction à l'anatomie comparée.*

Four volumes, octavo, 15 engraved plates by C.-L. Laurillard (some foxing to the plates); a handsome set, with all four half-titles, in contemporary quarter calf over mottled papered boards, gilt, double spine labels in red & green. Paris, Deterville, 1817.

First edition of this germinal work of natural history, with three volumes by Cuvier himself, and the fourth an important study of insects by his friend and colleague Latreille.

Recognised as the father of comparative anatomy, Cuvier published widely throughout his lifetime, but this was his most famous and influential work, and contained the results of all his previous research on the structures of living and fossil animals. It was based upon his vast knowledge of the anatomies of living animals and fossils, and in it he applied Linnæus' system of nomenclature and classification to the whole animal kingdom, in the process establishing his four great classes: vertebrate, molluscous, articulate, and radiated.

Cuvier's work is a benchmark for many reasons, not least for the third volume present here, which is actually the work of Pierre André Latreille, Professor of Entomology at the Paris Museum: Latreille's contribution was not only a significant contribution to his field, but he had earlier been heavily involved in characterising the insects collected on the Baudin voyage to Australia and the Pacific. In the present volume, Latreille sought to update the foundation work of scholars including Fabricius within Cuvier's framework; as a result, Latreille included here many Australian insects including two, the '*Rhipcera*' and the '*Heleus*', noted for the first time.

Cuvier, born in 1769, was invited by Geoffroy Saint-Hilaire to come to Paris in 1795. He took an appointment at the newly-formed Muséum nationale d'histoire naturelle, where he remained until his death from cholera in 1832. He had first publicly canvassed his new quadripartite schema of the animal kingdom in an 1812 presentation to the Academy of Sciences, but it was in this work that he first detailed how this proposed division worked in practice. Here, each of the classes is discussed in a separate volume, with volumes I, II and IV by Cuvier himself; his organizations of fish families in particular 'were so soundly based that they have become orders or suborders in present classification' (DSB).

Throughout his career, Cuvier held to the premise of *Le Règne Animal* that the four branches were fundamentally different, and that any similarities between them were due entirely to common functions rather than common ancestry. He did not believe, that is, that there was any evolutionary adaptation, a stance which put him in open conflict with his contemporaries such as Buffon, Lamarck, and Geoffroy. This led to the famous debate between Cuvier and Geoffroy at the Académie Royale des Sciences in Paris in 1830.

Cuvier's towering position in the French natural sciences should be seen in this catalogue in the context of the very cynical view of him held by Faujas de Saint Fond and we assume shared by Louis de Freycinet (see nos. 60 and 61).

B.M. (Nat. Hist.), I, 410; *Dibner*, 195; *Musgrave*, p. 187; *Nissen*, 1013 (*Zoology*); *Nissen*, 213 (*Ornithology*); *Norman*, 567; *Printing and the Mind of Man*, 276; *Wood*, p. 307.



THE BAUDIN VOYAGE IN THE OFFICIAL GOVERNMENT NEWSPAPER

21. FREYCINET, Henri de. Lengthy account of the Baudin voyage [in] *Gazette National ou Le Moniteur Universel*.

Folded folio sheet, 4pp., laid paper, contemporary tax-stamp and Freycinet archive stamp to top margin of first page; old folds, but very good. Paris, Agasse, Samedi 2 Juillet, 1808.

One of the first public announcements of the accomplishments of the Baudin voyage, written by Henri de Freycinet, Louis' brother and fellow voyager and cartographer.

This is a remarkably well-preserved copy of the French *Gazette Nationale* from 1808, and the Baudin article, occupying almost one-third of the text, is by far the longest single entry in the paper, reflecting contemporary enthusiasm for the French claim to Australia. With lengthy quotes from François Péron's recently published account, Henri de Freycinet here gives a brief but detailed description of the voyage. Interestingly, while the piece is quick to applaud the efforts of earlier sailors such as Cook, Bougainville, La Pérouse and Vancouver, there is also specific mention of the work done by Matthew Flinders, despite the fact that the article also presents a determined assessment of French claims to Terre Napoleon.

The *Gazette Nationale* was founded in Paris in 1789, and was in effect the official journal of the government during the Revolutionary and Napoleonic eras: the publication of the Baudin voyage account here is thus a quasi-official endorsement. In 1811 it became *Le Moniteur Universel*, and remained an influential newspaper for much of the nineteenth century.

Such newspapers particularly from the revolutionary period tend to be increasingly rare on the market, but this example is especially desirable as it was the copy retained in the Freycinet family's own archives (with their stamp).

VIELCH OF THE LYS

22. FREYCINET, Louis de. Autograph letter signed to M. de Vielch, lieutenant de vaisseau.

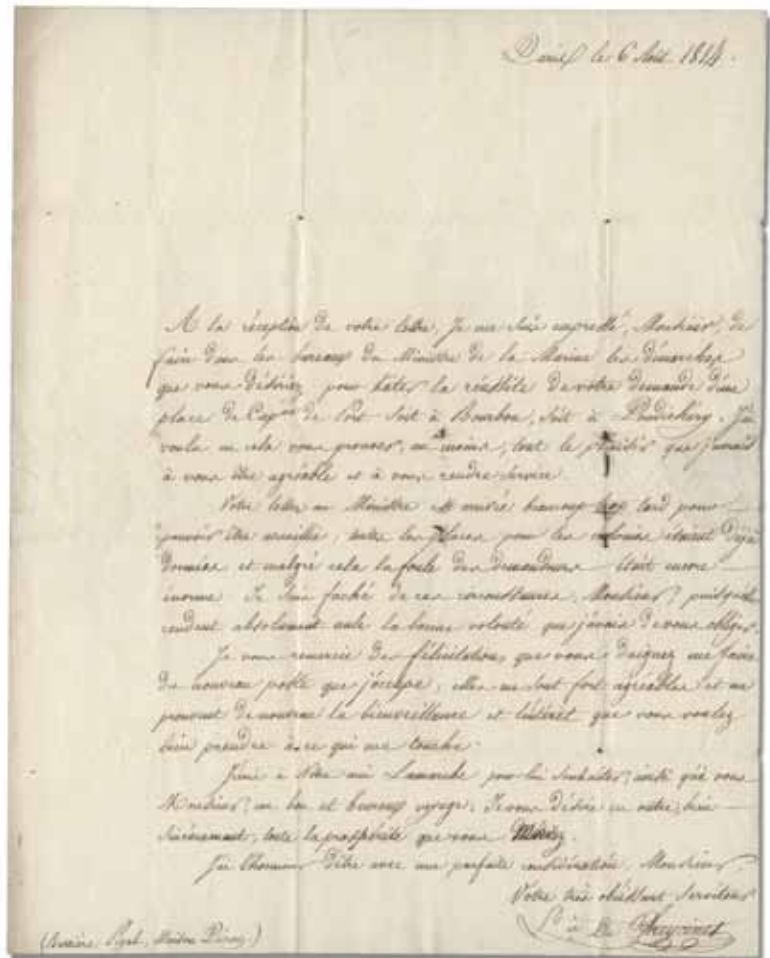
One-page autograph letter, written on a single sheet, folded to letter-size 230 x 185 mm., written and signed to the first page, the fourth page an address panel, others blank; some wear at folds, but very good indeed. Paris, 6 August, 1814.

An interesting letter from Louis de Freycinet to Lieutenant de Vielch of the *Lis* (more properly *Lys*), then anchored at Brest. At the time, Freycinet was living at the house of Madame Pinon, Rose's mother; a note in the bottom corner give his address as "Barrière Pigal, Maison Pinon."

Dated from Paris, where Freycinet was still working on the Baudin voyage account, he details the efforts that have been made by the Ministre de la Marine partly at Freycinet's urging to find Vielch a new position. They have tried to get him the job of "capitaine de port" of either île Bourbon (Réunion) or Pondichery (India), but sadly his formal application arrived too late and all important positions in the colonies had already been filled.

Freycinet thanks Vielch for his congratulations on his new posting, which he finds extremely pleasant. This seemingly refers to the position he held while writing the Baudin voyage account, and it is interesting to see Louis enjoying his status in the years preceding his appointment to the *Uranie*.

The letter wishes Vielch and their mutual friend Lamarche an excellent voyage. Freycinet is referring to the voyage of the *Lys* to the Antilles, which took place shortly afterwards. However just a few weeks earlier the ship had made an important short journey to the British coast, marking the beginning of the Restoration. Previously known as the *Polonais* she had been renamed more appropriately the *Lys* (as in fleur de lys, the traditional symbol of the French monarchy) in order to collect Louis XVIII from exile and bring him back to France. Lamarche would later sail with Freycinet on the *Uranie* voyage, but Vielch does not appear in the crew list for either voyage and must have been know to Freycinet from another source. We can find little trace of him in the historical record.





A FINE SET OF THE NARRATIVE OF THE BAUDIN VOYAGE

23. PERON, François & Louis de FREYCINET. *Voyage de Découvertes aux Terres Australes... Sur les corvettes le Géographe, le Naturaliste, et la goélette le Casuarina, pendant les années 1800, 1801, 1802, 1803 et 1804.*

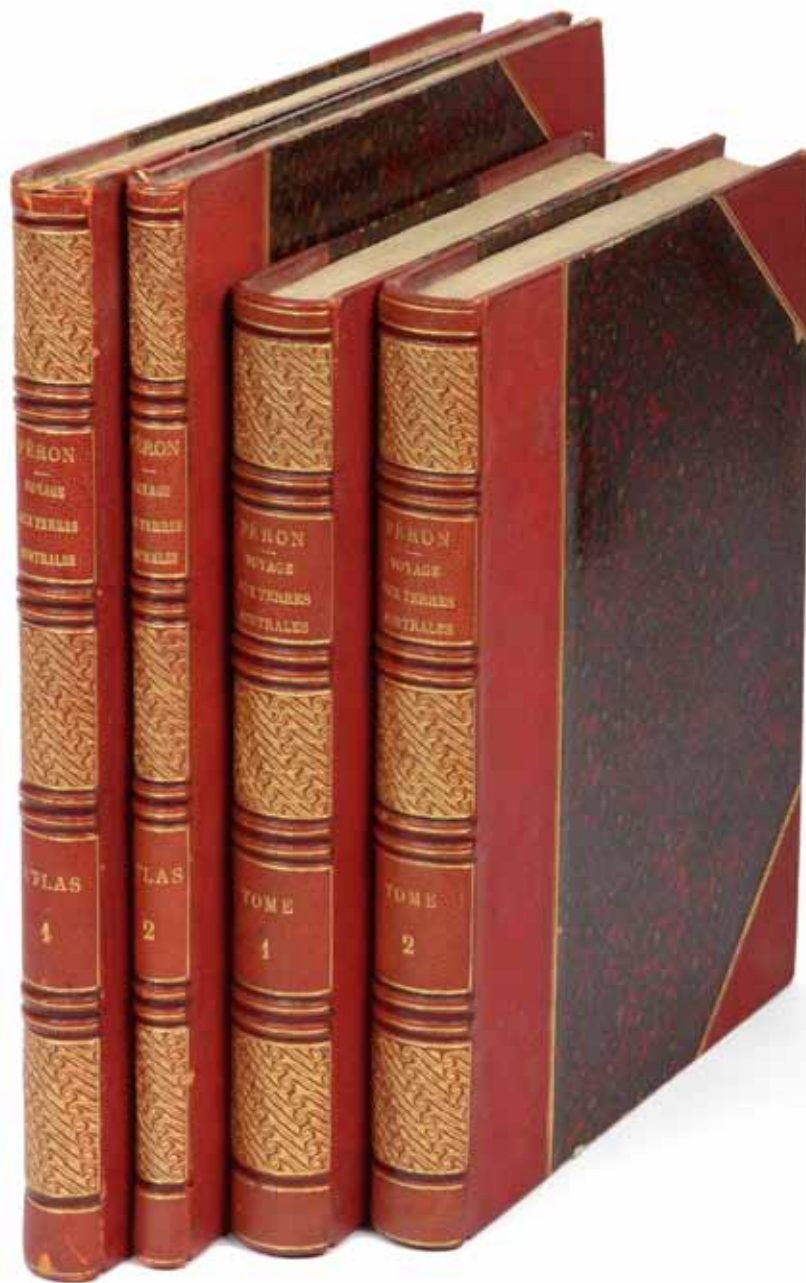
Three volumes bound in four, comprising the two-volume quarto text with portrait frontispiece and two folding tables, and the two-part large quarto atlas containing 40 plates (23 coloured and two folding) and 14 maps (two double-page and folding); the plates in the part 1 atlas numbering from II onwards (as always, since the general map of the Australian continent was moved to the part 2 atlas during the course of publication); a few light spots but a most attractive and large set, the text volumes with particularly generous margins, in half crimson morocco, spines ornately gilt in compartments between raised bands, a handsome French 19th-century binding. Paris, Imprimerie Impériale [Royale], 1807-1816-1807-1811.

First edition. This is a very good example of the form in which the book is usually seen, comprising the full narrative account and the two parts comprising the *Atlas Historique* with its superb coloured plates, and containing the crucial map of the Australian continent.

The narrative of the expedition was begun by Péron, and completed by Freycinet after Péron's death. A tacit agreement between Péron and Freycinet, both of whom disliked Baudin, kept the commander's name mostly absent from the account of the expedition. Flinders completed his survey of the Australian coast before Baudin, but his imprisonment by the French in Mauritius for seven years resulted in the French exploration account being published first. Consequently, the Baudin-Freycinet narrative includes the first complete and fully detailed map of the Australian continent. It is justly one of the most famous depictions of Australia ever produced, with virtually the entire southern coast labelled "Terre Napoleon", indicating French colonial ambitions. The map, controversial even today, is often said to have been at least partly based on Flinders' charts and papers seized by the French. It is one of the most beautiful as well as one of the most famous of all maps of Australia.

For an explanation of the publication of the Baudin voyage account, see our note in appendix 3.

Hill, 1329; Wantrup, 78a & 79a.





SPECIAL SET WITH THE ADDITIONAL PLATES

24. PERON, François & Louis de FREYCINET. *Voyage de Découvertes aux Terres Australes... Sur les corvettes le Géographe, le Naturaliste, et la goélette le Casuarina, pendant les années 1800, 1801, 1802, 1803 et 1804...*

Altogether two volumes quarto, text, and a large quarto atlas; text with portrait frontispiece of Peron and two folding tables; the two-part large quarto atlas bound in one volume, containing 40 plates from the first edition (as always, numbered 2-41, with number 1 not appearing here but subsequently appearing as map 1 in the following map section; 21 of the plates coloured) and 14 maps (two double-page and folding); with an additional 23 plates (see below), seven of them coloured; some foxing throughout but a good sound set in contemporary half green morocco, corners bumped, top and bottom of atlas spine loose, armorial bookplate with motto "l'Espoire m'attire". Paris, Imprimerie Imperiale, 1807-1811-1816-1824.

An unusual and desirable set of the rare and important official account of the Baudin voyage to Australia and the Pacific.

This copy of the official publication of the voyage takes a form which has been described in a few copies but is not often seen. It includes the full narrative account with its accompanying *Atlas Historique*, to which have been added the extra plates published for the second edition (see catalogue number 25 for the second edition). Thus where the atlas would normally contain (as well as its 14 maps) 40 plates, 21 of them coloured, it here has 63 plates of which 30 are coloured.

The 23 plates created especially for the second edition and added to this atlas include a further superb suite of four portraits of named Australian Aborigines, three of the plates being in colour. These are among the best of all the images published for the Baudin voyage. The other images added for the second edition show scenes, objects and people chiefly from Timor, South Africa and Australia.

For a full explanation of the publication of the Baudin voyage account, see appendix 3.

Hill, 1329 (1st edition only); Wantrup, 78a, 79a & 82 (2nd edition).

SECOND EDITION, REVISED AFTER THE URANIE VOYAGE,
WITH NEW PLATES

25. PERON, François & Louis de FREYCINET. *Voyage de Découvertes aux Terres Australes... sur les corvettes le Géographe, le Naturaliste, et la goélette le Casuarina, pendant les années 1800, 1801, 1802, 1803 et 1804.*

Four volumes, octavo, with a frontispiece portrait of Péron; and a folio atlas, containing a double-page map of Australia, seven full-page charts, including fine double-page views (one of Sydney), 27 superb handcoloured engraved plates and 31 uncoloured plates; the Atlas with especially good margins, most leaves uncut at the lower margin; an excellent set with the four text volumes in contemporary French binding of full polished calf, sides bordered and spines panelled in blind and gilt; Atlas in matching half calf and marbled boards. Paris, Arthus Bertrand, 1824.

The significant and rare second edition, extensively altered, of the official account of the Baudin voyage. This revised version of the narrative is notably scarce on the market, rarer than the first by a factor of perhaps ten or more. It is of particular interest and significance for the Australian collector. Among the twenty-three engravings added to this edition are four new portraits of aborigines to extend the beautiful series familiar to us from the first edition. There is also a most important engraved sheet of music, the first notation of any indigenous Australian music and including – wonderfully – a rendering of the Aboriginal cooee call (*Cou-hé*, described as the “*Cri de Ralliement*”).

In its more complete, second edition form the pictorial impact of the *Atlas Historique* is even more apparent than in the original edition.

Many of the exceptional illustrations are by the remarkable artist Charles-Alexandre Lesueur: ‘Lesueur’s scientific work runs parallel to artistic work of great importance. He was at one and the same time draughtsman and painter, naturalist and landscape artist. His talent was recognised in France in his own lifetime, by the award... of the silver medal of the Société des Beaux-Arts...’ (*Baudin in Australian Waters*, p. 26).

The text for this edition was extensively revised by Louis de Freycinet himself after his return from the *Uranie* voyage. His changes from the first edition include an implicit abandonment of French territorial ambitions in Australia: the first edition of the book had included a series of maps of the Australian coastline with French place names, which were quietly dropped from this second edition. The revised smaller map of the continent now has most of its names in English. For more details regarding the Baudin publications see appendix 3.

Davidson, ‘A Book Collector’s Notes’, p. 109; Ferguson, 978 & 979; this edition not in the catalogue of the Hill collection; Wantrup, 82.





THE ONLY CONTEMPORARY ENGLISH EDITION

26. PERON, François. *A Voyage of Discovery to the Southern Hemisphere, performed by order of the Emperor Napoleon, during the Years 1801, 1802, 1803, and 1804.*

Octavo, folding engraved frontispiece and another folding engraved plate; unevenly embrowned, else a very good uncut copy in period-style quarter calf with marbled paper sides. London, Richard Phillips, 1809.

The only edition of any part of the Baudin voyage account to appear in English at the time, produced by the prolific publisher Phillips who specialised in such popular editions. This Baudin account is longer and better illustrated than many of his publications, and of more interest than usual as the only version in English. It is based on the first volume of the Baudin narrative, the volume prepared by Péron and published in 1807. The subsequent volume of narrative by Freycinet did not appear in English until 2003.

A good part of Péron's work covers the expedition's findings on the Australian mainland. There are chapters covering the time spent in Tasmania, with a full account of their contact with the Aborigines. The description of the stay in Sydney includes a wonderful account of the buildings, the story of a visit to Government House and an excellent summary of the natural history and agriculture of the colony.

The two plates are also of some interest, and both are closely based on images in the original French edition. The first is particularly good, depicting an aboriginal group around their hut: the English caption says it is a scene in New South Wales, but the French says "Terre de Diémen" (plate 15). Most interestingly, the enterprising English engraver has added the extra figure at far left, a warrior modelled on the image of the Port Jackson man Norou-gal-derri ready for combat (originally plate 20). The second is a fine view of Sydney Harbour and the entrance to Port Jackson (after plate 37 in the original).

Ferguson, 485; Hill, 1349 (part).

WITH THE EXTRA MATERIAL INCLUDING A BAUDIN SECTION

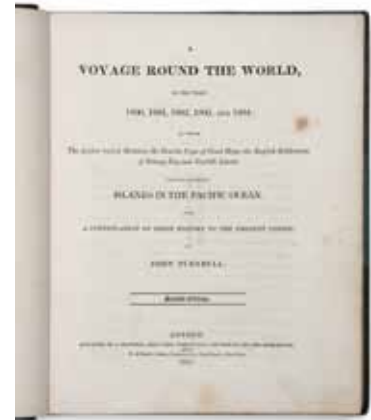
27. TURNBULL, John. *A Voyage Round the World, in the years 1800, 1801, 1802, 1803, and 1804; In which the author visited Madeira, the Brazils, Cape of Good Hope, the English Settlements of Botany Bay and Norfolk Island, and the principal Islands in the Pacific Ocean.*

Quarto; some light spotting throughout; library-stamp (Devon & Exeter Institution) on verso of title; an excellent copy, with the half-title, in half green morocco with raised bands by Sangorski & Sutcliffe. London, A. Maxwell, 1813.

Second and best edition of this important voyage account, including a number of pieces that did not appear in the earlier edition, notably a narrative of Baudin's voyage on the *Géographe* and *Naturaliste*.

Turnbull's book describes a speculative trading voyage into the Pacific: the earlier edition was so much slighter that this second edition is more like a new work. It contains substantial additions to all chapters, revising and expanding each by eight years. As well as the new Baudin section, there is an additional chapter on New South Wales, an account of New Zealand, the destruction of the ship *Boyd* and a description of the Fiji Islands.

Borba de Moraes, p. 871; *Ferguson*, 570; 'Hawaii One Hundred', 16; *Hill*, 1728; *Judd*, 176; *Kroepelien*, 1306; *O'Reilly-Reitman*, 718; *Wantrup*, 52.



LIMITED EDITION

28. PERON, François & Louis de FREYCINET. *Voyage of Discovery to the Southern Lands.*

Two volumes quarto with the accompanying large quarto atlas, completely unbound and boxed as issued; no. 22 of a limited edition of 35. Adelaide, SLSA, 2010.

Limited edition: the first complete edition of the Baudin voyage account published in English, unbound sheets as issued in the original box.

Until this edition was prepared by the Friends of the State Library of South Australia, no single English edition of the full Baudin voyage account had been published. The only contemporary English edition of the voyage to appear was a translation of the first volume only, published by Phillips in 1809 (see catalogue no. 26). It was not until 2003 that Christine Cornell issued a translation of the second text volume, which had been completed by Freycinet after Péron's death. In turn, in 2010, Cornell completed this work, a complete translation of the entire work, based on the text of the revised second edition, first published in 1824.

Attractively presented, the third volume includes handsome facsimiles of the *historique* plates taken from the French first edition, with a new introduction by Sarah Thomas.



**BAUDIN'S SECOND-IN-COMMAND WRITES TO FREYCINET
FOR HIS NEW ATLAS**

29. HAMELIN, Jacques Félix Emmanuel, Baron. Signed letter to Louis de Freycinet requesting a copy of the Baudin voyage atlas.

Single sheet of laid paper with printed letterhead of the Ministère de la Marine, folded to letter size 200 x 130 mm; the letter signed "Hamelin", and with Freycinet's note of receipt at upper left, fine. Paris, 15 October, 1835.

An appealing letter, linking two of the major figures of the Baudin voyage. This letter is from Baudin's second-in-command and the captain of the *Naturaliste*, by now Baron Hamelin, to his old shipmate Louis de Freycinet, requesting a copy of the additional engraved plates prepared for the second edition of the voyage account. Freycinet has annotated the letter by hand to note that on receiving the letter he sent Hamelin a complete copy of the atlas to the second edition, which had been published in 1824.

By 1835 when this letter was written, Jacques Félix Emmanuel, Baron Hamelin (1768-1839) was a decorated French naval officer and veteran of the Napoleonic wars. He was an important officer on the Baudin voyage, in command of the *Naturaliste*, the second vessel in the expedition, a position which meant that he had important duties relating to the mapping and charting of the Australian coast, and also that he was in close contact with Louis de Freycinet throughout the voyage. It was Hamelin who discovered Vlamingh's plate commemorating the landing of Dirk Hartog at Shark Bay, and who took the time to fasten it to a new post: in turn, it was Freycinet, as skipper of his own voyage in 1818, who took the plate back to France and gave it to the Royal Academy of Inscriptions and Belles Lettres.

In 1833 Hamelin was appointed the Director of Marine Cartography, and it is evidently in this role that he wrote to Freycinet here. He asks Freycinet whether it would be possible to have the "additional" 25 plates which he has added to the voyage atlas (Freycinet did indeed include 25 new plates in his second edition of the voyage account). Not only does this suggest the continued close relationship between the two men, Freycinet's habit of formally receipting his letters means that this also includes the important note that he indeed sent a complete second edition of the atlas to Hamelin (*'répondu le dit, et envoyé un exemplaire complet de la 2e. édition du voyage aux Terres Australes'*).

Ministère Paris ce 15 8^{bre} 1835.
de la Marine
et des Colonies.

répondre
dit, et
le
envoyé un exemplaire
complet de la 2^e édition
du Voyage aux terres australes

Monsieur

Y auroit-il de l'indiscrétion à
vous prier de m'envoyer de 25
planches que vous avez ajoutés à
l'Atlas du Voyage aux terres australes,
C'est pour moi personnellement. Si
cette demande peut vous être onéreuse,
déclinez-la et n'en parlez plus!

Adieu à l'Espérance
votre ancien camarade
de fatigue

B^{on} Maudslowi

M^{onsieur} Peysson

Voyage de Découvertes
AUX TERRES AUSTRALES
Carte

Par Ordre de S. M. L'Empereur et Roi

Par le Commandeur en Chef de la Flotte Impériale, le Capitaine de Vaisseau, et le Lieutenant de Vaisseau, les Officiers de la Flotte Impériale, et les Officiers de la Marine Impériale.

Publié par Décret Impérial

SOUS LE MINISTÈRE DE SON EXCELLENCE LE VICE-AMIRAL COMTE DEGRÈS.

Le Vice-Amiral Comte de Grèges, Capitaine de Vaisseau, et le Lieutenant de Vaisseau, les Officiers de la Flotte Impériale, et les Officiers de la Marine Impériale.

PARTIE NAVIGATION ET GÉOGRAPHIE

Rédigée

Par Jean Thérèse

ATLAS



THE RARE HYDROGRAPHY: THE FIRST FULL ATLAS OF AUSTRALIA

30. FREYCINET, Louis de. *Voyage de Decouvertes aux Terres Australes... Partie Navigation et Geographie... Avec un Atlas.*

Quarto text, and folio atlas, the atlas containing 32 finely engraved charts, most of them double-page; a splendid set, both volumes very large with generous margins, completely uncut and unpressed and in original marbled paper boards, a little scuffed; atlas volume respined in cloth at some time, inner hinges strengthened, and quite appropriately patinated with a few spots throughout, original printed paper label on front cover; text volume with later leather label, spine a bit brittle and loose; stored in matching cloth cases with leather labels. Paris, Imprimerie Royale, 1812-1815.

The rarest part of the official account of the Baudin voyage, the hydrographical section of the voyage with its glorious Atlas, the first full atlas of the Australian coastline. Not only is it the distinguished rival of Flinders' more famous (because English) Atlas but it is also the English work's predecessor by several years. It is also worth noting that the text volume here is not merely a compendium of technical data but above all a pilot to the Australian coast, together with a considerable narrative component. Louis' brother Henri specifically referred to this aspect in his unpublished address to the Société de Rochefort (no. 36) when he speaks of it as '*le routier ou guide de la navigation aux terres australes*'.

For a full description of the publication of the Baudin voyage, see appendix 3: in short, most sets of Baudin comprise the historical narrative only. The hydrographical section is rarer than the historical by a factor of perhaps ten or twenty and is seldom seen on the market. When a copy like this does appear for sale it offers an opportunity for the owner of a copy of the historical section to complete the full account of the voyage.

The exceptionally important atlas contains the first complete mapping of the Australian coastline; of the 32 maps it contains, only two do not depict Australian locations. These individual maps are of great consequence, including the justly famous charting of Tasmania and Bass Strait from observations made in 1802-3. Of particular interest, given the debate about English/French place names and priority of discovery, is the remarkable debt that Freycinet acknowledges to previous authority, whatever its nationality – nowhere is this more clearly seen than on the charting of the Tasmanian coast which includes insets of the prior work by Tasman, Marion du Fresne, Furneaux, D'Entrecasteaux, Bass and Flinders.

The text was issued in 1815, but the atlas had been completed three years earlier, in 1812 – fully two years before the publication of Flinders' *Voyage to Terra Australis*, which had been delayed of course by Flinders' capture and imprisonment by the French on Mauritius. The argument rages even today as to how much of Flinders' material may have been purloined by the French, but the most consequential point is that from almost contemporaneous circumnavigations the French were first into print by a very long chalk and the Freycinet maps are accordingly of the greatest importance.

Ferguson, 536 and 603; Wantrup, 80a and 81.



SHINING A LIGHT ON AUSTRALIA

31. FREYCINET, Louis de. Suite of manuscript material relating to the design of the title-page for the Hydrographic Atlas.

Suite of 18 items in total, ranging from letter-press samples, sketches and lettering on tracing paper, fastidious notes on fonts and font-sizes, right through to a full-sized mock-up of the title-page of the atlas of the Freycinet voyage account; all in excellent condition; a full catalogue available. Paris, circa 1811.

A remarkable small archive, comprising the working notes, sketches and samples used by Freycinet to design the title-page of the large-format hydrographic atlas of the Baudin voyage, published in 1812.


This archive shows the extraordinary lengths to which Freycinet went in preparing the atlas, and is a vivid reminder that literally every detail of the final publication was due to his watchful attention. As a result, of all the intriguing aspects of this collection, perhaps none is so moving as Freycinet's elaboration of the vignette for the title-page. As is well known, the hydrographic atlas is one of the most important works of Australian cartography, with 30 of the 32 maps showing the coastline (see catalogue no. 30). Freycinet wanted to make sure that the title-page reflected this achievement, and ultimately chose to include a small vignette of the globe, with a bright star shining its light on the Australian mainland. This archive proves that this sketch was actually Freycinet's own concept and design, as the intermediate version of the title-page present here includes the ink sketch which clearly formed the basis of the final engraved detail. There is, besides, a fragment of tracing paper which has the barest outlines of the sketch; even the large mock-up of the full title-page has a hint of the design visible.

This group notably includes three different stages in the planning of the title-page, all executed by hand in painstaking detail, including a simple manuscript version with font-sizes estimated (this version includes a long title that was not actually used), an ink sketch of the title-page which attempts to delineate it in some detail, and a full-scale mock-up very similar to the design ultimately used. All of the drafts include a date of 1811, suggesting not only that this was when Freycinet was working on the design, but also that he had hoped to be finished sooner; it is easy to imagine the pride with which he carefully wrote out the phrase, as was included in the printed work, "*par Mr Louis Freycinet de Saülce commandant le Casuarina pendant l'expédition.*"

A similarly interesting inclusion is a pen sketch of four timber Malay anchors, that evidently was used in the publication of chart 24, where the anchors are reproduced in a small inset; this chart shows the Australian coastline at Terre de Witt, as well as parts of the southern coast of Timor. As this chart is by Freycinet, it is almost certain that this sketch is also in his own hand.

Otherwise, the different pieces of tracing paper include a group which show elaborate lettering flourishes, several pieces of hand-gridded sheets with attempts at lettering, quite apart from a couple of font samples, including a particularly grand one from Firmin Didot in 1809, and a copy of the printed paper label that ultimately adorned the front board of the printed atlas.

exécute

gravé ordre de S. M. l'Empereur et Roi	1	2 ^e ordre	25
{ Sur les Coûtes de géographie, la Naturaliste, et la Gazette de Casuarina, pendant les années 1801, 1802, 1803 et 1804. }	1	6	3
{ gravé par Décret Impérial, au dépôt général des Cartes et plans de la Marine }	1	4 ^e Ordre	5
Sous le Ministère de Son Excellence le ^{Chef} Grand Amiral Duc, Grand Officier de Grand Grand Grand l'Empire, Inspecteur général des Cotes de la Méditerranée, grand cordon et Chef de la deuxième Cohorte de la légion d'honneur, grand Croix de l'ordre royal et Militaire de S. Charles, ayant le Département de la Marine et des Colonies.	1	3 ^e Ordre	
	1	6	
	1	6	
gravé Navigation et Géographie révisé	1	2 ^e ordre	
	1		
gravé M. Louis Freycinet Capitaine commandant le Casuarina pendant l'expédition	1	5	
	1	7	
Atlas	1	1 ^{er} Ordre	
			
à Paris au Dépôt général des Cartes de la Marine	1		
1811.	1		
(L'écriture)			
(Le sculpteur)			

Dimensions de la limite des titres

Longueur = 0.493

Largeur = 0.313

lettres entières

15 lettres entières	15	0.493
3 3/6 de lettres	2	3
15 entières lettres	15	0
2 intervalles	6	0
	38	3

De Découvertes aux

Navigation & Géographie.

Etat de Situation à l'époque Du trente

Cinquante Général Des frais de gravure & d'impression de

De l'Atlas

gravure de la lettre		gravure des Lettres		tracé des cartes sur le Cuivre		Prix total de chaque Planche	Sommes		Observations
payé	due	payé	due	payé	due	payés	Due		
	52.00					165.85		165.85	Cette planche n'est point encore gravée
80.00	52.00	175.00		700.00		145.61	80.00	174.00	cette carte n'est gravée à la fin pour la partie historique et la partie géographique
101.88						437.81	437.81		cette carte n'est point gravée
88.50						678.01	678.01	678.01	cette carte est terminée
85.52						718.11	718.11		
70.56						960.66	100.00		
54.24						718.11	718.11		la gravure de cette carte est terminée
56.70						626.57	626.57		"
	120.00						40.11	744.00	cette carte est placée sur le Cuivre mais n'est point encore gravée
46.80						590.39	590.39		cette planche est entièrement gravée
									"
25.56						368.11	368.11		"
									cette cartographie à tracer en plan sur le Cuivre, il pourra être utile
									"
104.00						171.59	171.59		cette planche est terminée, mais ce plan n'est point encore gravé
72.58						224.16	224.16	640.00	Cette carte doit appartenir à la partie historique et à celle géographique de voyage
51.90						613.50	613.50		cette carte est terminée
100.62						522.02	522.02		"
77.66						640.74	640.74		"
						1077.22	1077.22		"

IN COMMAND, TO THE LAST DETAIL

32. FREYCINET, Louis de. Manuscript table 'Voyage de Decouvertes aux Terres Australes.'

Very large single sheet 940 x 620 mm., folded in half, manuscript table within ruled borders; old creases, a little frayed at extremities, very good. Paris, 30 January, 1810.

An extraordinary insight into the publication of the first great Australian marine atlas: this substantial sheet, in Freycinet's own hand, is the detailed table he prepared while working on the hydrographic atlas for the official account of the Baudin voyage, with particular notes on the engravers.

Not only testament to Freycinet's legendary involvement with every step of the publishing process, this manuscript also presents an unparalleled insight into the production of this important atlas. For each of the plates, Freycinet has noted the engraver, the price of the copper, the cost of the engraving, any additional costs, the price of the lettering and the scaling, as well as other miscellaneous notes on its production. As a result, the production of the atlas is here revealed in all of its fascinating detail. The famous chart of *Terre Napoléon*, for instance, can now be shown to have been the work of the engraver Tardieu, who was paid 640 francs, while the copper for the plate cost 90.12. The lettering cost a further 134.04, for a grand total of 864.16 (of which 640 was still outstanding at the time Freycinet prepared this table). Freycinet further notes that as this chart was included in both the full hydrographic atlas as well as the smaller atlas, that the estimated price had doubled.

Perhaps the most notable new information presented here is Freycinet's discussion of the many different engravers and technicians who helped him: thus, for example, Freycinet records that Guyot worked on the plates for a fortnight, Khoury for 24 months, Brué for 4 months and 20 days, while Lenoir supplied most of the equipment (is this the same Lenoir who dealt in scientific instruments mentioned elsewhere in Freycinet's correspondence? See catalogue number 37). A particularly intriguing detail is the payment to M. Pichon, who built several pieces of equipment, including a machine for measuring and devising scale, to the design of Freycinet himself: this adds a significant note to what we know about Freycinet's work on scaling and re-scaling his own maps: see catalogue no. 74-76 for instance. It must be such devices that Henri de Freycinet refers to in his discourse to the Société at Rochefort (catalogue number 36) where he acclaims the significance of the new methods brought by his brother to the process of cartography.

The sort of details provided on this sheet have typically been lost, and it is hard to imagine a comparable document existing in relation to any of the other great Pacific voyages of this era. It is surely unique to be able to report, as a result, that the total price of the engravings, including the copper sheets, was 19,463.10 francs, while the other costs in the production of the atlas amounted to 7953.57 francs. This means that the hydrographic atlas, as Freycinet worked out in his typically obsessive detail, was produced at a cost of 27,416 francs and 67 centimes.

THE ROCHEFORT LETTERS: PRESENTING THE FINISHED ACCOUNT

33. FREYCINET, Louis de. Autograph letter signed to Henri de Freycinet.

Three-page autograph letter, on a sheet of laid paper, folded to letter-size 230 x 185 mm, closely written to all four pages; old folds, archive stamp, in excellent condition. Paris, 22 February, 1815.

A warm and intimate letter from Louis de Freycinet to his brother Henri, congratulating him on his recent marriage to Clémentine (née Bézard), but also discussing details of their plan to present one of the first copies of the recently published hydrography of the Baudin voyage to the prestigious Société des Sciences, Belles-Lettres et Arts de Rochefort. This was a major event for the two brothers, a chance to celebrate the finished publication, but also to fiercely contest the English accusations that their work was simply stolen from Matthew Flinders, who had finally published his own atlas in 1814, after years of detention by the French on Mauritius.

As a result, the present letter should be considered as the first of a small suite of five items described consecutively here which relate to the Rochefort presentation. Taken together, they represent a real insight into the two Baudin veterans: Henri, after all, was the elder brother, and the more senior officer, serving on the *Géographe*. At the time of writing Henri was living in Rochefort, a major sea-port on the Atlantic coast, just south of La Rochelle, which is why this letter and the four following items in the catalogue represent an exciting opportunity to follow this presentation in exceptional detail, and indeed to get a real insight into Freycinet's emotions regarding his work on the Baudin account and its reception.

Written in the friendly and open style that characterises their correspondence, Louis here offers the congratulations of both him and “*ma chère Rose*” on the marriage, while apologising profusely for the lateness of his felicitations. Despite being two years younger than Henri, Louis also indulges in some genuinely charming pontification on the blessings of marriage, writing that it is with a marriage of love, well combined with feelings of virtue and reason, that one gains true happiness: you are blessed, dear brother, he writes, to have a wife that you love and esteem. Showing a streak of pragmatism, Louis also writes that Henri is lucky to be aligned with such a family, particularly his father-in-law Captain Bézard.

This letter provides the first significant details regarding Louis' plan to present his newly published account of the Baudin voyage to the Société de Rochefort, an important group modelled on similar societies in Paris: evidently proud of the distinction, Louis would later include his position as “correspondent” to Rochefort on the title-page of the account of his own voyage. In the postscript here, Louis comments that he is arranging to send two copies of the Baudin atlas to Henri, as well as a letter to be presented to the Société.

It is in this postscript that he also makes the interesting remark that their friends [Joseph] Ransonnet and [Charles-Alexandre] Lesueur send their compliments to Henri: both of these men were on the Baudin voyage, marking this letter as a testament to the close contacts they kept up, even ten years after their return. St. Cricq, also on the voyage, is now at Lorient. The letter concludes with a note praising the work of [Adrien] Brué in preparing some of the grand maps, which have exceeded even Louis's expectations; no small praise, given his famous attention to detail. Brué did some work on the Baudin maps, but at this date it is more likely that Louis refers to the great Pacific charts then being issued in the large hydrographical atlas (see also Louis' details of Brué's work in his Table, catalogue number 32).

reproduitement ou d'accusation; Je sais ce que tu veux et ce que tu
penses, et si je désire de tes lettres, c'est seulement pour connaître
mieux et ce qui t'arrive et ce qui t'intéresse.

J'ai annoncé à nos bons parents, Barrillon, Vallantin et Béruges
la Nouvelle de ton mariage; les uns et les autres en ont été fort
satisfaits, et vont charger de t'en faire leur compliment, en t'affirmant
de leur affectueuse amitié.

Je joins ici, mon ami, un mot de lettre pour ta femme; en le lui
remettant dis lui bien, je t'en prie, qu'elle partagera désormais avec toi
la tendresse que je te porte: Je ne puis pas aimer mieux.

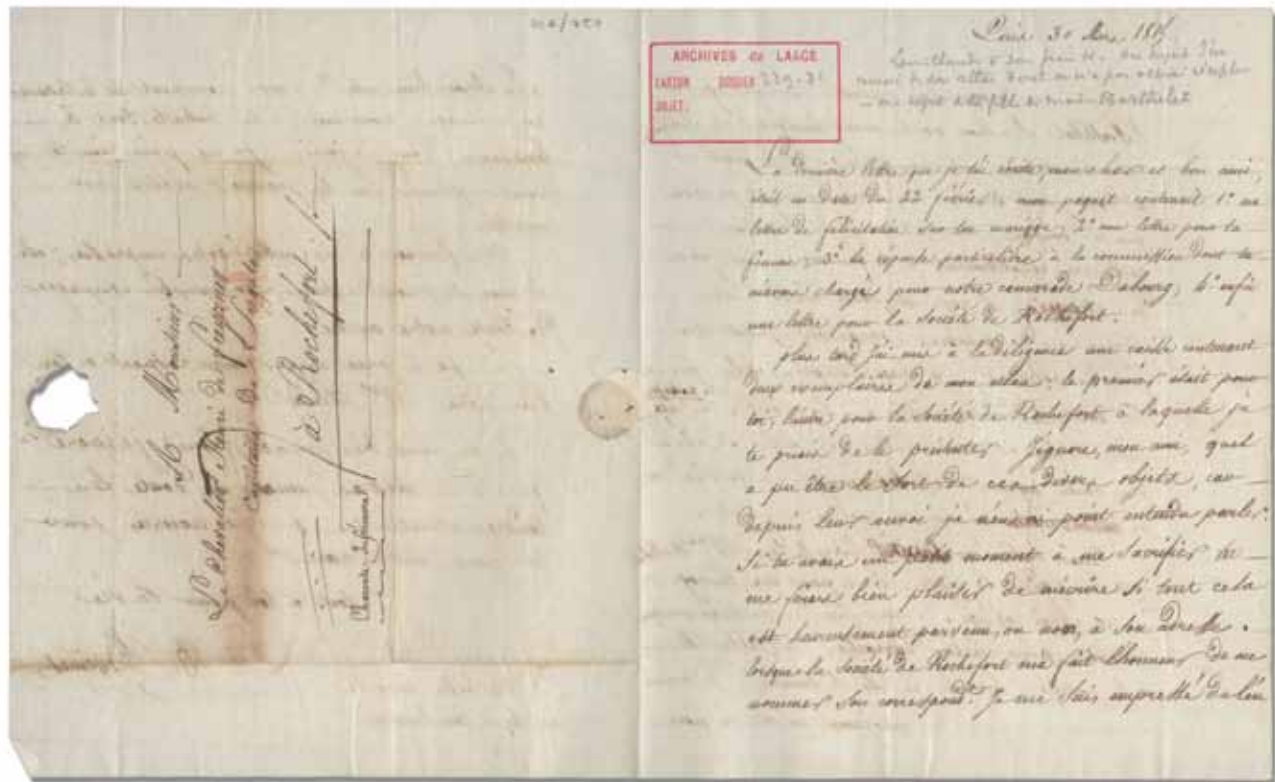
veuille bien être mon interprète auprès de la famille Bérard et
particulièrement auprès de ton beau père dont je désire beaucoup
faire la connaissance.

ma femme me charge de te faire agréer ses amitiés ainsi qu'à ton
aimable épouse, quelle affectionne déjà comme sa propre sœur.

Adieu, mon bien cher frère, aime moi toujours et reçois la
vive assurance de mon attachement le plus inviolable. Je t'embrasse
de tout mon cœur et suis pour la vie, tout à toi.

Th. De Procyne

P. Depuis long-temps j'ai emballé et mis à ton adresse deux exemplaires
de mon atlas; l'un des deux est pour toi; l'autre pour la Société de Procyne.
Je vais mettre la caisse qui les contient à la diligence et j'espère que tu la
recevras sous peu. tu trouveras ci-joint une lettre p. cette même Société de
Procyne; je te prie de la cacheter et de la faire remettre à son adresse au
même temps que l'atlas.



**ROCHEFORT: LOUIS APPOINTS HENRI TO PRESENT
THE BAUDIN ACCOUNT**

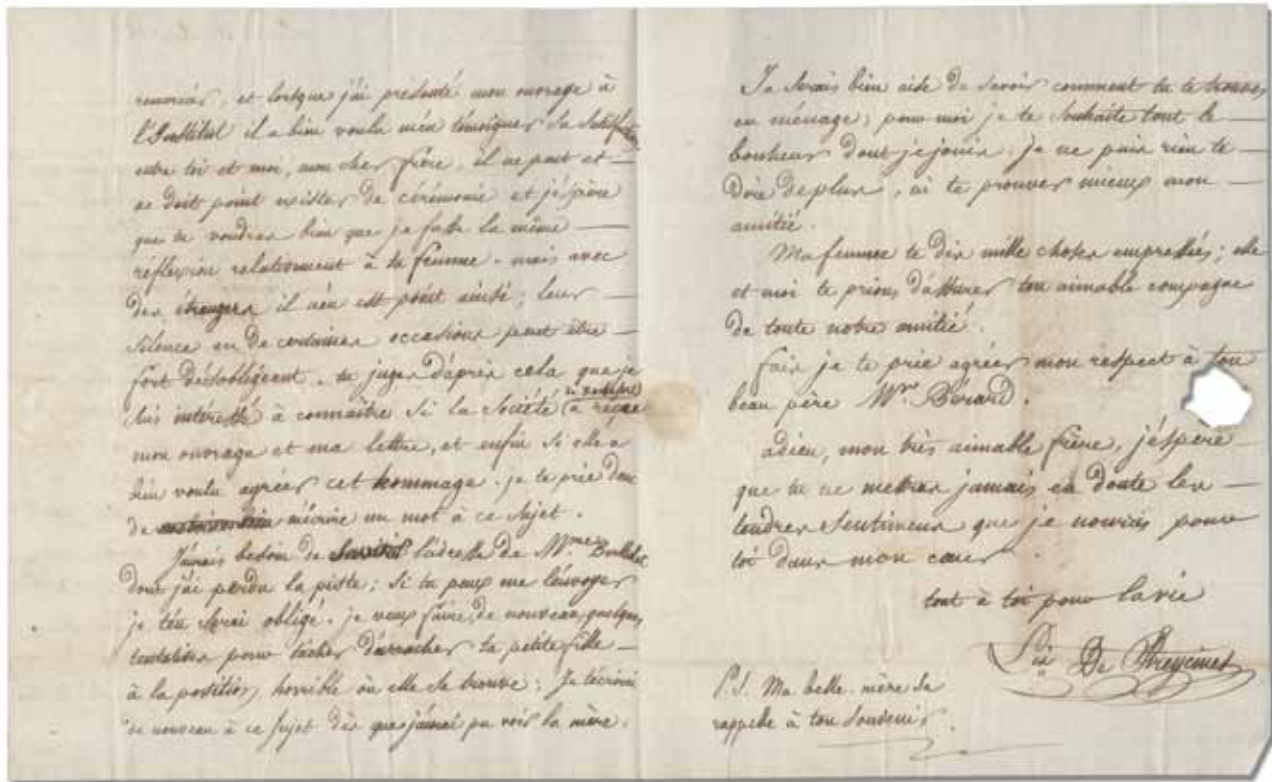
34. FREYCINET, Louis de. Autograph letter signed to Henri de Freycinet.

Three-page autograph letter, on a sheet of laid paper, folded to letter-size 195 x 160 mm.; old folds, archive stamp, a little browning and a small tear with loss at the original seal, but otherwise excellent. Paris, 30 March, 1815.

The significant follow-up letter from Louis de Freycinet to his brother Henri regarding the presentation of the Baudin voyage account, in which he displays endearing nervousness about how it will be received.

At the time of writing, Louis was in Paris, and unable to complete the formal presentation of his work on the Baudin voyage to the very grand Société des Sciences, Belles-Lettres et Arts de Rochefort, as he greatly desired to do. As a result, and as this group of items in the catalogue show in detail, he asked his brother, a fellow veteran of the voyage then based in Rochefort, to do the honours on his behalf.

The letter provides good evidence of the friendly relations between the two siblings, with Louis chasing Henri up about the various instructions he has given him. His last communication (22 February – see previous item), Louis announces, was in four parts: there was his letter of



congratulations on Henri's marriage, a letter to Henri's new wife, Clémentine, a response to the commission given to him by Henri's comrade Dubourg (details not clear), and, critically, a letter for the Société at Rochefort.

As Freycinet writes here, he had been asked by the officials at Rochefort to become a corresponding member; he hurried to send his acceptance, and to present his work to them. He doesn't need to remind Henri that there are no secrets between them – his new wife included – and that they can say anything to each other; but with strangers it's a different case and it's frankly very irritating to get no response back from the Société and therefore not to know what sort of reaction his work has got. It was not thus with the Institut (in Paris) who were quick to let him know how pleased they were with the work. So he needs to ask Henri to find out whether the Société has indeed received his work and his letter.

Louis points out that as mentioned in his previous letter he had in fact sent two copies of the atlas, one for Henri himself, and the second for Rochefort, but has not heard from Henri whether they have arrived: clearly anxious, Louis begs Henri to sacrifice a few moments and confirm that he has received them.

The letter closes with pleasant remarks about family and acquaintances – Rose sends Henri one thousand embraces – as well as Louis' assurances of his best regards, before he signs with his typical flourish.

M. Népoux les Membres composant la Société des Sciences, belles lettres et arts de Rochefort

M. Népoux,

Je t'honneur de vous adresser un exemplaire de l'Atlas de Voyage de Dumont d'Urville. Ce voyage qui n'est publié qu'après l'avis de la commission, en 1828, ne comprend qu'une partie des travaux que le Capitaine de Rochefort et le Ministre de la Marine ont voulu publier pour la publication des observations Nautiques et Géographiques recueillies pendant le Voyage. Les autres Atlas ont été publiés par son ordre.

Il sera, M. Népoux, que ce grand ouvrage de nos Voyages nous présente d'un coup d'oeil un système complet d'observations et qu'il nous présente à plusieurs égards le plus grand ouvrage que nous ayons eu jusqu'à présent.

Je t'honneur d'être, avec une haute estime, votre dévoué,

M. Népoux

Votre très humble et très dévoué serviteur

Signé L. de Freycinet

Par Copie Conforme

Le Capitaine de Rochefort

Rochefort le 20 février 1831

Le Capitaine de Régate Henri de Freycinet à la Société des Sciences, belles lettres et arts de Rochefort

M. Népoux

Vous m'avez honoré, M. le Capitaine Henri de Freycinet, non seulement de votre confiance en me choisissant pour collaborateur à la partie Nautique de l'Atlas de nos Voyages, mais encore de votre intérêt pour le travail géographique que le Gouvernement vous a confié. Ce travail est d'une grande importance et vous m'avez honoré de votre confiance en me choisissant pour collaborateur à la partie Nautique de l'Atlas de nos Voyages.

Mais je suis de la manière que vous m'avez honoré de votre confiance en me choisissant pour collaborateur à la partie Nautique de l'Atlas de nos Voyages. Mais je suis de la manière que vous m'avez honoré de votre confiance en me choisissant pour collaborateur à la partie Nautique de l'Atlas de nos Voyages.

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Je m'occupe de ce travail avec toute l'attention que vous m'avez honoré de votre confiance en me choisissant pour collaborateur à la partie Nautique de l'Atlas de nos Voyages. Mais je suis de la manière que vous m'avez honoré de votre confiance en me choisissant pour collaborateur à la partie Nautique de l'Atlas de nos Voyages.

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Rochefort le 10 Mars 1831

Signé Louis de Freycinet

Par Copie Conforme

Le Capitaine de Rochefort

ROCHEFORT: LOUIS AND HENRI'S PRESENTATION ADDRESS

35. FREYCINET, Louis de & Henri de FREYCINET. Manuscript presentation address to the Société des Sciences, Belles-Lettres et Arts de Rochefort.

Three separate manuscripts, comprising two drafts and a signed and countersigned document recording the presentation of the Baudin voyage account to the Société of Rochefort; first draft on laid paper measuring 310 x 200 mm., heavily corrected manuscript; second draft on laid paper, 310 x 405 mm., folded, scorch mark with loss of a few words; final presentation document, 497 x 390 mm., laid paper with watermark of star and letters "GA", manuscript to one side within ruled border, signatures of dignitaries; in fine condition. Rochefort, 23 February & 10 March, 1815.

An exceptional suite of documents: in a finely-lettered address, Louis de Freycinet here presents the very first copy of his newly published account of the Baudin voyage to the Société des Sciences, Belles-Lettres et Arts de Rochefort. The same document includes the text of an extended address by Louis' brother Henri de Freycinet, in which he seeks to refute the accusations that the French had stolen the work of Matthew Flinders. This large and handsome manuscript is accompanied by two earlier drafts by Henri of his address, both written in his unmistakable left-slanted hand: the first is his sketchy notes for his address, the second a full draft, both with corrections throughout.

The finished presentation document, formal and legible in a stylish hand, is headed '*A Messieurs les Membres composant la Société des Sciences, Belles-Lettres et Arts de Rochefort*'. In the first section, Louis de Freycinet explains how proud he is to present a copy of his hydrographical Atlas. He notes that he is presenting along with the Atlas the first volume of the account of the voyage (the second volume would not be completed until 1816). Freycinet's presentation is acknowledged with the signature of the President and the Secretary of the Société, who also sign the following section to confirm that these are true copies of the proceedings.

The actual presentation was made by Louis' brother Henri de Freycinet, another veteran of the Baudin voyage. The larger part of the document is the text of his address. The accusations of the English, Henri writes, are an insult to French "*amour propre*", especially as the French are always careful to render praise to the efforts of English navigators, rather than belittle them because of petty rivalry. Henri writes in quite incendiary language about the imputations being levelled against their honour by 'those who would belittle our Navy and our national glory' and the whole question of prior claims 'at a time when the exploration of the coasts of the southern continent was being carried out by ourselves'. He goes on to complain that 'they seek to contest all our priority of discovery, all rights to naming lands either newly discovered, or at least those that we were the first to make known to Europe' ('*On a voulu nous contester toute priorité de découvertes...*'). The accusations, he notes, are odious and ridiculous, and will be judged as such by the public. In this context one might reflect on the irony of what Matthew Flinders was doing in 1812: he was of course completing the great atlas of his Australian circumnavigation, which would not appear in print until shortly before his death in 1814; had he not spent seven years imprisoned by the French on Mauritius it would have been published much sooner, putting questions of priority of publication beyond doubt.

Henri then discusses whether it is simply being the first to visit a land that establishes rights, or whether it is the genuine scientific expedition which does so. His example, interestingly, is that of the dispute between the priority of Vancouver and La Pérouse on the north-west coast of America. He follows this by affirming that the south-west coast of New Holland offers the French the same glorious opportunities as the American coast has afforded the English.

Henri seeks to defend his brother against the slanderous suggestion that he might have copied his charts from the work of the "*Anglais*", making this a revealing document in the fractured history of the two countries in the year of Waterloo. He refutes malevolent suggestions on this subject as 'we would like to believe that a careful comparison between [French work] and the work of the English, in that part of the world with which we are concerned, would put beyond doubt any idea of copy or imitation'. In the spirit of irony already entertained, we might allow ourselves to enjoy his disingenuous argument that if two nations happen to map discoveries made in common in an exactly identical manner, why should one conclude anything other than the perfection of their nautical techniques.

ROCHEFORT: MAPPING AUSTRALIA & THE DEBT TO COOK AND FLINDERS

36. FREYCINET, Henri de. Lengthy narrative account of the Baudin voyage in manuscript.

Two large sheets of laid paper, 380 x 510 mm., each sheet folded to folio, in total seven-and-a-half pages of closely-written manuscript, corrections and marginal annotations throughout; old folds but evidently never bound, in excellent condition. Rochefort?, not dated, but 1815.

An extraordinary unpublished original account of the Baudin voyage by Henri de Freycinet, written out for him, but with occasional notes in his laborious hand (he had lost his right arm in battle with the British in 1806). Henri, himself a veteran of the Baudin voyage on which he served aboard the *Géographe*, offers this lengthy abstract of the entire voyage as the central part of the official presentation of the Atlas of the Baudin voyage to the Société de Rochefort.

Almost the entire manuscript relates to the charting of Nouvelle Hollande, the land of “new discoveries” and “paradoxes” (*‘dobjets que de faits nouveaux, et pour ainsi dire, autant de paradoxes en phisique’*).

Henri de Freycinet praises his brother’s work, and demonstrates how he has brought new method and techniques to the business of nautical mapping. It may well be that his atlas has slight interest for the general public for whom a narrative text is much more lively. But to sailors and geographers and those who know, in representing ‘*le routier ou guide de la navigation aux terres australes*’ it has thoroughly fulfilled its end. Nothing has been missed out, no document neglected, to complete the descriptions of places and seas, principal harbours, prevailing winds, currents, tides, variation and declination of the compass.

Running to some 3500 words, this is a really substantial text. A very full preamble acknowledges the expedition’s great predecessors Cook and Bougainville. A great milestone has been passed, as apart from a few islands or archipelagos of slight importance, nothing major now remains to be discovered (*‘on pourrait assurer qu’il ne reste plus rien à découvrir sur notre planette’*). However the work that does remain to be done is the exact mapping of long sections of coastline which the earlier navigators merely touched on; it is this sort of work for which nautical science has had to reinvent itself, and which has characterised the more recent voyages of La Pérouse, Vancouver and D’Entrecasteaux.

The chief focus of attention has become the “fifth part of the world”, discovered some two centuries earlier by the Dutch. Early reports of “*la nouvelle Hollande*”, including those made by Dampier, were scattered and confused. Not until Captain Cook was the full attention of the world fixed on the continent as a result of his exploration of the coast of “*la nouvelle-galles du sud*”. It took the English little time to see the possibilities of establishing a colony on the east coast, and not much time either to achieve it in practice. It fell to France to add more knowledge of the distant land to satisfy ‘*l’avidité de l’Europe savante*’: for which they sent out two expeditions, those of La Pérouse and D’Entrecasteaux. The first has perished (*‘la première y périt sans doute...’*) but the second has vastly enriched scientific knowledge and the high interest with which its results were greeted prompted the Institut de France to undertake ‘a new enterprise consecrated in its entirety to the reconnaissance of the Austral Continent and the numerous islands which surround it’.

This is the preamble. Then follows a lengthy account of the main parts of the voyage itself, presented in narrative form but focussing on the geographical and hydrographical point of view. Little time is wasted on the voyage out: the description proper begins at Cape Leeuwin and concentrates at length on western Australia – making Cape Leeuwin, the reconnaissance of Vlamingh’s Swan River (*‘Cygnes de Vlamming’*), Rottneest Island, the establishment of the observatory at Shark Bay, the mapping of the Terre d’Endracht and Terre de Witt coasts – and then on to Tasmania, Bass Strait, Western Port and the Victorian and subsequently the South Australian coasts. There are notes on the outbreak of scurvy on the *Géographe*, and on the work done by Hamelin on the *Naturaliste* after their temporary separation in Bass Strait. There are, besides, notes on how the two vessels wintered in Port Jackson in 1802, and the decision to send a huge quantity of their natural history specimens to France on the smaller *Casuarina*. An interesting note relates to the contested mapping of Bass Strait, commenting at one point on ‘Mr. le Capitaine Flinders’ and his 1798 voyage in the region, but nonetheless writing assuredly that the exactness of the French survey of the region is unparalleled.

doit, en quelque sorte, une création nouvelle et qui a successivement illustré les expéditions de La Pérouse, de Vancouver et de Boncompagni. D'ailleurs quels qu'aient été le zèle et les talents des navigateurs modernes quelle qu'ait été pour nous l'heureuse influence de leurs recherches, on ne saurait disconvenir que le domaine des sciences ne puisse s'accroître indéfiniment par les soins de leurs successeurs, et que notre industrie sociale n'y puisse trouver encore de nouveaux objets d'utilité ou d'agrément.

Depuis quelques années les savans ont avec raison porté leurs regards sur cette île immense ou plutôt sur cette cinquième partie du monde découverte depuis environ deux siècles par les Hollandais; sur ce pays où toutes les productions et jusqu'à la nature du sol présentent autant d'objets que de faits nouveaux, et par suite dire, autant de paradoxes en physique. On a senti que l'importance de ces contées sauvages avait été méconnue trop longtemps; car il fut l'un des premiers navigateurs qui parcoururent les côtes du nord et du sud de la nouvelle Hollande ne nous en transpirent que des notions vagues et ce ne fut qu'en 1791 que l'expédition de Dampier nous fit savoir que l'archipel de l'Europe commença à se révéler. Mais il appartenait au capitaine Cook de porter à cet égard l'opinion du monde; et ce fut lui qui de sa reconnaissance à jamais mémorable de la nouvelle-galles du sud. Dès lors l'Angleterre s'empêcha de ne pas établir un établissement sur ces plages certaines pouvait offrir d'utilité à l'extension de son commerce; et par conséquent lui offrait pour accroître et étendre le plan d'une colonie aussi importante dans son objet qu'étendue et recommandable dans les privilèges qui la régissent.

Une circonstance si favorable méritait nos soins à portée de satisfaire l'avidité curieuse de l'Europe savante, et cette gloire fut d'abord exclusivement réservée de par de puissans efforts la France ne fut venue la partager avec elle. Deux expéditions célèbres celle de La Pérouse et celle de Boncompagni furent chargées de visiter ce pays extraordinaire. La première y périt sans doute; mais les sciences s'enrichirent de tous les travaux de la seconde; et l'haut intérêt qu'ils comportent fut d'autant plus personnel à l'intérêt de France une entreprise nouvelle fondée toute entière à la reconnaissance et des faits nombreux qui s'y rattachent.

Le Gouvernement s'occupant de ce projet vaste et génieux, et par son ordre les doctes le géographe et le Naturaliste furent envoyés pour la nouvelle-Hollande dans le courant de l'année 1800.

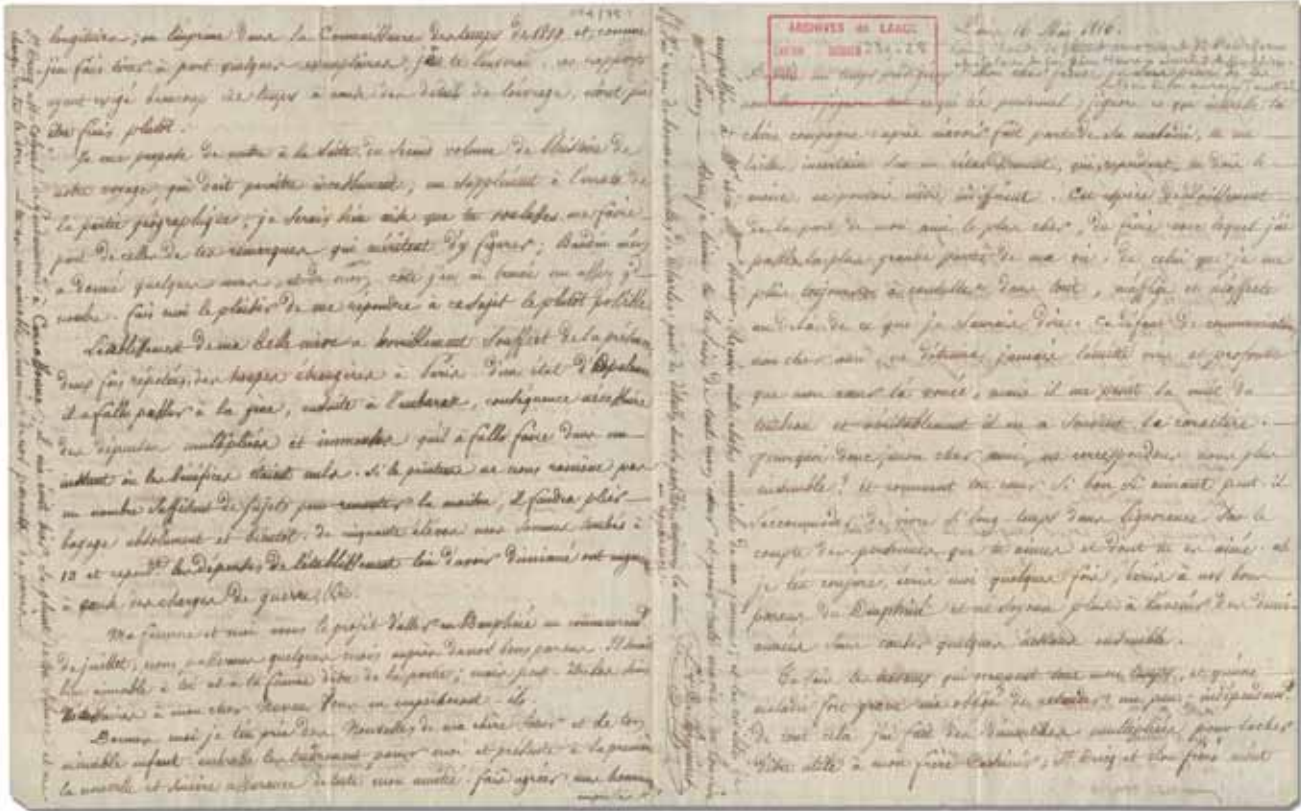
C'est du travail géographique de ce dernier voyage que nous allons parler, nous donnerons une notice succincte; et d'abord nous rappellerons le charme qui répandit sur cette matière. Il est évident que M. Peron a consacré trop important, rétracté de la partie historique; nous regrettons avec les amis des sciences qu'une main pieuse n'ait empêché de mettre la dernière main à son ouvrage, et surtout de nous faire connaître autrement que par une éphémère et d'incertaines recherches en zoologie et dans les diverses branches de la physique.

¹ Capitaine

² Du continent austral

Dans le

de



ROCHEFORT: DEFENDING THE REPUTATION OF THE BAUDIN CONTRIBUTORS

37. FREYCINET, Louis de. Important autograph letter signed to Henri de Freycinet regarding his dismay at criticisms of the work of his fellow officers.

Four-page autograph letter on a sheet of laid paper, folded to letter-size 230 x 185 mm., closely written to all four pages; old folds, archive stamp, in excellent condition. Paris, 16 May, 1816.

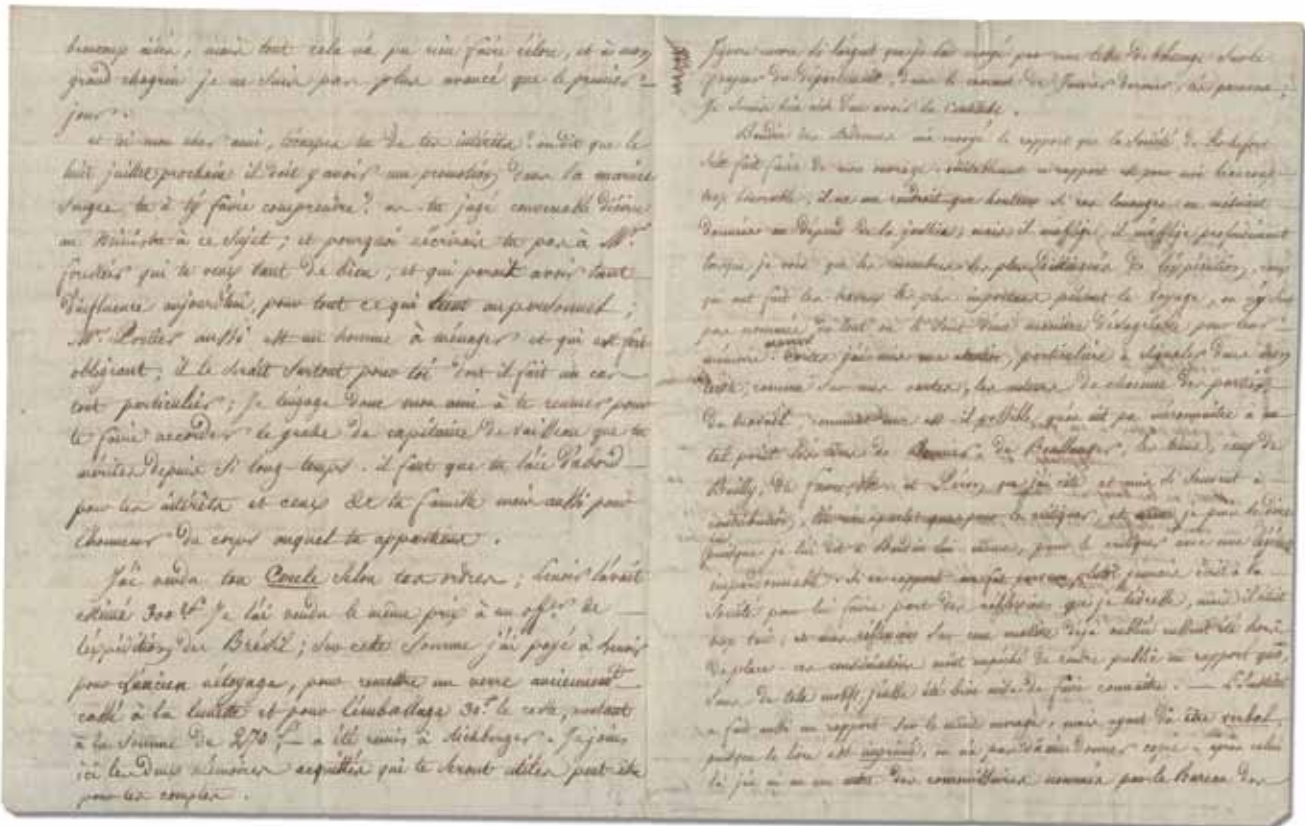
A significant letter from Louis to his brother Henri, in which he comments proudly on the reports he has heard about the presentation of his work at Rochefort, but reflects bitterly on the way in which the efforts of his fellows, notably his co-author Péron himself, have been overlooked and ignored.

The letter opens with serious chiding from Louis at the lack of communication from Henri whose silence has utterly depressed his brother (*'il me peint la nuit du tombeau et véritablement il en a souvent le caractère'*).

Henri knows the work that is taking all Louis' time; he has been seriously sick which has slowed him down; he has had to help out their brother Casimir; his work despite all the effort has barely advanced. Henri must concentrate more effort on his promotion: there will be a general advancement on 8 July and he must call in favours from those who have influence to get the *capitaine de vaisseau* rank that he deserves – on his own account, but also for the honour of the family.

There is some typically detailed accounting of a few transactions including the sale of an astronomical instrument for Henri, sold on the valuation of the specialist Lenoir for 300 francs to an officer about to depart on the expedition to Brazil (this would have been the Maximilian zu Wied-Neuwied expedition, which included a number of French personnel).

The import of the rest of the letter is serious and contains Louis' rebuttal of some initial



reactions to his work. Proud of his achievement and flattered by the respect with which it has been greeted, he is however deeply disappointed (*'m'âfflige profondément'*) that the work of his fellows may have been slighted, as he had been informed in an otherwise complimentary letter written from Rochefort, accompanied by the Society's report, by his old friend "Baudin des Ardennes" (that is, Charles Baudin, who as a young man sailed on the *Naturaliste* but was no relation to his namesake Nicolas Baudin). Freycinet is angry at the suggestion that he has underplayed the distinguished contributions of Baudin veterans such as Pierre-François Bernier (astronomer), Charles Pierre Boullanger (cartographer), Joseph Charles Bailly (scientist), and even François Péron and Henri himself; Louis stresses that he went to great lengths to ensure that all the names that deserved recognition received it either in the text or on the maps. Where is the recognition they deserve? The Institute have made a verbal report, but what use is a verbal report on a printed text? Accordingly he has had it printed in the astronomical almanac *Connaissance des temps* and has had a few offprints made (*'on l'imprime dans la Connaissance des temps de 1819 et, comme j'en fais tirer à part quelques exemplaires, j'en te l'enverrai. Ces rapports ayant exigé beaucoup de temps à cause des détails de l'ouvrage, n'ont pu être finis plutôt.'*)

Louis plans to add to the imminent second volume of the voyage narrative a supplement to the errata of the hydrographical section identifying some of the contributors and their contributions. For example, which of Henri's remarks would he like to see identified? (In fact this supplement never materialised, though Freycinet did make some adjustments when he came to publish the second edition in 1824.)

He finishes with news of family and friends: his mother-in-law Mme Pinon's educational establishment in Paris is going through hard times, with only 13 students current compared with the former 50. If they continue running at a loss they will have to pack up. Louis and Rose are thinking of going to the Dauphiné for a few months; Henri and family should join them. St. Cricq (an ensign on the Baudin voyage and a mutual friend) has become colonel of the Carcassonne gendarmerie. He too complains of Henri's silence.

SYDNEY AS BAUDIN WOULD HAVE KNOWN IT

38. DAYES, Edward. *View of Sydney Cove, New South Wales.*

Hand-coloured aquatint, 435 x 605 mm., a good example, complete with caption, in an old frame. London, F. Jukes, 10 April, 1804.

A fine early view of Sydney at around the time of the Baudin visit: Baudin's ships anchored in Sydney Cove, and their camp was set up on Bennelong Point, to the left of the present image. Dayes' view is just the second view of Australia to have been separately published, and the earliest depiction of boat-building in the infant colony.

The few large separately-issued early Australian views are all of great rarity, and this magnificent coloured aquatint engraving is a particularly good example of this famous image with excellent original colouring.

Edward Dayes, the English artist of this fine aquatint, had earlier links with Australia. He had worked on sketches by the convict artist Thomas Watling which were published in David Collins's *An Account of the English Colony in New South Wales* (London, 1798) and on engravings published in John Hunter's *An Historical Journal of the Transactions at Port Jackson and Norfolk Island* (London, 1793).

The caption to the engraving reads "From an Original Picture in the possession of Isaac Clementson Esq. Drawn by E. Dayes from a Picture painted at the Colony. Engraved by F. Jukes, London, Published April 10, 1804 by F. Jukes, No. 10 Howland St." The original picture referred to here, now lost, was presumably a painting done in the colony by Thomas Watling.

The Government Dock Yard, established by John Hunter, shows the frame of Governor Hunter's brig 'Portland' partly finished; her frame had been laid down in 1797, but as Governor King noted in 'Return of Government Shipping', 9th November 1802, five years later she was still "in Frame, no shipwrights to work on her".

First Views of Australia, plates 54 and 55.



YOUNG TASMANIAN MAN FROM BRUNY ISLAND

39. PETIT, Nicolas-Martin. *Terre de Diémen. Ouriaga.*

Engraved print measuring 320 x 240 mm., fine original hand-colouring; a few spots of very light foxing yet in fine condition, framed. Paris, circa 1807.

A beautiful hand-coloured portrait of the young man Ouriaga, probably first sketched by Petit during the visit to Partridge Island, off the south-east Tasmanian coast, on 14 January 1802. The original description simply notes that he was a young man from the Bruny Island region.

Petit's portraits represent the most compassionate yet honest portrayal of indigenous persons to be seen in any of the early voyage accounts. Regarding the Tasmanian portraits in particular Andrew Sayers has noted that they were 'sensitive portraits of individuals' which show 'a determination to record the details of coiffure and cicatrisation,' producing a 'truth unusual in the depiction of Australia's indigenous people in the early nineteenth century' (Sayers, *Australian Art*, p. 28). Certainly this portrait of Ouriaga is a valuable ethnographic record, showing the young man's hair ornamented with red ochre, a kangaroo skin covering wrapped over the shoulder and a repeated pattern of cicatrices on his arms. Baudin commented on the tremendous resilience of the Bruny Island Aborigines to cold and physical hardship, with little more than a single kangaroo pelt against the elements.

The plate is from the first edition of the Baudin voyage account. The plates to this voyage, as is common for the period, are known sometimes to have been issued in portfolio form, and there is no evidence that the current image was ever bound.

Bonnemains, Forsyth & Smith, 20015.4.

THE HANDSOMEST MAN IN OYSTER BAY

40. PETIT, Nicolas-Martin. *Terre de Diémen. Bara-Orou.*

Engraved print measuring 315 x 240 mm., a few spots of very light foxing in the margins, very good. Paris, circa 1807.

A fine portrait of a man from Oyster Bay on Maria Island off the east coast of Tasmania, Bara-Orou, described by Péron as one of the handsomest of the Tasmanians.

An excellent account of Bara-Orou is printed in Colin Dyer's recent study of the interactions of French explorers with aborigines. Péron described Bara-Orou as a young man of 24 or 25 years, 'who was more handsomely built than all the others' but who had 'a belly too large for the rest of his body.' (Dyer, *French Explorers and the Aboriginal Australians*, p. 49). Péron and Petit had gone ashore at Oyster Bay with the sailor Rouget in attendance. They met some fourteen men who greeted them rapturously, the more so when Petit indulged them with a few sleights of hand like pretending to run a pin into his flesh without feeling any pain (the trick backfired when one of the group, astonished, came up behind him and jabbed him in the 'calf of my leg so dextrously and decidedly that I could not help crying out'). All was going well, but the appearance offshore of another French boat changed the tone dramatically, as the group tried to hustle the Frenchmen for gifts, and Péron, in particular, only retained his jacket when he pointed at Rouget's musket and said the word "*Mata*", or "death". Miffed that their gifts had not prevented such alarms, in his account Péron used this event as central in his argument about the dangers of such meetings: indeed it was Bara-Orou, who suddenly menaced the French again as they tried to leave, not desisting until Rouget pointed his musket. It was with the greatest caution that the three Frenchmen retreated to their boat.

Bonnemains, Forsyth & Smith, 20019.4.

THE TASMANIAN WOMAN WHO SANG AND DANCED

41. PETIT, Nicolas-Martin. *Terre de Diémén. Arra-maïda.*

Engraved portrait, 315 x 240 mm., slight marginal browning, very good. Paris, circa 1807.

An excellent portrait of the Tasmanian woman Arra-maïda of Bruny Island, with her child slung across her back in a kangaroo-skin pouch. The portrait was engraved for the atlas volume of the first edition of the official voyage account.

After their failure to make any significant contact with the aborigines in the west, the French were delighted with the friendly relations they initially established with the Tasmanians. Although there were several serious altercations, the early interactions in particular were marked by good humour. Certainly both sides tried their hands at singing – the French sang the national anthem on at least one occasion – as well as the trading of gifts and food, and friendly contests of strength.

Arra-maïda is one of the best known of any of the Tasmanian aborigines met by the French. As Frank Horner notes, when the French were on Bruny Island they met a group of women with whom they began a lively exchange. The women ‘listened attentively when surgeon Bellefin sang them a song which was applauded by them all, and then mimicked by one of them (whom Péron called Arra-maïda). She added a song and a dance of her own. She then applied charcoal-powder to the faces of Péron and [midshipman] Heirisson’ (*The French Reconnaissance*, p. 200). Although her actions certainly troubled the French – Péron was quite critical of her “indecent” dancing in particular – this vignette is one of the most vivid of any of the first transactions.

Bonnemains, Forsyth & Smith, 20004.4.



WOMAN FROM THE POWERFUL “CAMERAGAL” TRIBE OF MANLY

42. PETIT, Nicolas-Martin. *Jeune Femme de la Tribu des Cam-mer-ray-gal.*

Handcoloured engraved portrait, 335 x 240 mm., margins a little trimmed, a little marked yet very good. Paris, circa 1824.

The first published version of one of Nicholas-Martin Petit’s finest aboriginal portraits, depicting a young woman from Sydney’s lower north shore.

This portrait depicts, as the caption says, a young woman from the New South Wales tribe of the “Cam-mer-ray-gal” (now usually “Cameragal”). As the name suggests, this was a group that occupied the lower north shore in Sydney, centred around Manly. Discussed in the accounts of Phillip, Hunter and Collins, the earliest reports of the Cameragal were derived chiefly from the stories of Bennelong who described them as a very powerful tribe, highlighting the large number of medical-men within their group: it was the Cameragal who organised the male initiation rite of having a tooth pulled for many of the tribes in the region. Petit and the Baudin voyage artists evidently spent a great deal of time with the aborigines when they stayed in Port Jackson in June 1802, and their resulting sketches and portraits form one of the most significant documentary sources for the Sydney tribes. ‘Artistically Petit’s ability to convey personalised and compassionate depictions mark him out from nearly every other European artist pre-1820’ (Susan Hunt, *Terre Napoléon*, p. 11).

From the second edition of the voyage account (the plate number is in arabic rather than roman numerals). A version of this print was prepared for the first edition, but was not issued as part of the atlas, meaning that this is the first published version of the portrait. The original is held in the Muséum d’histoire naturelle in Le Havre.

Bonnemains, Forsyth & Smith, 20034.4.



SAILED TO BASS STRAIT ON THE LADY NELSON WITH JAMES GRANT

43. PETIT, Nicolas-Martin. Oui-ré-kine.

Engraved portrait, 305 x 250 mm., margins trimmed, light stain affecting one corner, very good. Paris, circa 1807.

Another beautiful portrait by Nicholas-Martin Petit from the first voyage account, depicting Oui-ré-kine (Wárrgan/Worogan), a young woman from Port Jackson who, together with her husband Yeranibe (Euranabie), had sailed with James Grant on the *Lady Nelson*.

As Grace Karskens has recently noted in *The Colony*, Wárrgan – “crow” – was a relative of Bennelong and a friend of Pattyegarang: she was, moreover, one of the small circle of Sydney aborigines to associate with William Dawes, notably in his attempt to compile a vocabulary.

The recent exhibition of the Eora held at the State Library of New South Wales noted that Wárrgan married Yeranibe, son of Maugoran and Gorooberra. Significantly, Grant’s narrative of the voyage of the *Lady Nelson* includes several descriptions of Wárrgan and her husband Yeranibe, both of whom were guests on board the vessel for the voyage to Jervis Bay and beyond; they were taken on board, as Grant noted, because they ‘spoke English tolerably well.’ Grant, for example, notes at one point, that when ‘Euranabie and his wife came on board the vessel, at Sydney, they both of them received clothing; but when the weather proved warm, the woman threw aside her gown and petticoat, and preferred appearing in the state of nature, or slightly covered with a blanket.’

This particular portrait is taken from the first edition of Baudin’s voyage account; the table of contents of the second edition confirms that Ou-ré-kine is from “*des environs du port Jackson*”.

Bonnemains, Forsyth & Smith, 20032.4.



THE FIRST AUSTRALIAN TO VISIT HAWAII

44. PETIT, Nicolas-Martin. Gnung-a Gnung-a, Mour-re-mour-ga (dit Collins).

Engraved portrait, 315 x 240 mm., fine in mount. Paris, circa 1824.

A striking portrait of Gnung-a Gnung-a (Gnung-a Gnung-a Murremurgan), called “Collins” by the English colonists after he swapped names with the Judge Advocate General.

In 1792, Gnung-a Gnung-a sailed with the *Daedalus*, a supply ship attached to Vancouver’s voyage of discovery in the northern Pacific, and thus became the first Aborigine to travel to America. He visited Norfolk Island, Nootka Sound, and Hawaii, where – incredibly – King Kamehameha unsuccessfully offered to buy the good natured and popular visitor.

The recent State Library of New South Wales exhibition on the Eora noted that Gnung-a Gnung-a married Bennelong’s ‘pretty sister, Warreeweer’ and that in December 1795 he was badly injured after a fight with the great warrior Pemulwuy. He survived, but was found dead behind the Dry Store (the present Sirius Park, near Bridge Street) in January 1809. He features heavily in Collins’ account of the colony, and it is evident that the two men were very fond of each other. For his part, Collins wrote that Gnung-a Gnung-a was ‘much esteemed by every white man who knew him, as well on account of his personal bravery, of which we had witnessed many distinguishing proofs, as on account of a gentleness of manners which strongly marked his disposition.’

This portrait of Gnung-a Gnung-a comes from the atlas of the second edition of the Baudin voyage; the table of contents confirms that he was from Port Jackson.

Bonnemains, Forsyth & Smith, 20033.4.



FRIEND OF BENNELONG AND NANBAREE

45. PETIT, Nicolas-Martin. Y-erran-gou-la-ga.

Engraved print measuring 320 x 240 mm., in excellent original hand-colouring, a fine copy, framed. Paris, circa 1807.

A beautiful hand-coloured portrait, one of the most striking of the entire Petit group, depicting the Port Jackson warrior Y-erran-gou-la-ga (better known as “Mosquito”).

Y-erran-gou-la-ga was a member of the circle that included Bennelong and Surgeon White’s adopted son Nanbaree, and is recorded as having fought numerous battles before crowds in Sydney (he should not be confused with a second “Mosquito”, deported to Van Diemens Land after mounting a spirited defence of the Hawkesbury against the British settlers in the region).

The officers of the Baudin voyage visited Port Jackson in 1802, when Petit is known to have done a series of portraits and sketches: it is likely that this portrait derives from work he did at either Government House or Colonel Paterson’s residence. The death and interment of “Mosquito” was reported at great length in the *Sydney Gazette* for 19 January 1806: ‘At night the corpse closed in bark, was conveyed by two into Mr. Jamieson’s yard [Parramatta], two others carrying a coffin that had been provided. This movement was under the direction of an ancient man, who commanded the bearers to make numerous turns, to walk backwards, and frequently to vary their paces, in order to bewilder the deceased and prevent his return... At eleven [the mourners] repaired in a mass to the sand hills beyond the Brickfields in expectation of meeting [Mosquito’s killer] and his adherents... They afterwards proceeded to the appointed place, but only in time to be informed that Blewett, the object of their determined rancour, had returned to Botany-Bay to obtain a reinforcement adequate to the number of his assailants.’

Taken from the first edition of the Baudin account, the derivation of the name on the engraved plate is not clear, as it is given as “Mousqueda” on the original drawing. The original pastel and charcoal drawing is reproduced in the 1999 publication *Terre Napoléon*.

Bonnemains, Forsyth & Smith, 22039.2.



MAN FROM BRADLEYS HEAD

46. PETIT, Nicolas-Martin. Cour-rou-bari-gal.

Engraved print measuring 320 x 240 mm., in excellent original hand-colouring, a fine copy, framed. Paris, circa 1807.

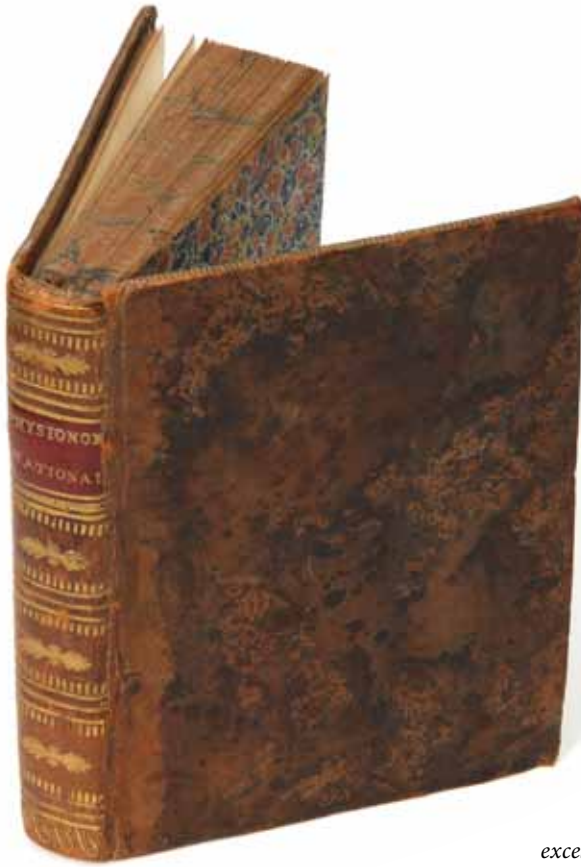
Hand-coloured portrait of the Port Jackson warrior Cour-rou-bari-gal after the original by Nicolas-Martin Petit.

The original drawing is inscribed with the sitter’s name as “Morore” though this was changed to Cour-rou-bari-gal on the engraved plates, as here. The 2006 “Eora” exhibition at the State Library of New South Wales noted that the apparent name of this warrior may in fact be a simple misapprehension on the part of Petit. The catalogue notes: ‘An Aboriginal man, with his long hair wrapped in paperbark strips, told Nicolas-Martin Petit (the French artist who sketched him) that his name was ‘Cour-rou-bari-gal’. As Booragy or Búrroggy was the Aboriginal name for Bradleys Head, it is likely that he had replied to the artist’s question “What is your name?” with kuri (man) and Boregegal (Bradleys Head Clan).’

Taken from the first edition of the Baudin account. The original pastel and charcoal drawing is reproduced in the 1999 publication *Terre Napoléon*.

Bonnemains, Forsyth & Smith, 20038.4.





PHYSIOGNOMIES OF THE PACIFIC

47. ANONYMOUS. *Physionomies Nationales des Peuples, ou Les traits de leur Visage Comparés à leur Moeurs et Caractères.*

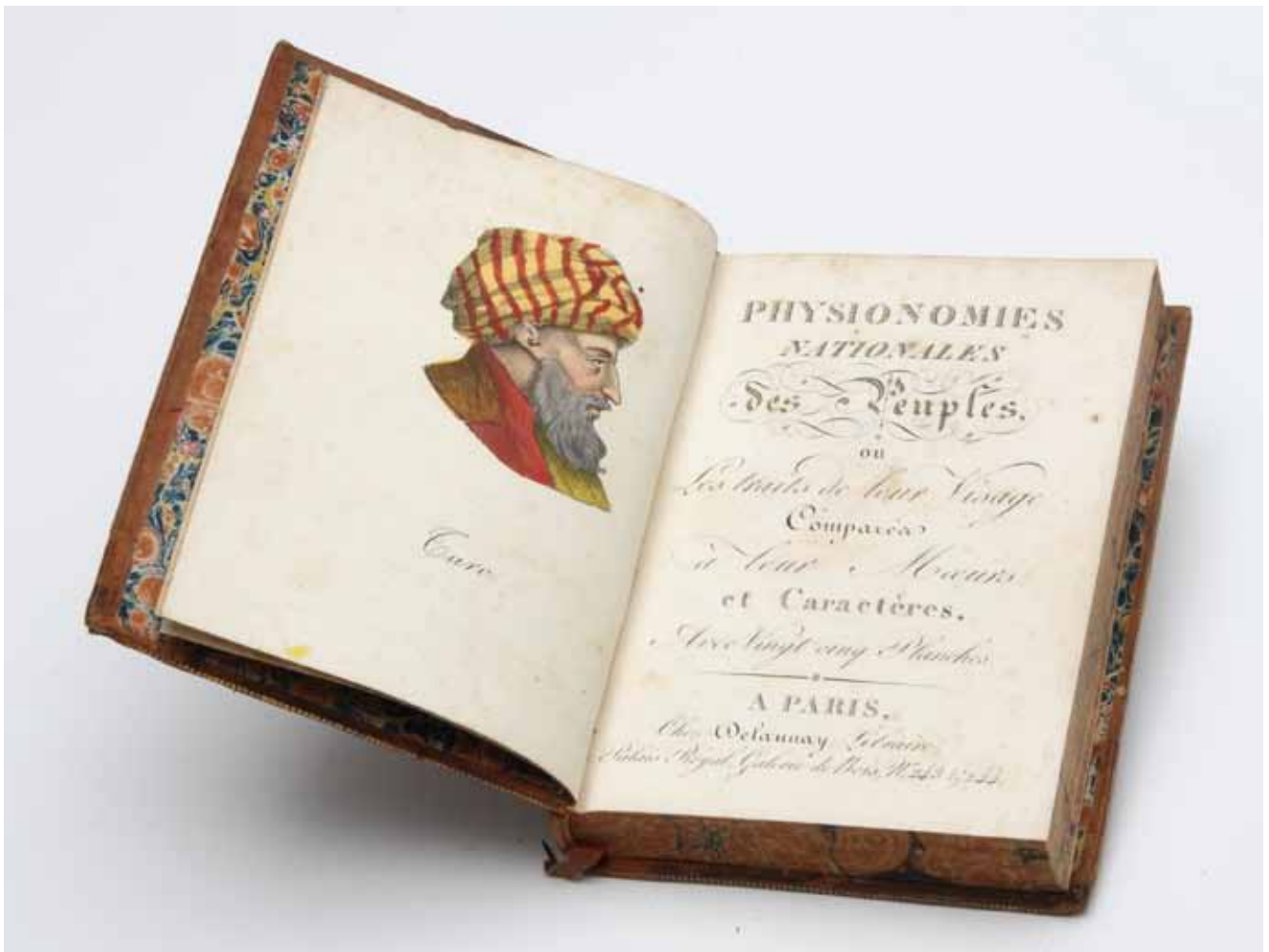
Duodecimo, 25 engraved plates (all but one handcoloured); an excellent copy in contemporary mottled calf, flat spine gilt with crimson morocco label. Paris, Delaunay, circa 1810.

First edition of this charming if slightly sinister French physiognomical study of the peoples of the world, which compares the facial structures and features of various European races with those of Asians, Africans, and the native inhabitants of many newly-discovered regions including Nootka Sound, Kamchatka, the Sandwich Islands, New Zealand and Australia.

The detailed text is illustrated with fine handcoloured engraved plates mainly derived from voyage accounts; for example, the portraits of natives of the Hawaiian Islands, Tanna and Nootka Sound are all based on images that appeared in the publications of Cook's voyages. However, reflecting the importance of the portraits done by Petit while he was in Australia, the example of an Australian aborigine is a good copy of the portrait of "Mosquito" or Y-errangou-la-ga, the Port Jackson man, evidence that this portrait became one of the most widely disseminated of all aboriginal images (see catalogue no. 45).

This is a rare work, known to Ferguson only from his own copy, noted in the *Addenda*, and not recorded by Forbes in the *Hawaiian National Bibliography*.

Ferguson, 505a; not in Forbes.





ACKNOWLEDGING ITS DEBT TO THE BAUDIN PUBLICATION

48. HOCQUART (publisher). *Moeurs et Coutumes des Peuples, ou Collection de Tableaux représentant les usages remarquables, les mariages, funérailles, supplices et fêtes des diverses nations du mondes.*

Two volumes, quarto, 144 handcoloured plates, some browned, and with some scattered foxing especially to extremities of untrimmed pages; a handsome set in early red paper boards, bumped, spines chipped with some loss at head and tail, green morocco labels. Paris, Madame Veuve Hocquart, 1811-1814.

A fine and attractive work, lavishly illustrated with depictions of the peoples of the world, concentrating on ceremonial events.

Many of the beautiful and dramatic plates depict peoples of the Pacific region, including images of New Holland, Van Diemens Land, New Zealand and Hawaii. There are two plates depicting Australian scenes: the '*Mariage de la Nouvelle Hollande*' which depicts a rather violent scene of abduction, and the more bucolic '*Repas des habitans de la terre de Diemen*', in which a family group fishes next to a river – one man is lowering a clearly defined crab onto a fire. The accompanying four-page description is derived, a note comments, from the voyages of Cook, Turnbull, Péron & Freycinet, as well as an unnamed edition of George Barrington. Given that the latter scene is said to be from Van Diemens Land, it is quite likely that this newly imagined scene is based on the detailed account of the Baudin voyage's stay in the region in early 1802.

The New Zealand section includes a very fine depiction of a war canoe of great splendour, while a good section on Tahiti and the Friendly Isles is accompanied by no fewer than four plates: '*Jeux publics des insulaires de l'archipel des amis*'; '*Sacrifice humain à Otaiti*'; '*Repas d'un chef d'Otaiti*'; and '*Funérailles et deuil d'Otaiti*'. The last of these four plates includes a particularly good depiction of the Tahitian Chief Mourner. One of the most interesting plates of the entire work is the last, depicting a scene in Hawaii: '*Prêtre des Iles Sandwich Tabouam un terrain*', in which a grey-haired priest marks out an area of taboo.

The work was published by the firm of the widow Hocquart, who showed an abiding interest in such illustrated editions: the company had not only published an equally rare edition of the work of Grasset de Saint-Sauveur in 1806 (Forbes, 371), but an important edition of the works of the physiognomist Lavater. The range of the book is particularly wide for such a comparatively early work, with plates, for instance, of an Iroquois warrior scalping his enemy, the funeral ceremonies of the Natchez in Louisiana, the '*anthropophages*' of Brazil, or of an Unalaskan man in his kayak (perhaps after John Webber's original).

Apparently the only copy of this work in an Australian institution is in the National Library of Australia, part of the Rex Nan Kivell collection. It is not recorded in Ferguson.

Not in Ferguson; not in Forbes; Rex Nan Kivell Collection, NK 2107.



*Manière dont les habitans des Îles Mendocce
marchent sur un sol inondé.*



AUSTRALIAN PLATES DERIVED FROM BAUDIN

49. FERRARIO, Giulio. *Il costume antico e moderno o storia del governo, della milizia, della religione, delle arti, scienze ed usanze di tutti i popoli antichi e moderni.*

26 volumes in 31, large octavo, with 1619 engraved plates, plans and maps, some folding, some aquatint, of which 1560 are handcoloured or tinted; a little slight spotting, damp-stain to one plate, a few short tears in folds; these minor faults apart, a most attractive set in contemporary straight-grained morocco-backed boards with vellum corners, flat spines gilt. Florence, Vincenzo Batelli, 1823-1830.

A handsome complete set of Ferrario's encyclopaedic account of the costumes of the people of the world, compiled by referring to the published accounts of Cook, Baudin and Labillardière, among others.

Dr Giulio Ferrario (1767-1847) of Milan was active as an intellectual, writer, publisher, printer and librarian. This, his major work, is astounding for its vast scope and the sheer number of engraved plates (over 1600 in this edition, 1560 of them handcoloured), many of which he drew and engraved himself. It is arranged roughly by continent: Africa, Europe, America and Asia (which includes Oceania).

Ferrario drew on many published voyage accounts for both his text and for the plates. Much of the information on the Pacific is drawn from the published accounts of Cook, and many of the Hawaiian plates reproduce images by John Webber.

The inhabitants and natural history of Australia ("*Nuova Olanda*") are described in detail over thirty-three pages including nine plates in volume VIII of the Asian section. The Australian plates are drawn from the published account of the Baudin voyage, faithfully reproducing Nicolas Petit's fine Aboriginal portraits and Charles Lesueur's natural history studies and topographical views. However the descriptive text draws together information gathered from the published accounts not only of Cook's first voyage, but also of White, Collins and Labillardière.

There were a number of editions of this work, both in Italian and French, although all were published in Italy. The title-page of this set states that this is the second, enlarged edition. In any edition Ferrario's work is very rarely found complete: Ferguson describes two later French language editions in his *Addenda*, both of which he knew from just single volumes in the collection of the National Library of Australia. He makes reference to the present Florentine edition, but knew it only from an entry in a London bookseller's catalogue of the 1940s.

Complete sets such as this, particularly in uniform, well-preserved contemporary bindings, are scarce survivors nowadays.

Colas, 1054 (omitting the final European volume); Forbes, 'Hawaiian National Bibliography', 450 (a French language edition with a list of the Italian editions); not in Hocken.



**FOUR-METRE COLOURED PANORAMA INCORPORATING
BAUDIN IMAGES**

50. JUNDT, J. (“editeur”). *Zones Pittoresques ou Tableau de la Creation sous les Diverses Temperatures du Globe.*

Folio, with a very long folding lithographic plate (280 x 4350 mm.), entirely coloured by hand and printed in 11 folding panels, the first ten comprising a panoramic depiction of the world's climatic zones with flora and fauna, the final panel a map of the world; in original marbled boards, colour printed titling label on upper board, morocco spine a bit rubbed, overall in excellent condition. Paris, J. Jundt, circa 1840.

A wonderful nineteenth-century educational frieze with many depictions of Australian and Pacific natural history. The most famous precursor to such a work is undoubtedly Joseph Dufour's famed panorama *Les Sauvages de la Mer Pacifique* which depicted an idyllic global community. As in Dufour's work, here the indigenous inhabitants are shown living in unspoiled paradise, engaged in the age-old activities of hunting, whaling and fishing.

This work is entirely coloured by hand; the ten panels with supplementary map of the world form a frieze extending to well over four metres in length. Each panel depicts a climatic zone, ranging from the Arctic Circle right down to the Southern Hemisphere. A continuous landmass runs throughout the entire frieze, conveying an impression of one lush and vibrant landscape.

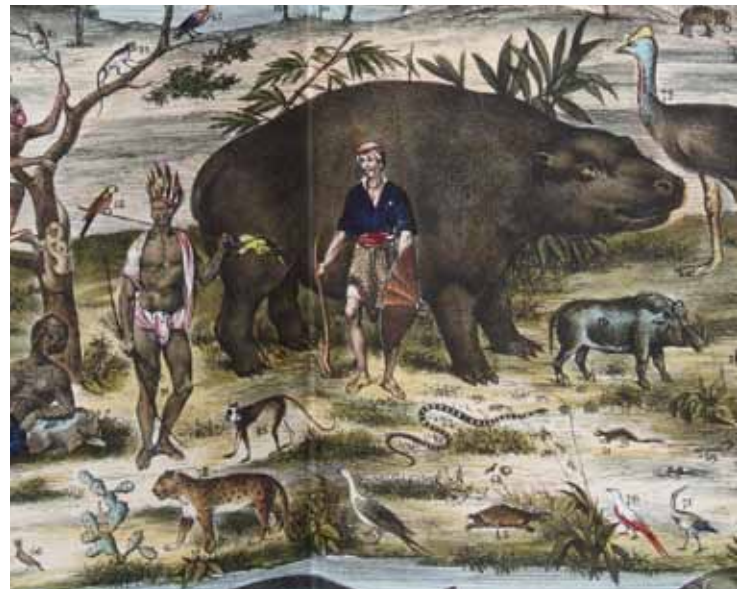
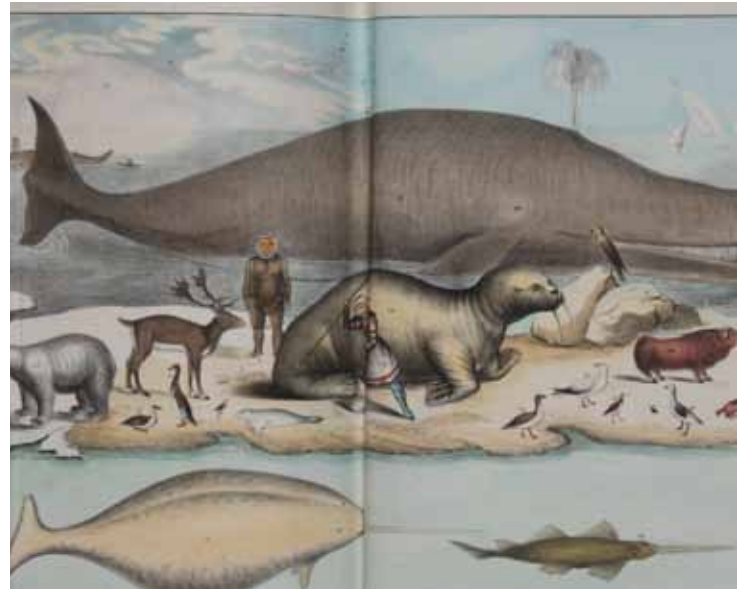
It is similar to a frieze designed by Jakob Emmanuel Scheuermann for the Swiss market. There are a few noticeable differences between the two publications including a complete renumbering in this version. Although slightly smaller than Scheuermann's it is enhanced by a long annotated introduction so that each of the 694 items is described in fascinating detail. Thus, the note on “*Lornithorinque*” (platypus) describes the habitat and features of this “*extrêmement bizarre*” animal at some length.

The work evidently draws on extensive sources, with many of the images clearly derived from published voyage accounts. It is clear, for example, that the portrait of the Unalaskan and depiction of the walrus are derived from John Webber's drawings published in the account of Cook's third voyage. The descriptions, it must be said, are not always faultless (‘Otahiti’, for example, is listed as being discovered by Cook in 1769).

The last tableau, in particular, is of especial Australian interest. The portrait of the inhabitant of ‘*Nouvelle Hollande*’ is an accurate rendering of Nicolas Petit's engraving of *Norou-Gal-Derri*, sourced from the atlas of the Baudin voyage. The same source would seem to have been used for the images of some of the Australian animals guaranteed to be of the most interest to a European market, including a lyrebird, a kangaroo, an echidna, a hammerhead shark, a flying fox, a dingo and an enormous elephant seal. The background image of Port Jackson, “*établissement remarquable des Anglais*” is, at best, figurative – it represents, one assumes, the Heads, with a British cutter at their base.

Very little is known about J. Jundt except that he seems to have been based in Strasbourg. The present example is exceptionally fresh and in fine condition. No copy is known in any Australian library.

Not in Ferguson; not in Gumuchian.





THE VOYAGE OF THE URANIE UNDER LOUIS DE FREYCYNET IN 1817-1820

Louis de Freycinet in command of the *Uranie* left Toulon on 17 September 1817. His wife Rose had been smuggled aboard, and her presence was acknowledged by the time they reached Gibraltar. They made the usual French passage via Tenerife, Rio, the Cape of Good Hope and Mauritius, where Louis was reunited briefly with his brother Henri, then serving as the Governor.

The *Uranie* reached Shark Bay on 12 September 1818 and spent some time there, setting up an observatory and making further thorough surveys of the inlets and coast; it was during this visit that Freycinet also finally removed the Vlamingh plate. From western Australia they headed to Coupang in Timor, and crossed to Dili, where the expedition was received in great state by the Governor. The vessel then picked its way northeast via Amboina, Pisang, Rawak and the coast of New Guinea, reaching Guam in mid-March 1819. The expedition stayed in Guam for eleven weeks before heading to Hawaii, which was first sighted on 5 August; they anchored in Kealakekua Bay three days later. They spent an important fortnight in the islands, making stays at Lahaina and Honolulu, and meeting any number of important figures there.

From Honolulu they headed towards New South Wales, passing Samoa and the Cook Islands and naming “Rose Island”, which Freycinet erroneously thought a new discovery. They anchored in Port Jackson on 18 November, and spent a busy month in the bustling town, the growth of which astonished Freycinet. All of his *savants* set off to make surveys, including the important group of Quoy, Pellion and Gaudichaud, who crossed the Blue Mountains. It became a hectic social visit for Louis and Rose, who were fêted by Sydney society, and who cemented friendships with local luminaries like Barron Field and William Bland. The visit confirmed Freycinet’s interest in the region, which he would later make the subject of a detailed section in his voyage account.

Leaving Port Jackson on Christmas Day, Freycinet sailed around the southern coast of New Zealand, making a fast passage to Cape Horn, where boisterous weather drove him into the southern Atlantic, and he made the decision to make urgently-needed repairs to the *Uranie* at “French Bay” (now Berkeley Sound) on the eastern coast of the Falklands. While entering the harbour on 14 February 1820 he struck submerged rocks, compelling him to beach the vessel, which was found to be irreparably damaged. Salvaging as much as they could from the wreck, the French set about sending a longboat to Montevideo for assistance, but before they could the sealing vessel *General Knox*, Captain Horn, came into sight.

Reluctant negotiations were begun but before an agreement was reached, another vessel the *Mercury*, Captain Galvin, arrived, and it was on this second vessel that a passage to Rio de Janeiro was booked. Conflict between the French and the existing passengers, a group of Chilean rebels, meant that the deal changed, and Freycinet actually purchased the *Mercury* and agreed to disembark Galvin and the Chileans in Montevideo. On 8 May Freycinet took command, immediately renamed the ship the *Physicienne*, and it was on this vessel that the expedition returned to Le Havre on 13 November 1820, after around three years at sea.

Freycinet spent the next two decades co-ordinating and writing the official narrative of the voyage: its publishing history is discussed in Appendix 4.



1 2

3 4 5



**FREYCINET'S CROWNING ACHIEVEMENT: THE WORK
OF TWO DECADES**

51. FREYCINET, Louis de. *Voyage autour du monde, entrepris par ordre du Roi... exécuté sur les corvettes de S. M. l'Uranie et la Physicienne, pendant les années 1817, 1818, 1819 et 1820.*

A fine set, comprising a complete run of the text volumes, accompanied by the four large folio atlases; containing altogether 355 engraved plates, maps or plans, 119 of them in colour; overall in very good condition in French half calf; a detailed collation and description is available on request. Paris, Pillet aîné, and Imprimerie Royale, 1824-1844.

Louis de Freycinet's crowning achievement. This is a fine set of this magnificent voyage publication, entirely complete (unlike many sets) and in excellent condition. Freycinet's voyage in the *Uranie* to the East Indies, Australia and the Pacific was one of the most important voyages of exploration ever made. This official publication of the voyage, which appeared over twenty years under the direct supervision of Freycinet himself, is among the most handsome of all voyage accounts, probably the most beautiful of all the celebrated French *grands voyages*.

The eight volumes of text are accompanied by four large atlases, containing a total of some three hundred and twenty engraved plates and thirty-five maps, many of these coloured by hand. The plates are partly derived from original paintings and drawings done on the expedition chiefly by the two official artists, Jacques Arago and Alphonse Pellion, and partly on natural history specimens taken back to Paris. The *Atlas Historique* contains sixteen views and plates of Australia, thirty-two of Guam and the Marianas, nine of Hawaii and sixteen of Timor.

This is a handsome set of this *grand voyage*, one of the most important of all major voyage accounts. Ferguson records only two copies of the set in Australian libraries – the Mitchell and National Library copies, the latter incomplete.

For a full collation see appendix 4.

Borba de Moraes, p.327; Chadenat, 5058; Ferguson, 941; 'Hawaii One Hundred', 33; Hill, 649 (Historique section only); Sabin, 25916.

FIRST PUBLICATION IN ENGLISH OF FREYCINET'S ACCOUNT OF NSW

52. FREYCINET, Louis de. CULLITY, Thomas, et al., Translators. *Reflections on New South Wales, 1788-1839*.

Quarto, with a portrait, twenty maps and illustrations and eight colour plates; a fine copy in the original green cloth, paper label on front cover. Sydney, Hordern House, 2001.

The only edition in English of Freycinet's comprehensive examination of early New South Wales, one of the most important historical texts to deal with Australian settlement, and especially with the city of Sydney. The original text appeared as chapters 29 to 40 of the 'Historique' section of Freycinet's *Voyage autour du monde* (see catalogue number 51). It was the late Thomas Cullity, with the help of Katharine Pratt and Jen and Bernice Pasquier, who took on the formidable task of making this sometimes very complex text readily accessible to the English-speaking reader. The only English-language version of this exceptionally important piece, this was published in an edition limited to just 300 copies, with a highly limited de luxe version appearing somewhat later (see following item).

Reflections on New South Wales provides a unique insight into the first fifty years of the colony's development. 'We have tried to demonstrate how a vast country that only recently was wild and almost empty, had passed from its primitive barbaric state to that degree of brilliant prosperity that makes it today the wonder of Europe' wrote Freycinet, one of the most articulate and exacting explorers ever to visit colonial Australia. His two visits to the colony, in 1802 and 1819, afforded him a unique opportunity to examine in detail the first English settlers and their interaction with the indigenous people, the complexities of the first legal system established in New South Wales, the health and welfare establishments, and the first educational facilities. With a finely-tuned and cultivated eye he observed the towns and their buildings, and recorded in detail the social and literary development of the colonial city.

Freycinet's text was compiled from direct observations, ideas or comments by Freycinet himself as well as by his travelling companions in the *Uranie* voyage – Quoy, the chief surgeon, the naturalist Gaimard, and the artists Arago and Pellion – and from information attributed to conversations and correspondence with the leading citizens in the colony – Lachlan and Elizabeth Macquarie, John Macarthur, and Judge Barron Field, to name just a few.

DE LUXE EDITION, LIMITED TO TWENTY-EIGHT COPIES

53. FREYCINET, Louis de. CULLITY, Thomas, et al., Translators. *Reflections on New South Wales, 1788-1839*.

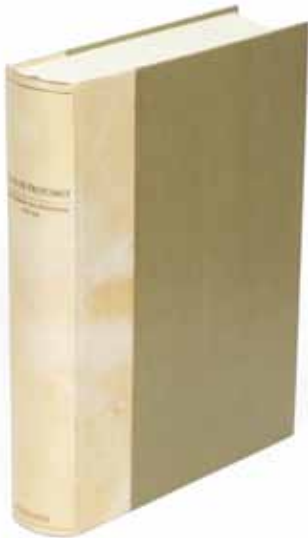
Large quarto, with a portrait, twenty maps and illustrations and eight colour plates; in mint condition in the original quarter vellum and glazed boards. Sydney, Hordern House, 2001.

One of just twenty-eight copies of the special issue on large paper. The original publication sold out in a few days; this de luxe version was prepared in a large quarto format in a specially commissioned binding by Newbold and Collins of quarter vellum and glazed linen. It too sold out rapidly.

Publishers sometimes create special issues of their books re-imposed on especially large paper with wide margins. For this special issue using the large proof sheets prepared for the work the bindery retained the largest possible margins, making the page format 310 x 225 mm (as against the standard edition at 245 x 177 mm). The colour plates remain at their actual printed page size, as was usually the case with such issues of colour-plate books in the nineteenth century.

The binding is a traditional quarter binding using English vellum for the spine, which is lettered in gilt, and old green glazed linen from a vintage bolt of cloth in store for the sides. The vellum used was supplied by the English firm which still supplies vellum and parchment to the British Houses of Parliament for official documents.

Hill, 651 (regular issue).



**FREYCINET'S ENGLISH RIVAL:
PRESENTATION COPY, 1826 ISSUE**

54. KING, Phillip Parker. *Narrative of a Survey of the Intertropical and Western Coasts of Australia.*

Two volumes, octavo, with a folding chart, 13 plates and a folding engraving; bound with the colophon leaf required by Ferguson at the end of volume 2, and complete with the final leaf of errata (intended to be cut to form two errata slips); an excellent copy in contemporary half calf. London, John Murray, 1826.



First edition, first issue, and a famous rarity: the British voyage commissioned to continue the Australian survey begun by Matthew Flinders, and, as a result, able to keep a weather eye on the results of the much grander French expedition under Freycinet, commissioned the same year.

This is a fine presentation copy of this work, with an inscription in the second volume to "J.E. Gray Esq. from the Author". John Edward Gray (1800-1875) was a senior naturalist at the British Museum, a position which made him one of the central figures in the study of Australian specimens collected by the explorers King, Stokes, Jukes, Eyre and George Grey. Gray contributed a very important appendix to the present work, which is no doubt why he was given this early presentation copy. The second volume, of course, is where Gray's work is printed, which must explain the unusual placement of the inscription.

Gray must have been one of the first to receive a copy of this work, because this is the very elusive form of this important book with the publication date of 1826 on both title-pages. The book was properly published in 1827, with the title-pages reset to show that date. The only complete copy of this version known to Ferguson was in the State Library of Victoria; a number of copies have appeared since that time, but this true first issue remains very difficult to find.

Admiral Phillip Parker King, Australian-born son of the third governor Philip Gidley King, became the navy's leading hydrographer. His coastal voyages and Oxley's expeditions inland were the great expansionary undertakings of the Macquarie era. Despatched to complete Flinders' interrupted survey and firmly to establish Great Britain's claim to the north coast, King charted the greater part of the west, north and northeast coasts of Australia and also carried out important surveys in the area of the Barrier Reef. His hydrographical work is still the basis of many of the modern charts for the areas he surveyed.

Davidson, *A Book Collector's Notes*, pp. 127-8; Hill, 927 (1827 issue); Ingleton, pp. 38-48; not in Abbey; Wantrup, 84a.



VERY FINE SILVER FREYCINET MEDAL

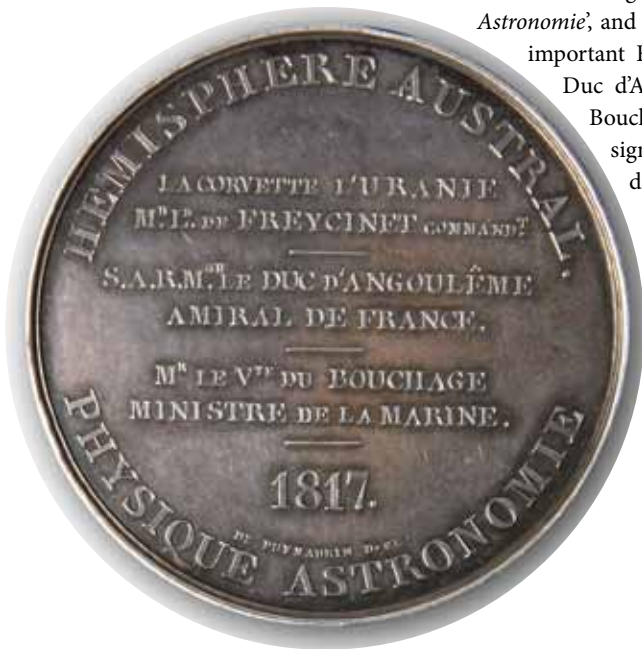
55. LOUIS XVIII. Medal for the voyage of the Uranie.

Silver medal, 41 mm, extremely fine. Paris, Puymaurin & Andrieu, 1817.

Exceptionally fine example of the silver medal struck to commemorate the sailing of the *Uranie* expedition from Toulon in 1817 under Freycinet.

The detailed lettering on the obverse has the main caption '*Hemisphere Austral. Physique Astronomie*', and also notes that Freycinet's voyage was commissioned by the two most important French naval figures of his day, Louis-Antoine d'Artois de Bourbon, Duc d'Angoulême, then serving as Amiral de France, and the Vicomte du Bouchage, Ministre de la Marine. The design for this side of the medal is signed Puymaurin. The reverse of the medal shows the bust of Louis XVIII, designed by F. Andrieu.

Marquess of Milford Haven, 'British and Foreign Naval Medals', 188.





EXCELLENT BRONZE EXAMPLE

56. LOUIS XVIII. Bronze Medal for the voyage of the Uranie.

Bronze medal, 41 mm, very fine. Paris, Puymaurin & Andrieu, 1817.

An excellent bronze example of the medal struck to commemorate the sailing of the *Uranie* expedition from Toulon in 1817 under Freycinet.

As with the silver example of this medal, the detailed lettering on the obverse has the main caption '*Hemisphere Austral. Physique Astronomie*', and also notes that Freycinet's voyage was commissioned by the two most important French naval figures of his day, Louis-Antoine d'Artois de Bourbon, Duc d'Angoulême, then serving as Amiral de France, and the Vicomte du Bouchage, Ministre de la Marine. The design for this side of the medal is signed Puymaurin. The reverse of the medal shows the bust of Louis XVIII, designed by F. Andrieu.

Marquess of Milford Haven, 'British and Foreign Naval Medals', 188.





**UNCOMMON VARIANT WITH
DIFFERENT BUST OF LOUIS XVIII**

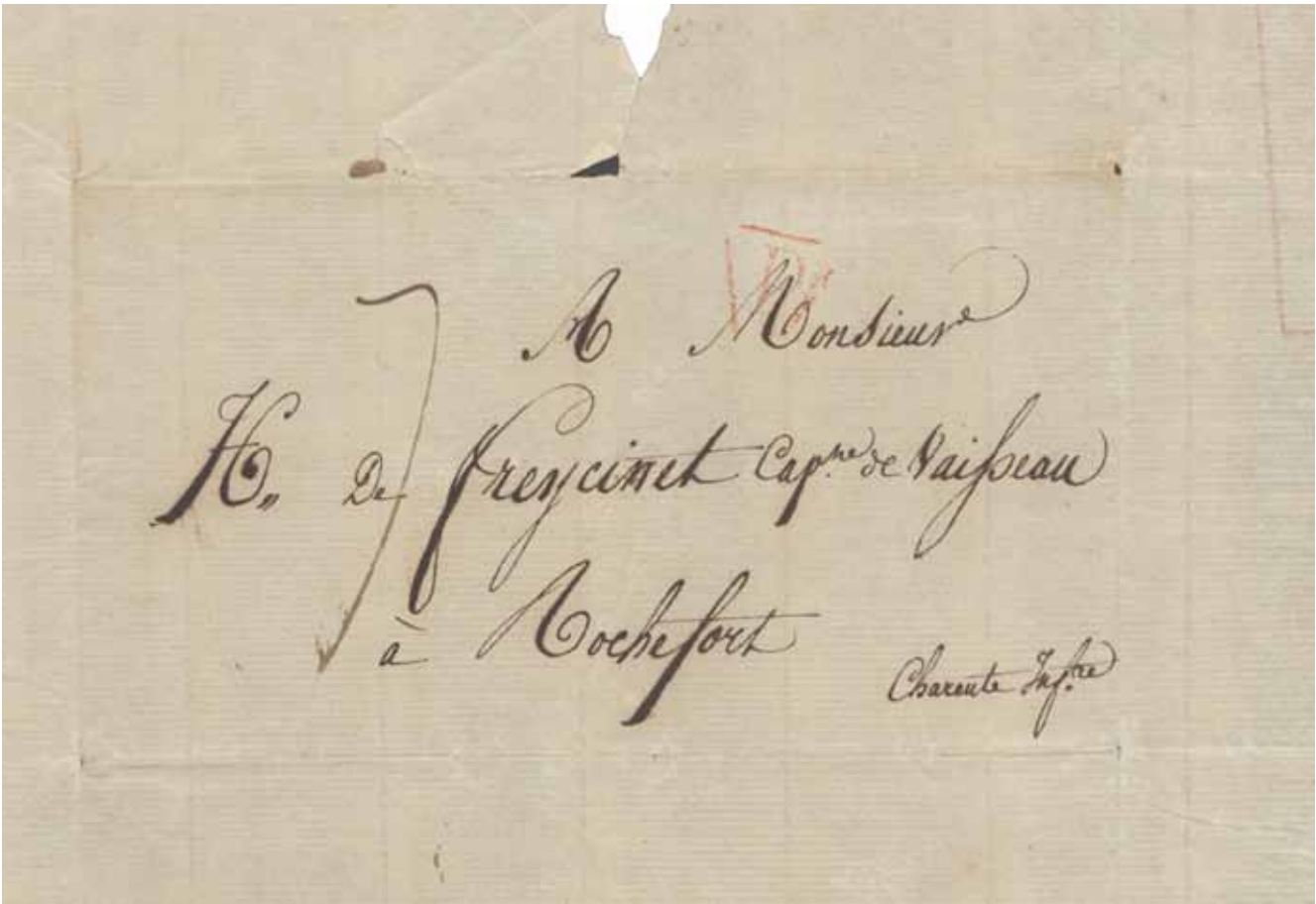
57. LOUIS XVIII. Medal for the voyage of the Uranie.

Yellow bronze medal, 41 mm, very fine. Paris, Puymaurin & Gayrard, 1817.

An uncommon variant of the *Uranie* medal, with the bust of Louis XVIII signed by the engraver Gayrard, rather than Andrieu. The medal is an unusual yellow-bronze metal.

The lettering to the obverse is the same as in other examples, and is certainly struck from the same die. The bust of Louis, however, is markedly different: slightly larger, and with a bow in his hair, the circular caption is here altered. Anecdotal evidence suggests that this Gayrard and Puymaurin strike was used for the copper and yellow-bronze examples of the medal, although we have not discovered the rationale behind the decision: perhaps the die for the original Andrieu portrait (see previous items in the catalogue) began to wear.

Marquess of Milford Haven, 'British and Foreign Naval Medals', 188.



**LOUIS DE FREYCINET EXPLAINS HIS DECISION TO OUTFIT THE
URANIE AT TOULON**

58. FREYCINET, Louis de. Autograph letter signed to Henri de Freycinet regarding the appointment of officers to the *Uranie*.

Two-page autograph letter, on a single sheet of laid paper, watermarked "Van der Ley", folded to letter size of 230 x 185 mm; closely written to two pages and signed with a flourish, the third page blank, fourth page an address panel to Henri de Freycinet in Rochefort, archive stamp. Paris, 14 October, 1816.

An important and candid letter from Louis to his brother Henri de Freycinet discussing at length the outfitting of his two ships, with his personal observations on the proposed officers for the *Uranie*, and explaining in detail his reasons for choosing to outfit his expedition in Toulon (about halfway between Marseilles and Saint Tropez on the Mediterranean coast) rather than on the more familiar coast of Brittany.

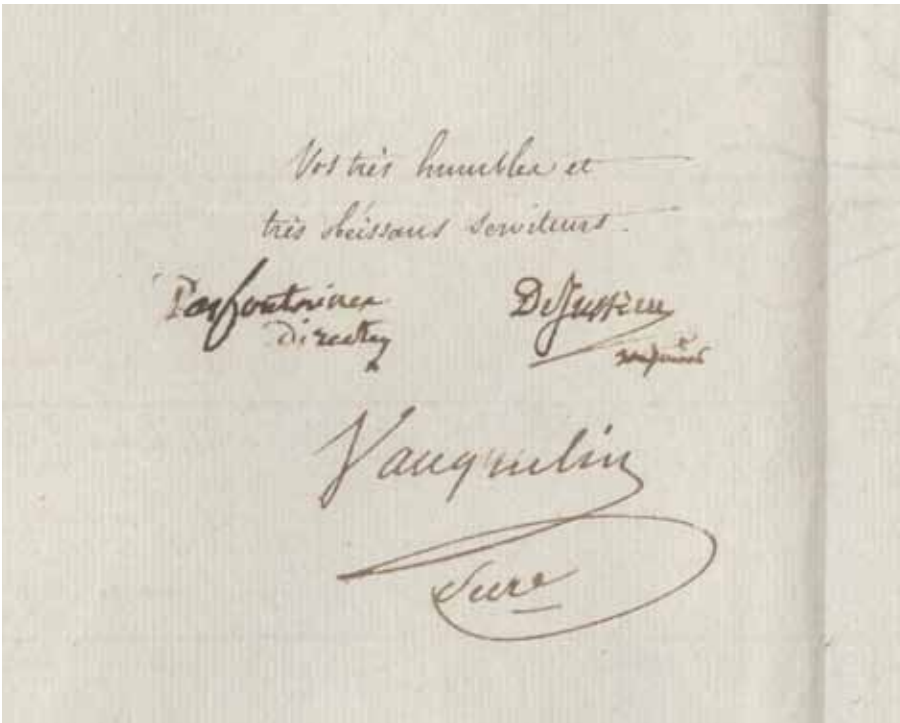
Right at the outset Louis comments that this letter, which openly discusses many candidates and any number of details regarding the expedition, is strictly confidential. The letter is written in some haste, but he cannot wait to tell his beloved brother some of the latest developments in the planning of the voyage. He begins with comments on eight of his officers. The three "élèves" Duffieffranc, de la Roque, and Sébille have each been given the grade of ensign, so he can have six more cadets, in which number he will include Barbotui, previously recommended by Henri. Every member of the voyage, from officers to cadets, must have a sextant. He is hoping to leave in October but fully expects to be delayed until January (he was optimistic: the *Uranie* would not actually sail until the following September). More significantly, he has chosen his senior officers, who will be: Lamarche, La Biche, Le Blanc, Duperrey (not to be confused with the Perey they both know), and Laborde. He gives brief notes of their individual abilities. He will

n'ai pas le temps de t'écrire plus au long au jourd'hui, mais je
 n'ai de t'écrire de nouveau avant mon départ de Paris.
 Adieu, mon cher frère, mille choses à ta femme et à la famille. Je
 t'envoie les caresses les plus affectueuses de mon cœur. Reste
 tout à tout pour la vie, ton bon frère
 Louis De Freycinet

Je forme ma lettre lorsque je reçois la tienne du 12. — Les motifs qui
 ont fait choisir le port de Toulon sont nombreux; il s'agit de savoir 1° que le climat
 est beaucoup plus sec que dans aucun autre, les rades, les rivières, les communications
 nous dispensant d'humidité et nous évitent ainsi à la mer. Or il est reconnu
 que l'humidité est le plus grand ennemi que les marins aient à combattre, surtout pour
 les longs voyages. 2° Les constructions de Toulon sont supérieures à celles de
 tout autre port pour la solidité et la durée: mon bâtiment (la Coquille) a été construit
 dans les chantiers du gouvernement, on m'a fait l'éloge de la construction, de l'équipement
 et de l'armement; il marche fort bien et n'a que trois ans. 3° La seule expédition autour
 du globe qui n'a perdu un seul homme, était composée de provençaux et était
 commandée par le sieur de Marchand. 4° L'armement de Toulon se fait dans la ville
 même (Marseille) où l'on peut se procurer une multitude d'objets qu'il est
 très difficile de se procurer ailleurs. 5° Décembre et Janvier sont les mois
 les plus favorables de Marseille pour l'expédition de l'Inde et font ordinairement.
 6° Il est assez fréquent de voir dans cette saison; ils sont plus souvent à l'E. sur les côtes de
 la France que de l'O. — Je te remercie de fond de cœur, mais comme bien que
 l'expédition, ne craint pas d'être dérangée par les vents, sur ce qui te
 regarde dans mes projets; c'est le plus grand plaisir que tu puisses me faire
 en attendant l'arrivée de mon frère. Adieu, mille amitiés.
 Je compte à faire une lettre, et probablement par le grand chemin
 te recevoir cette lettre.

have a coxswain (“timonier”) as well as first and second chefs. He goes on to comment on the outfitting of the two vessels, then proceeding apace. He is particularly proud of the two new water distillers he is having built in Paris to a new design by Fournier, and said to produce six barrels per day.

Finally Louis answers at length the question in Henri’s letter received after he had signed off and gives his detailed explanation as to why he has chosen Toulon as his port of departure. The reasons, writes Louis, are countless, but include the climate; the superior shipyard (he particularly notes that the *Coquille* was built there); that the only expedition around the world that didn’t lose a single man (Marchand’s) was crewed by Provençals and sailed from Marseilles; that the city is as well equipped as Marseilles so he can get any manner of gear; and, that in this season there are frequent easterly winds, rather than the westerlies that bedevil Brittany.



LOBBYING FREYCINET ABOUT THE SCIENTISTS

59. VAUQUELIN, Louis Nicolas, René DESFONTAINES & Antoine de JUSSIEU. Signed letter on Jardin du Roi letterhead appointing a naturalist to the Uranie.

Single sheet of laid paper with printed letterhead, folded to letter size 250 x 200 mm., written in a neat secretarial hand and signed by the three French scientists; old folds, excellent. Paris, 18 December, 1816.

Official letter to Louis de Freycinet in which the Paris-based scientists Vauquelin, Desfontaines and Jussieu state their support for the collection of natural history specimens on the *Uranie* voyage, and underline their interest in the success of the expedition.

The three signatories were professors at the Muséum d'histoire naturelle in Paris, and were closely involved in the planning of the Freycinet voyage. The museum ultimately became the first repository of the bulk of the surviving scientific material and reports gathered by the naturalists and scientists.

Addressed to Freycinet in Toulon, where he was making the final arrangements for the voyage, the letter announces that the Museum would like to confirm the appointment of a person to be responsible for the collection of natural history specimens. They have, the letter continues, tremendous interest in the success of the voyage, and so encourage Freycinet to appoint someone not only of great talent but also of a gentle disposition so as to make sure that the appointee is not in any way an inconvenience on board. Although this is in part merely a formal politeness, the professors would all have remembered the awkwardness of the relations between scientists and officers on board the Baudin voyage, so this letter should also be seen in that light.

Indeed, it is perhaps surprising that no scientist is actually named in this letter. It is certain that this is a reflection of Freycinet's decision to be personally responsible for all appointments: after all, as John Dunmore noted, Freycinet – like Captain Cook before him – had 'learned from his experiences with Baudin that a group of scientists is likely to be a source of trouble, and he preferred to have the scientific work carried out by naval officers, whom he could easily control' (*French Explorers in the Pacific*, p. 65). As the two especially frank letters from Faujas de St-Fond show (catalogue numbers 60 and 61), Freycinet had been well warned of the dangers posed by Baron Cuvier in particular wishing to make appointments to the voyage.

In the event, the natural history collections of the voyage were overseen by Jean René Constant Quoy and Paul Gaimard, who excelled in the role.

WATCH OUT FOR CUVIER – OH, AND SEND ME SOME SHELLFISH

60. FAUJAS DE SAINT-FOND, Barthélemy. Interesting autograph letter signed to Louis de Freycinet regarding the Uranie voyage.

Three-page autograph letter, on a sheet of laid and water-marked paper, folded to letter-size 245 x 180 mm., closely and neatly written on three pages, addressed and sealed on the fourth; old folds, torn with loss to the original seal, excellent. Saint Fond, 3 Novembre, 1816.

A splendid and very important letter from the elderly scientist Faujas de Saint-Fond to Louis de Freycinet in Toulon, warning him of a plot by the great but self-promoting naturalist Cuvier to usurp Freycinet's role in making appointments for the voyage. In passing, Faujas congratulates Freycinet and shows him great respect for his new appointment to the command of the *Uranie*, and includes his fondest regards to Rose. Faujas was a close family friend and neighbour of the Freycinets, and the connection with Louis in particular was very strong. In this long and very detailed letter, written when he was 75 but showing that his intellect was undiminished, he gives details to Louis of lengthy conversations he has had with two young men, both of whom have called on him at St Fond just days after Louis' departure for Toulon.

The first was the young man whom Faujas had recommended to Louis as an ideal secretary or assistant for the forthcoming voyage. The young man is so anxious to make the voyage, and he would have been perfect: scientific knowledge and literary ability as well as an "excellent esprit". But he will have to take the position that his patron has produced for him: 4000 francs, lodgings thrown in, advancement promised. But it's not the money or the interest of the position, it's the obligation that he feels he owes to his patron (*'la reconnaissance qu'il devoit à M Capelle, qui s'étoit fortement occupé de lui procurer cette place'*).

But a much odder thing has happened. Another young man has appeared in the neighbourhood, asking for M de Freycinet as though he knows him. But when challenged he admits that he has never met Freycinet, nor Faujas for that matter, but he intends to travel on the voyage as a zoologist. Faujas greatly objects to his attitude, his vanity and presumption: announcing which school he is from! As if... From the school of ambition and little else! (*'et son ton vaniteux plein de présomption annonce de quelle école il sort. C'est à dire d'une école d'ambition et voila tout'*).

He turns out to be a zoologist who has been working beside Baron Cuvier at the *Jardin du roi* assisting him with dissections. Cuvier has proposed him for the voyage, as his work on the voyage would tie in with what is needed by the Museum and by Cuvier himself. But this is exactly, Faujas tells the young man, exactly what we are trying to avoid. Freycinet must be master of his own voyage. He has already selected highly skilled officers who are perfectly able to carry out the required work. To which the young man replies, But sir, one could bring back twice or three times the number of objects. Besides, the Ministry of Marine has consulted with the Institut to ask if the *savants* have any instructions to give, and M Cuvier has said that they absolutely must send a zoologist, that the fish in these seas are poorly known and the shellfish have always been neglected by anatomists. It gets worse: they are talking about mineralogists, and botanists. Luckily Freycinet is now warned of this intrigue, and he knows that Cuvier plans to get involved in everything, to try to control everything. He wants to mix himself up with the planning for the voyage to such an extent that he will later be able to claim '*avec effronteries et sans pudeur*' that all the fruits that natural history can acquire from your voyage are of his making. You must resist this absolutely: give in to one demand and ten more will follow.

Now, since you are in Toulon where they eat those shellfish commonly know as "*dâttesdames*" [?sp], you can kindly arrange for a box of twenty or so of the biggest ones to be sent to me here at St Fond. Not for me to eat, but for my shell cabinet.

The letter is addressed to Freycinet in Toulon, where he was based while making preparations for the voyage, and which would be his port of departure in 1817. After this significant letter, Faujas signs off with particularly fond wishes, including a note that if Madame de Freycinet is with him in Toulon, to kindly pass on his best wishes (*'Si Madame Freycinet est avec vous à Toulon, dittes lui, je vous prie mille choses de notre part'*). Her presence in Toulon at this date would of course be of considerable interest in view of the clandestine arrangements for her to accompany her husband on the voyage.

que le but de Cuvier qui veut semeler de tout, et avoir la haute main
sur tout voudroit s'immiscer dans le voyage, a fin de pourvoir di-
verses entreprises et sans pudeur, que les fruits que les sciences naturelles
pourront tirer de ce beau voyage, sont son ouvrage, vous vous le
averti, a fin que vous repussiez obtenir ^{la demande} le voyage, sans que
une demande en amenera dix autres et vous ne serez plus me-
de votre affaire. vous ete prevenu heureusement a temps si tou-
tous Cuvier ne vous a pas elot ou fait crive. Au surplus le jeu-
homme est inconnu, et son bon vaniteux et plein de presomp-
annonca de quelle elote il sort, cest a dire d'une elote d'ambition
vous le tout.

Si pendant votre sejour a Caen, ou l'on mange un Coquille
connu sous le nom vulgaire de datte d'amer qui est une espece de
moule allongee qui perle les pierres et qu'on recueille dans le
vous me feriez plaisir de m'en apporter si vous le pouvez une pierre
dans laquelle il y ^{ait} ~~aurait~~ une vingtaine de ces coquilles d'es plus gros
s'il etoit possible. vous comprenez bien que ce n'est pas pour se
manger, mais pour mon cabinet, vous me le remembriez a Saint-
fond, sans le sortir de la pierre; ma jambe me ladeva beau coup
mieux et nous partirons dans sept a huit jours au plus tard
vous nous felicitez d'avoir le plaisir de vous voir et de vous embrasser
a Saint-fond et chez vous. Si vous connoissez a touten quelque naturel
soit officier de la marine, soit autre qui s'occupassent de l'histoire
naturelle de cette mer, ou de la minevalogie du pays, vous me
feriez plaisir de me metre en relation avec eux.
relevis. Mon cher compatriote et ami, les assurances de mes
plus tendres sentimens, tant de ma part que de celle de ma
continues tout a vous. Kaujas

Si madame Freycinet est avec vous a Caen, dites lui, je vous prie
mille choses de notre part.

répondu
 le 24. 1811
 à Saint-Jond par Lorient, Département de la Drôme le
 7. Février 1811.

je presume Monsieur et cher voisin, que vous aurez
 reçu il y a de jà long-tems la réponse à la lettre que vous ma
 faites l'amitié de m'écrire. Je profitai de l'occasion d'un petit-
 envoi de linge qui vous fut fait par votre femme, qui se jours
 environ après votre départ pour Paris, pour joindre à ce
 paquet qui vous fut envoyé par la messagerie, une lettre
 sous enveloppe, à M. le chevalier du Barrou à qui j'ai eu la
 plaisir d'offrir un logement chez moi, et qui se trouve par la
 être votre voisin; je lui écris un mot à lui même, et je
 le priai de vouloir bien prendre la peine, de remettre une
 autre lettre en main propre à M. le marquis de Choibrillant un des
 députés de la Drôme. Or comme M. le chevalier du Barrou
 ne m'a point accusé la réception de ce paquet, je crains
 qu'il soit resté par inadvertance dans la boîte renfermant
 le linge qu'on vous envoyoit, ou qu'il soit resté confondu
 avec le dit linge, sans que vous vous en soyez aperçus, par lequel
 votre femme a fait l'envoi sans vous prévenir de la lettre
 pour M. du Barrou. Or si cela étoit ainsi, il vous seroit facile
 de retrouver cette lettre que vous auriez la complaisance de
 remettre à votre voisin M. du Barrou.

Je virai avec le plus grand intérêt que malgré quelques
 obstacles inséparables de la marche toujours traingnante des
 bureaux, vous conduisiez avec une admirable célérité les
 préparatifs de votre beau et utile voyage, dont j'ai vu

CUVIER AND HIS LIKE WILL DECEIVE YOU IF THEY CAN

61. FAUJAS DE SAINT-FOND, Barthélemy. Lengthy autograph letter signed to Louis de Freycinet regarding preparations for the Uranie voyage.

Four-page autograph letter, sheet of laid paper, folded to letter-size 200 x 160 mm., closely written to all four pages, note of reply in Freycinet's hand; old folds, excellent. Saint Fond, 4 Fevrier, 1817.

An extensive letter from the elderly scientist Faujas de Saint-Fond, to his “dear friend and neighbour” Louis de Freycinet, congratulating him on his forthcoming voyage, and giving sage advice regarding the appointments to be made. As this and the previous letter confirm, Faujas was a close family friend of the Freycinets.

He is delighted to see that Freycinet is getting through all the red tape and making the preparations for his great voyage with admirable speed (*‘vous conduites avec une admirable célérité les préparatifs de votre beau et utile voyage’*). He has seen two announcements about the voyage, one of them quite mistaken in suggesting that the purpose was to find some distant place that the government might use as an establishment for the transportation of evil-doers, in the English manner. Interestingly, Faujas by 1817 can allow himself to muse that it might indeed be good to find a place to send the *“révolutionnaires incorrigibles”*. He talks freely and at length about politics, the censorship of the press by the police, and local problems in the Drôme area left over from the Revolution.

The main thrust of the letter is for Faujas to continue to congratulate Freycinet on how he is carrying out his new command during the preparation for the *Uranie* voyage, and to warn him at considerable length to beware of spite and jealousies among his colleagues. In one long passage, Faujas displays the benefits of his long and successful career in Paris, by detailing the right sort of approach to take in order to avoid the discord and machinations rife in such enterprises. Choose your colleagues, Faujas cautions, by making sure they have the best character, the strongest principles, and firmness of heart (*‘plus les caractères, les bons principes, et la droiture de cœur’*). He is also referring to a continuing theme during the period of preparation, first dealt with at length in the previous letter, of other bodies trying to foist decisions on Freycinet and planning to take the glory and credit for the voyage. Cuvier is the chief villain: it is the Cuviers of this world, writes Faujas, who ceaselessly intrigue and lie, in his case in order to secure places on the voyage for young people acting under his orders, who will make trouble for Freycinet, indeed one day exploit him for their own profit (*‘...et que les Cuviers cessent d'intriguer et de mentir frontement pour vous donner... des jeunes gens à leurs ordres...’*).

He must also take exceptionally good care of his scientific instruments to get good accurate results, and should pay attention to the alembic to be sure of the quality of his distilled water.

As seems to be Faujas' habit, perhaps a little more loquacious as an old man, the letter also has passages about apparently trite domestic matters: he has mislaid a letter which may be in some laundry that has made its way to Paris with the Freycinets; can Louis settle a small debt for him. These details serve to illuminate the intimacy and friendship between the two men.

This letter contains a good deal of reflection on the nature of command, and while we have not traced Freycinet's reply, it would be interesting to know how he answered; it is safe to assume that he agreed with the import of most of Faujas' advice, as he was conspicuous in his attempts to ensure that his voyage was not riven by the dissent that marked the Baudin expedition, and made sure that all of the *savants* on board were naval officers. Certainly a note in Freycinet's hand confirms that he received the letter, and replied on 24 February 1817.

**OFFERING BLOCH'S FISH BOOK TO FREYCINET
FROM HIS PERSONAL LIBRARY**

62. FAUJAS DE SAINT-FOND, Barthélemy. Significant autograph letter signed to Louis de Freycinet offering his own set of Bloch's great work on fishes to carry on the *Uranie*.

Three-page autograph letter, on a single sheet of wove paper folded to letter-size 220 x 170 mm., addressed to Louis de Freycinet in Paris, with a neat postal mark and retaining the original seal; torn with loss where originally opened but in excellent condition. Saint-Fond, 15 January, 1817.

An important and lengthy letter from Faujas de Saint Fond to Louis de Freycinet, encouraging his friend to promote the study of ichthyology on his forthcoming voyage, and in order to help make this possible offering him his own copy of Bloch's indispensable work on fishes – the very copy that appears in this catalogue (number 63).

He writes to his “dear neighbour” that he is very aware that the difficulties of long voyages can lead to the neglect of the sciences, particularly if the right preparations are not taken, which is why he is keen for the work of Bloch to be carried on board the *Uranie*. He will also soon, Faujas continues, send Freycinet a short memorandum he is preparing on some aspects of the study of marine life; it can be given to the various scientists on the voyage to highlight those points that still need clearing up, that haven't been sorted out by Péron, nor by the English scientists.

Faujas follows this with a paragraph that continues the theme that dominated his previous letters (see catalogue numbers 60 and 61), that Freycinet must be successful in appointing his own men. It is clear from the previous correspondence that Cuvier is the malign spirit to whom Péron refers, intriguing to appropriate for himself, at any cost, all the knowledge and kudos that he can gain, entirely for his own benefit, and just to make a big noise rather than caring for the advancement of science: *‘intrigues faites avec autant d'impudence que de hardiesse de la part d'un homme qui jaloux de toutes les connoissances, voudroit se les approprier toutes à quelques prix que ce soit, pour son intérêt personnel, et pour faire du bruit seulement, et non pour le progrès de l'avancement des sciences’*.

Faujas gives Freycinet a detailed description of the exact location of his set of Bloch's great fish book: he is to ask the Chevalier du Barron, who has the keys to the library, to hand it over to him, explaining its precise location in the library (*‘dans le bas des tablettes à gauche du premier corps de ma bibliothèque’*). Please could Freycinet also settle a small debt for him, since he owes 200 francs to the clever geographer who did the map of mountains for him. A fairly long discussion ensues on the exact details of how this sum will be paid and reimbursed. Faujas seems from this and the other letters in the catalogue to readily immerse himself in such details.

At this stage just before departing on the *Uranie* voyage Louis and Rose have evidently been living in an apartment in Faujas' Paris house, at 25 rue de Seine, since that is where the letter is addressed, and there is a long paragraph about arrangements made with one of Louis' friends to move furniture out as necessary. Of course that will be alright, and there is a long discussion about authorisation and keys where needed, and so forth. Very interestingly in this context, Faujas clearly knows in January 1817 that Rose will not be coming back to Paris, suggesting that even at this date he knows that instead she will be going aboard the *Uranie*, even though the letter was written in February and the *Uranie* would not sail until September.

Freycinet's father, also named Louis, commented in a memoir of Faujas published in 1820 that his old friend had been convinced of the value of voyages of discovery by his own early travelling (Louis de Freycinet, *Essai sur la vie, les opinions et les ouvrages de Barthélemy Faujas de Saint-Fond*, Valence, 1820, p. 6). Faujas would in fact die during the absence of the younger Louis on the voyage of the *Uranie*: at one point in the essay (p. 10), Freycinet senior writes with emotion that Faujas' name will endure even to the extremities of the globe, since his son had named one of his north-west Tasmanian discoveries “Peak Faujas”, and refers the reader to charts in the large geographical atlas of the Baudin voyage to confirm it.

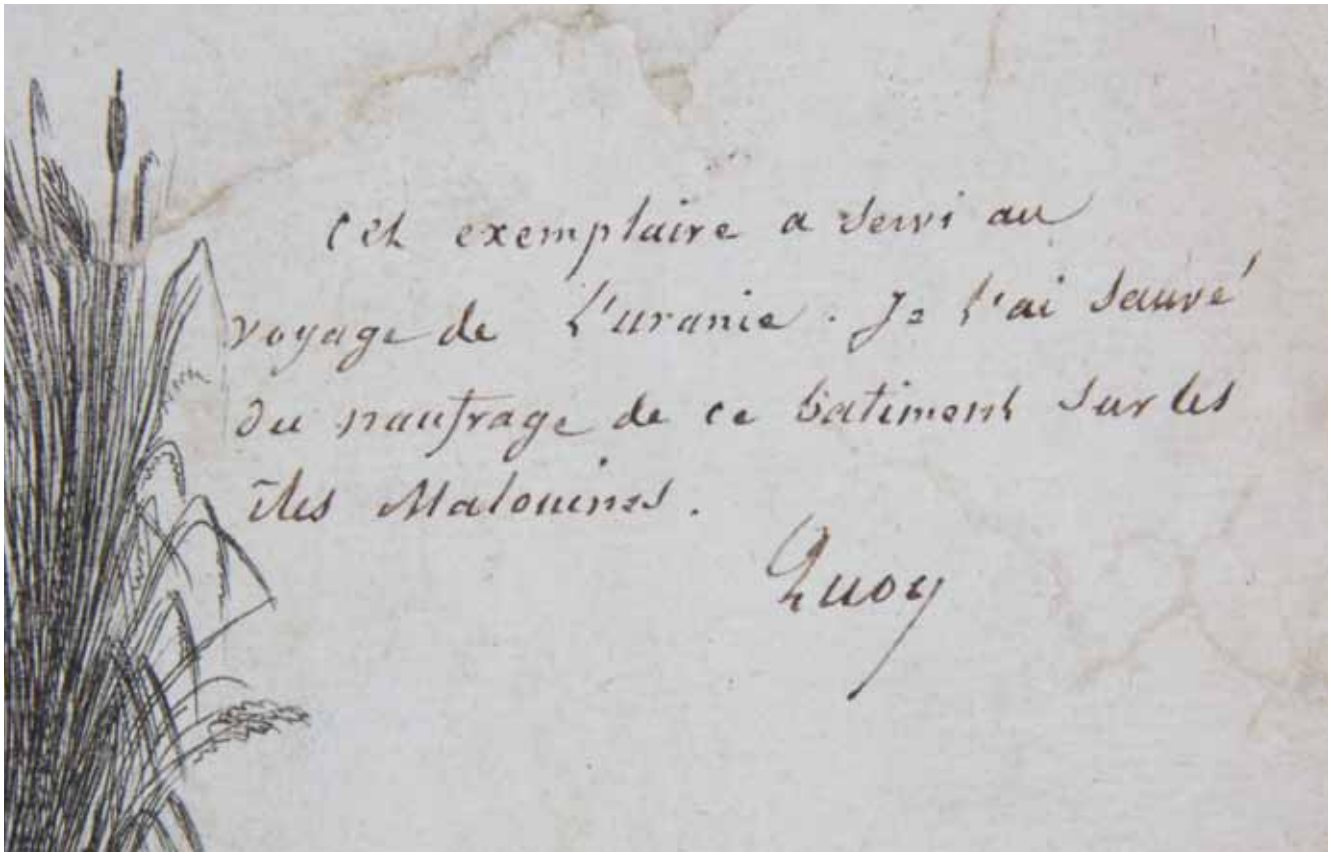
LOR 25
Monsieur L'OL

Monsieur Louis Desprez
Capitaine Desprez, chez le Sieur de Lorde
royal et militaire de Paris et Louis
au Jardin d'Orangerie aux Bains et Marleau
par la rue de Seine n° 25. maison de m.
le professeur Bayez Dardem

à Paris







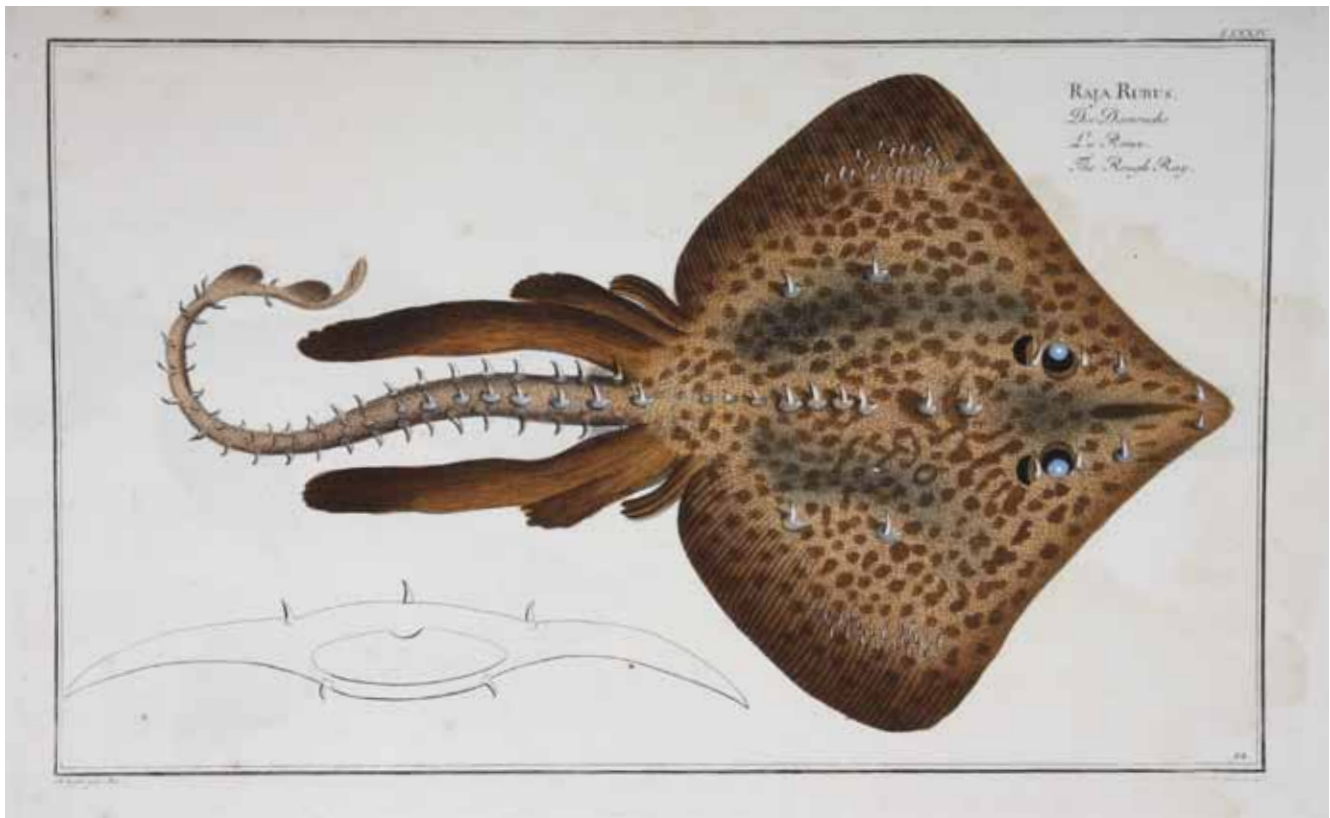
TAKEN ON BOARD THE URANIE BY LOUIS DE FREYCINET

63. BLOCH, Marc Éliéser. *Ichtyologie, ou Historie Naturelle, générale et particulière des Poissons. Avec des Figures enluminées, dessinées, d'après Nature.*

Twelve volumes, folio, with the full complement of 432 handcoloured engraved plates, engraved title-vignette to each volume, contemporary annotation by Quoy on the first title-page noting that this set was rescued from the wreck of the Uranie, letter from the author loosely inserted, some water damage, chiefly to first title-page which has been laid down and repaired, but also apparently with the loss of pp. 5-8 from the introduction (blank pages inserted) and the last leaf of text in the last volume; a few bumps but an extremely handsome set in full contemporary calf, flat spines decorated in gilt and with double red morocco labels. Berlin, chez l'auteur, Imprimerie Louis Philippe Wegener and Godefroy Hayn, 1785-1797.

A wonderful association copy of this magnificent and very substantial large twelve-volume work, the finest illustrated work on fishes ever produced. This actual copy was sent by Bloch to the French scientist Barthélemy Faujas de Saint-Fond (the relevant letter from Bloch, evidently part of a larger correspondence about this work, is loosely inserted). Faujas gave the book to Louis de Freycinet in 1817 (see Faujas' letter on the book, the previous item in this catalogue) so that he could take it on the voyage of the *Uranie*, where it was used extensively by the scientists in their important studies of marine life and frequently consulted by the artists on the voyage; it was salvaged from the Falklands shipwreck by the naturalist Quoy who has inscribed the title-page to record this fact.

Marcus Elieser Bloch (1723-1799) was born in Ansbach and practised as a physician in Berlin, but his true passion was natural history. Considered the most important ichthyologist of the eighteenth century, his collection of some 1500 fishes was the largest of its time, and survives almost in its entirety at Humboldt University in Berlin. The present work is Bloch's greatest, and was issued in a German edition more or less concurrently, but in much smaller format. The



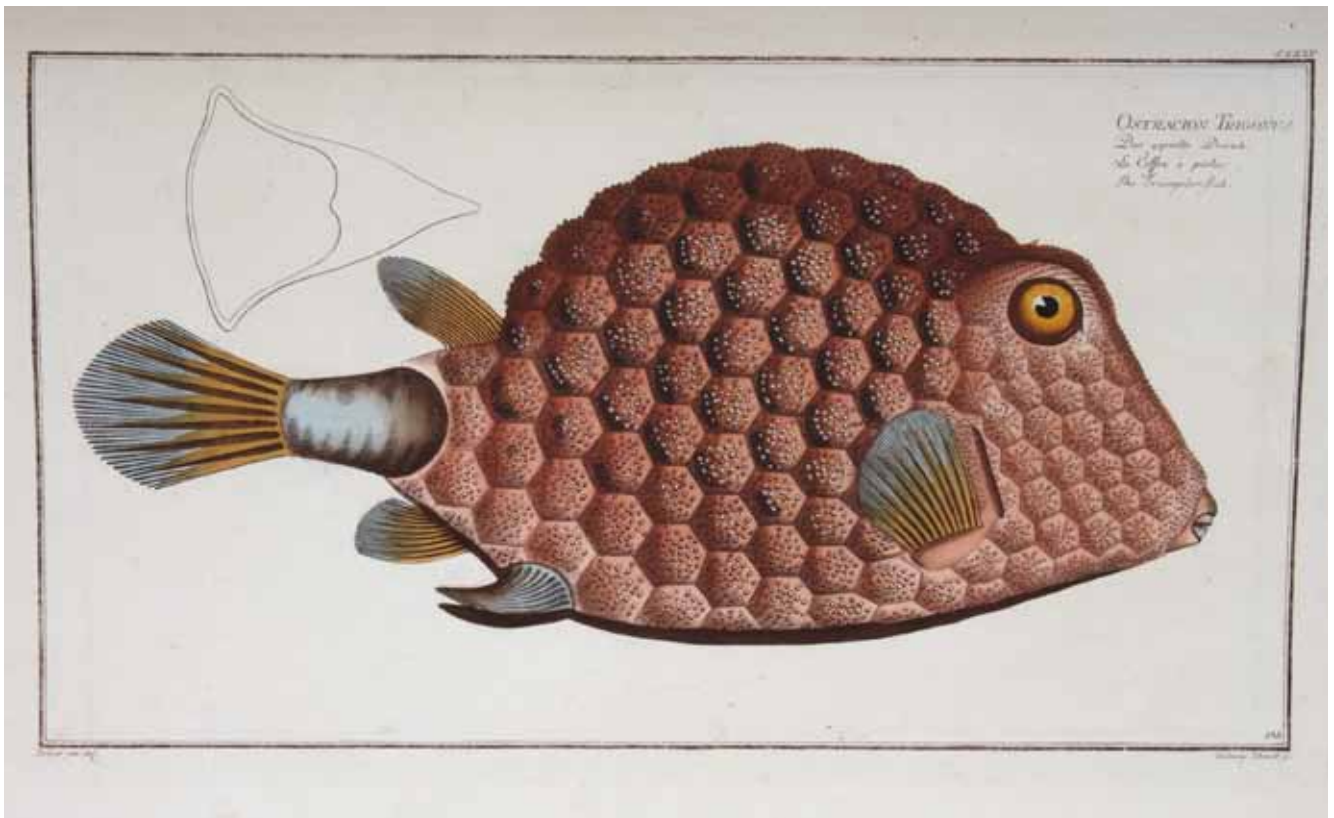
work is famous for its dazzlingly beautiful suite of hand-coloured plates, heightened with gold, silver, and bronze to reproduce the metallic sheen of fish scales (for more details see Nissen).

The following handwritten note is found on the title page of the first volume '*Cet exemplaire a servi au voyage de l'Uranie. Je l'ai sauvé du naufrage de ce bâtiment sur les îles Malouines*' ('This copy was on board the *Uranie* during its voyage. I saved it from the wreckage on the Falkland islands'). The note is signed by Quoy, naturalist and ship's doctor on the *Uranie*. The wreck of the vessel in French Bay on the Falkland Islands was a tragedy for Freycinet, and more especially for the scientists who lost most of the specimens they had collected in Australia and the Pacific: the knowledge of these losses makes the salvaging of the present set even more poignant, as well as providing a reflection on the value Bloch's work was accorded on board. Of course, very few examples of books are known that were actually carried on any of the great voyages of exploration.

Accompanying the work is an original letter from Bloch to Barthélemy Faujas de Saint-Fond (1741-1819). Faujas, the great French scientist, geologist and traveller, was born at Montélimar and was a neighbour and close friend of the Freycinet family (see also catalogue nos. 12, 60-62). In Bloch's letter, dated December 1782, he thanks his colleague profusely for his assistance in admitting him to his "*Illustre Société*" (most likely the Académie des sciences), and also notes that he is sending a few parts of '*mon histoire des poissons*.'

This magnificent book thus belonged in turn to the author himself; by presentation to Faujas de Saint-Fond who would have had it bound from the parts; by gift to Louis de Freycinet; made available for use on the *Uranie* voyage to Jean René Constant Quoy and the other scientists; rescued from the shipwreck at the Falklands by Quoy, and taken back to Europe.

Nissen ZBI, 415.



**THE FIRST REPRESENTATION OF A NORTHWEST COAST SCULPTURE
DEPICTING EUROPEANS**

64. TAUNAY, Adrien. “Ouvrages du Kamschatka”.

Sheet of fine wove paper, 355 x 260 mm., ink and watercolour drawing, signed and dated by Taunay lower right, traces of earlier pencil sketching faintly visible; fine. Oahu, 1819.

A fine sheet of watercolour drawings by Taunay, depicting northwest Pacific relics that had been traded in Hawaii.

The sheet depicts two wonderful objects stated to be from Kamchatka, but now recognised as coming from the Pacific northwest (see below). Taunay shows three views (front, back and side) of an elaborately carved wooden pipe (“*Pipe en bois*”), and one view of a beautiful woven straw hat (“*Chapeau de paille*”). One interesting aspect of this record is that it provides early recognition of the then flourishing trade in curiosities that extended far beyond Hawaii itself: the *Uranie* voyage did not sail into the northern Pacific beyond Hawaii, but the enigma of why these objects were illustrated by Taunay is easily solved by the manuscript caption: ‘these objects were given to us in Oahu’ (*ces différents objets ont été donnés à Woahou*).

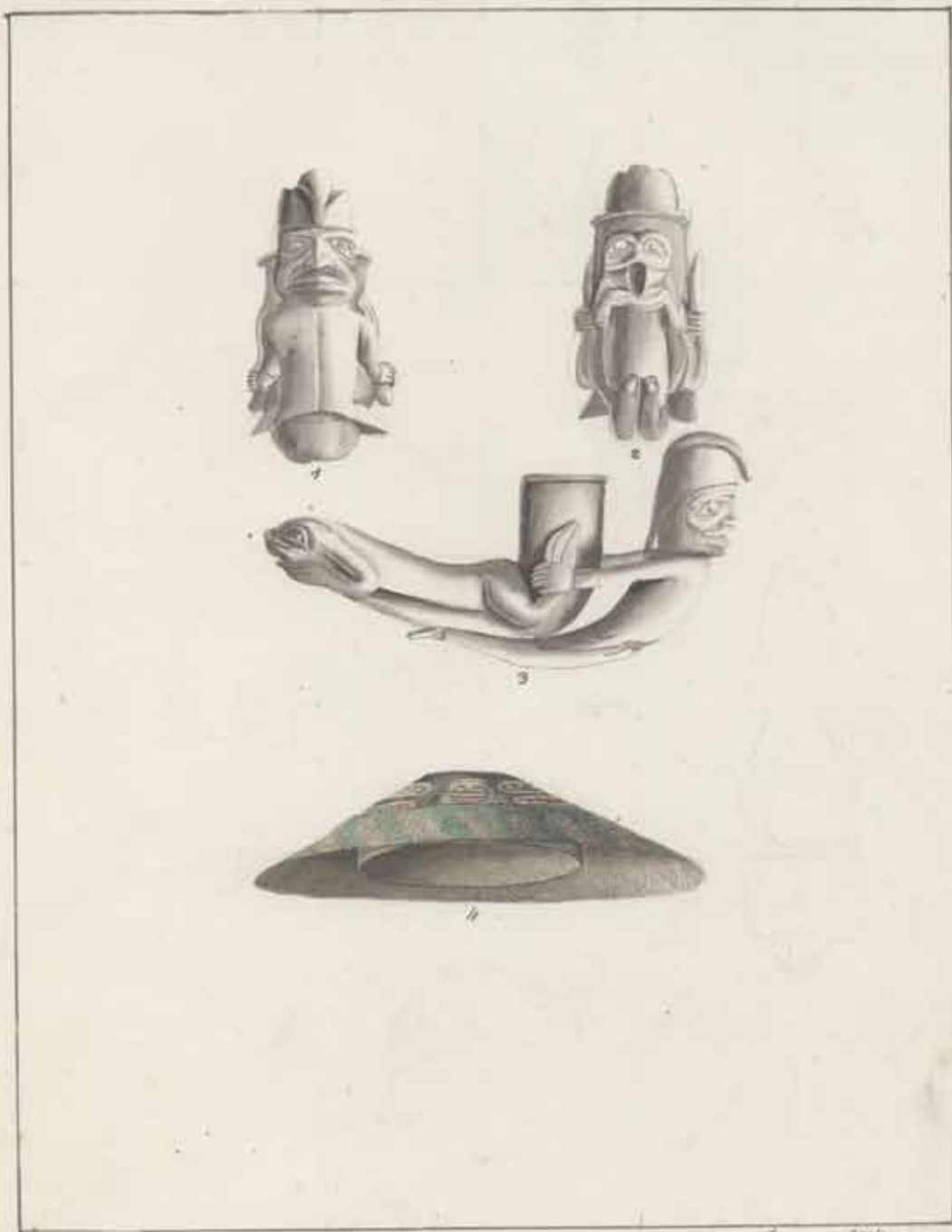
Although headed “Kamschatka”, the two pieces depicted are actually from the Northwest coast. The hat, striking for its vivid hand-colouring, is a Tlingit painted spruce root hat, twined, from Alaska. Taunay’s three views of the pipe confirm its considerable significance as a piece of early post-contact Haida art: the carved figures depict a European taken from the prow of a European vessel, while the crest figure behind is a frog. This watercolour is the earliest known original depiction of a piece of this type, which is itself the earliest known representation of any Europeans by a Northwest coast artist. It is therefore of great significance for British Columbian/Alaskan art history since it derives from one of the Haida tribes living in both areas. The present whereabouts of this important pipe is not known.

‘Like other north coast peoples, the Haida believed that the souls of the deceased travelled first to the sky world in their cycle of reincarnation. Both prayers and souls could be helped on their journey by means of smoke rising from the central hearth of the house or by smoke rising from pipes. Prior to European contact, the Haida used local tobacco. Pipe smoking became strongly associated with the extraordinary powers initially attributed to Europeans, particularly firearms, which not only smoked but brought instant injury or death. Many early pipes were made from the walnut of gunstocks and parts of gun barrels in order to capture and transfer the power of guns to pipes...’ (Canadian Museum of Civilization, online resource).

Taunay’s reference to “Kamschatka” shows how widely travelled these artefacts were, suggesting that they may even have been traded from Alaska to Kamchatka before reaching Hawaii. The Hawaiians are known to have collected curiosities with the same passion as their visitors, meaning that the objects could date from as early as the voyages of Cook, Portlock or Vancouver. It is probably more likely that they were brought by one of the more contemporary Russian expeditions like those of Lisiansky, Kotzebue or Golovnin: if we assume that they were newly acquired, perhaps the visits of Kotzebue (1816 and 1817), Golovnin (1818) or even the Frenchman Roquefeuil (1819) might be considered as a source, but they could also have come from one of the scores of American and European trading and whaling vessels which, by 1819, were such a regular part of Hawaiian life. Taunay’s fellow artist Arago mentions that in Oahu, ‘on the arrival of spring, [the Americans’] correspondents on the North-West coast of America come here with a cargo of furs, to obtain provisions, and increase their rich ventures with the acquisitions of their partners...’ (*Narrative of a Voyage Round the World*, p. 125).

Adrien Taunay the younger (1803-1828) was a French artist and draftsman who moved to Rio de Janeiro in 1816, where he was recruited as the junior artist on the *Uranie*. Although only fifteen or sixteen years old by the time he drew the present sketch, and although he is rather overshadowed by the now more famous Jacques Arago and Alphonse Pellion, the drawing is ample testament to his skills. Indeed he is best remembered for the work he did in Hawaii, working with Arago to produce many candid portraits and natural history drawings.

Kamschatka.



Goussier del. 1779

Ouvrages du Kamschatka

- 1 Pipe (embellie) par devant
2 idem, vue par derrière
3 idem, vue latéralement
4 Chapeau de paille
- Les différents styles ont été
donnés à Mouton.

THE URANIE'S LAST DAYS AND HOURS

65. ARROWSMITH, Aaron. Extensively annotated "Chart of the Southern Promontory of America... compared with a Spanish M.S., and Observations on the Falkland Islands."

Large engraved map, 960 x 665 mm., annotated in pencil and with longitude adjustments in ink, later manuscript note "Amérique du Sud, Terre de Feu" to verso; a little browned, margins frayed and closed tear to bottom edge, but generally very good. London, A. Arrowsmith, 1 April, 1802.

An extraordinary relic of the loss of the *Uranie* at the Falkland Islands: Freycinet's own copy of the definitive Arrowsmith chart of the region, with his detailed track of the vessel and numerous annotations all in pencil in his distinctive hand, particularly interesting regarding the Falklands, where the *Uranie* was lost. The track, in particular, shows the fateful sailing of the *Uranie* before the wreck, while some of the exasperated notes – "incorrect", "à n'y rien connaître", to give just two examples – underline Freycinet's frustration with the inaccuracies in the charting of these difficult waters.

Arrowsmith's chart includes the Straits of Magellan, the southern coastline of Tierra del Fuego and the Falkland Islands. The *Uranie* had left Port Jackson on Christmas Day of 1819 and reached the Cape in February 1820, intending to shelter at Cook's Bay of Good Success, marked by Freycinet here with the note that the region had been charted on "*Cook 1e. Voy*" and "*Cook 2d. Voy*". However, a ferocious storm set in, and the *Uranie* was harried through the Straits of Le Maire and into the southern Atlantic. By the time the storm abated the vessel was so far north that Freycinet decided to head for the Falklands instead, sighting the group on 12 February 1820, and immediately heading for the relatively sheltered French Bay, on the far eastern tip of the group, which had been praised as an anchorage by Bougainville.

The bitter irony of the loss of the *Uranie* is that after a stormy passage into the Atlantic, and after a few days cruising around the Falklands with maps that Freycinet thought 'so inaccurate that it was very difficult for me to determine at which point we were,' they nonetheless sailed into French Bay on a day of fine weather and favourable winds. The *Uranie* nosed into the harbour continually sounding and with men in the rigging looking out for submerged rocks and shoals, but struck a narrow outcrop of rock adjacent to the northern headland and the already dilapidated vessel began to leak heavily, leaving Freycinet no choice but to run aground. Although they feared that they would be stuck on the barren coast indefinitely, Freycinet was able to charter and ultimately purchase a passing vessel called the *Mercury*, which was renamed the *Physicienne*, and on board which vessel the expedition finally returned to France.

The pencilled track of the *Uranie* begins on 4 February, not far short of Cape Desolation on the southern coast of Tierra del Fuego. It continues along the coast as far as Good Success, before driving dramatically north into the Atlantic. On 10 February they are north of the Falklands and over the following two days the track dips south-eastward, heading for French Bay. As the track nears French Bay there is some complicated tacking in the tricky winds, and the last position is recorded just off the dangerous northern head of Berkeley Sound – it must have been infuriating for Freycinet to note that this printed map includes the small cross mark for rocks in the precise vicinity of where the *Uranie* struck.

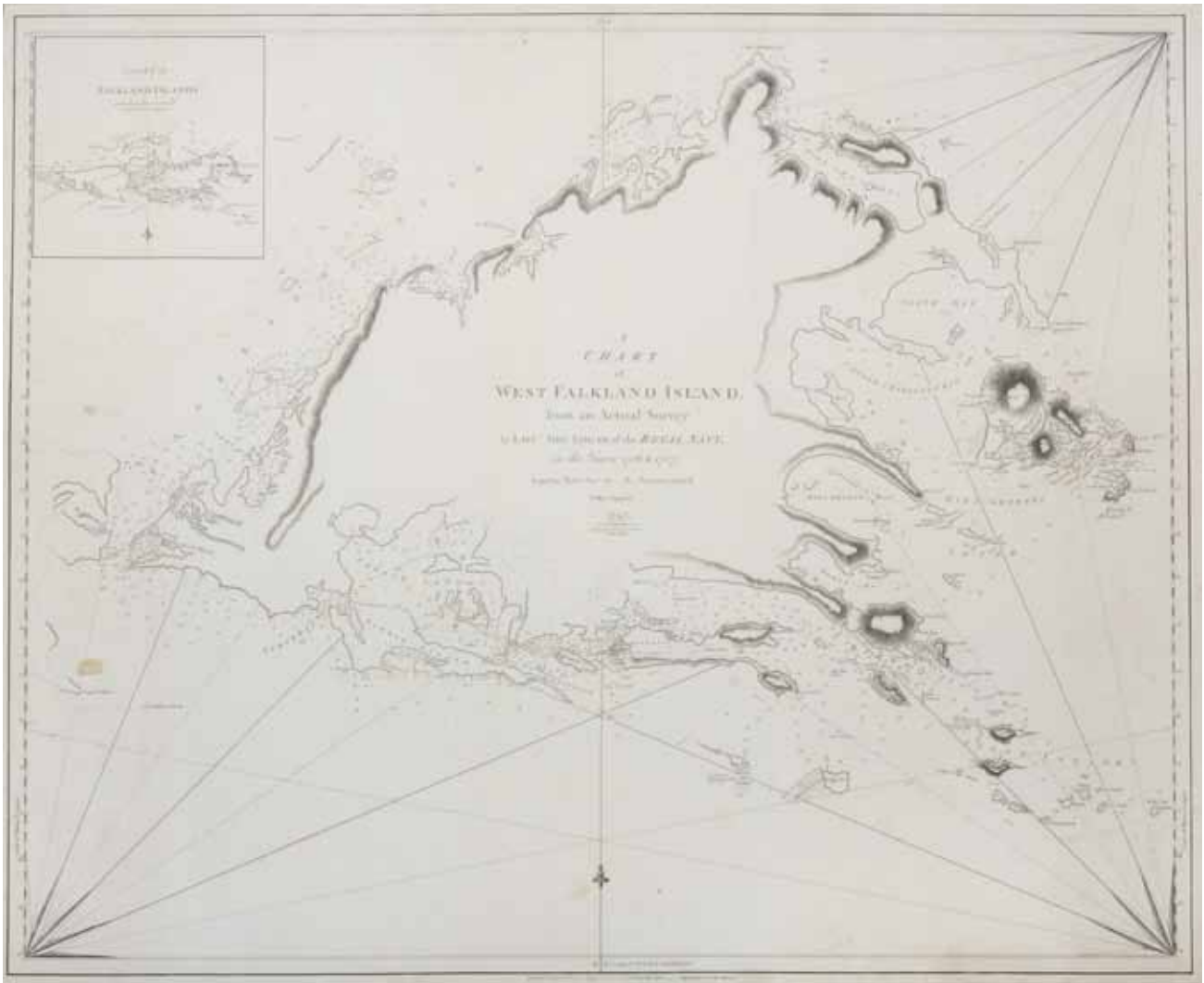
There are also unusually detailed notes by Freycinet for all parts of the Falklands. He has, as ever, doggedly changed the latitude so that it is measured from Paris. On the north-west coast the position of a Spanish snow is recorded, and at two different points Freycinet has marked "good anchorage" ("*bon mouillage*"). The "*îles de Amican*" (now Speedwell and George islands) are marked with the blunt "incorrect", the south-west corner of East Falkland Island is a very bad coast ("*très mauvais parage*"), while the southern coast of East Falkland has the note that it is incorrect as nothing is known of the region ("*incorrect à n'y rien connaître*"). Interestingly, he has also marked the position of a Spanish brig in this region, as well as the position of a second vessel that is not otherwise described.

Otherwise, the relatively incomplete chart of the southern side of Tierra del Fuego is gridded, although he has not completed any gridding of the Falklands, almost certainly testament to his belief that the mapping on this chart was too poor to use; he writes here regarding West Falkland that the large format chart by Arrowsmith is more reliable ('*carte d'Arrowsmith en gd. assez exacte pr. la gde. Ile (1764)*': see the following item in the catalogue, an Arrowsmith chart of West Falkland, dated 1797. Freycinet seems not to have been very clear on the date of the map, having here first scribbled out "1664").

CHART
 of the
SOUTHERN PROMONTORY
 of
AMERICA
 from the
 SPANISH SURVEY
 made in the years 1763, 1793, 1795, and 1797.
 compared with a general N.S.
 and observations on the different Islands
 by J. D. ...
 ...

...
 ...
 ...





**FREYCINET CORRECTS AN ENGLISH MAP
OF THE TREACHEROUS FALKLANDS**

66. ARROWSMITH, Aaron. "A Chart of West Falkland Island", squared-up and annotated in pencil.

Large engraved map, 645 x 785 mm., numerous annotations in pencil including grids on the coastline, top edge of margin chipped with small loss but the plate unaffected, ink note "Is. Falkland d'Arrowsmith" to verso in Freycinet's hand; very good. London, Soho Square, A. Arrowsmith, 1797.

A fine Arrowsmith map of West Falkland Island, owned by Louis de Freycinet and evidently carried by him on *Uranie*, with several pencil annotations in his hand, and probably the map referred to at the end of note to the previous item.

This large and detailed map of West Falkland Island was engraved by Arrowsmith from a survey undertaken by Lieutenant Thomas Edgar R.N., who had earlier served as master of the *Discovery* under Captain Clerke on Cook's third voyage of discovery. In 1786 and 1787 Edgar conducted a survey of the region aboard the whaler *Hope* and present day Port Edgar is named in his honour, while this map includes the cautionary printed note, just offshore from Jason Island in the lower right corner, 'on this reef the Hope struck 1786'.

The Falklands had an appalling record for shipwrecks and claimed many vessels, mainly whalers and sealers, over the years. Rose de Freycinet noted a conversation between her husband and Captain Orne of the sealer *General Knox*, one of the ships that encountered the struggling French crew shortly after the wreck, commenting in her journal that 'these wretched islands are surrounded by uncharted rocks, and the captain told Louis that there were perhaps 50 wrecks in the area' (*A Woman of Courage*, p. 139). As might be expected of a captain who had seen the wreck of his ship, Freycinet complained vociferously about the accuracy of his maps of the Falklands, and the present map shows evidence of his desire to improve the coastal survey.

Apart from the squaring up and the calculation of longitude and latitude, there are also several notes in Freycinet's hand, including the marking of West Point Harbour and Sebald de Waart, while alongside the dangerous Edystone Rock he has also noted its longitude and latitude and marked his note "*corrigée*". He has also written "*Is. Falkland d'Arrowsmith*" to the verso. Lastly there is also an anchorage recorded as longitude 62° 27' West (Paris) and latitude 51° 21' South (just to the south-west of Port Egmont). The French did not sail to Port Egmont, and one wonders if this information was passed on by James Weddell, later an Antarctic explorer, but in 1820 staying at Port Egmont aboard the brig *Jane*. Weddell heard about the fate of the *Uranie* too late to offer any material assistance, 'but was able to call on Freycinet and express regret that it was now too late to do anything other than wish him God-speed' (Dunmore, *French Explorers in the Pacific*, p. 104). In the margin Freycinet has also noted that Malaspina, the Spanish explorer and Pacific veteran, had recorded the latitude of Port Egmont as 51°23.30, and calculated the discrepancy between the two reports.

**FIRST PUBLICATION OF FREYCINET'S CHART
OF THE WRECK AT FRENCH BAY**



67. [FRENCH BAY]ARNOLD, Thomas. *The American Practical Lunarian, and Seaman's Guide...*

Thick octavo, 15 plates (some folding), many tables and text illustrations, some scattered light foxing and browning as commonly found in American books of this date; a good copy in the original dark calf, spine label chipped, a few repairs to extremities. Philadelphia, Robert Desilver, August, 1822.

First and only edition of this remarkable book, including the earliest published map based on the Freycinet voyage, an engraved sketch-map of French Bay marking where the *Uranie* ran aground.

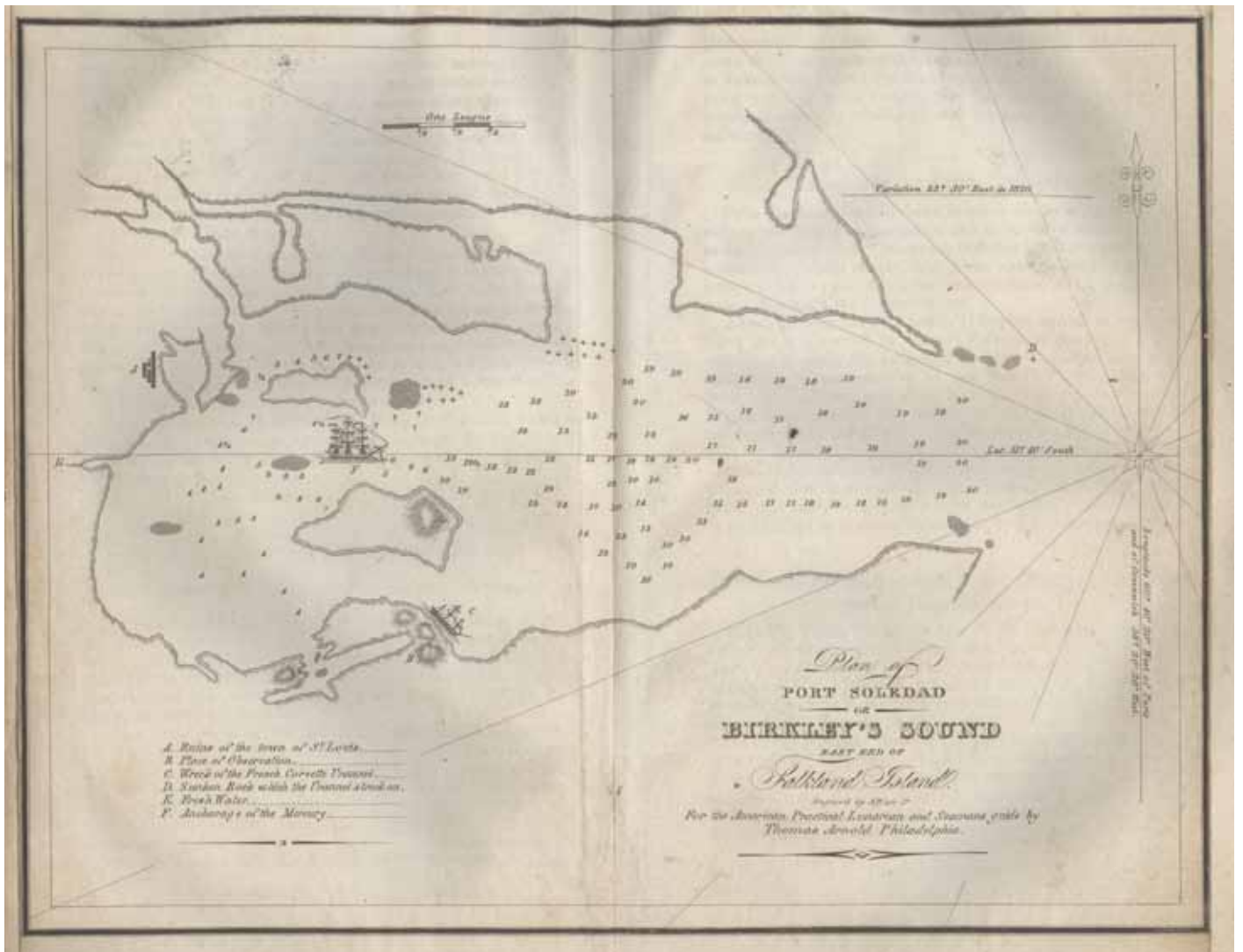
The map was based on a manuscript chart completed by Freycinet and copied for Captain Galvin of the *Mercury*, the ship leased by Freycinet for the return to France, and later purchased and renamed the *Physicienne*. The “Plan of Port Soledad or Berkley’s Sound east end of Falkland Island” is rather well done, with a key noting the position of details including the ‘Wreck of the French Corvette Urannei [sic]’, the ‘Sunken Rock which the Urannei struck on’, and the ‘Anchorage of the Mercury’.

The presence of the Freycinet chart is due to Arnold’s friendship with Captain John Galvin, who is listed here as one of the subscribers. Arnold notes: ‘This chart was presented to the author in manuscript, by Captain John Galvin, of the ship *Mercury*, of Buenos Ayres, when he was in Philadelphia in 1821, a copy of which the author had engraved for this work. Captain Galvin procured it from the captain of the French corvette *Uranée* [sic], which was at that time on a voyage of discovery, and was wrecked in this port, when Captain Galvin put in there in the *Mercury* in a leaky state, in 1820’ (p. 263).

Galvin had been running guns to rebels in Chile, but the *Mercury* had taken a beating in heavy seas, and pulled into the Falklands to refit. The French were already engaged in fruitless negotiations with a whaler called the *General Knox*, but Freycinet was relieved to be able to switch his attention to Galvin and the *Mercury*, negotiating their passage to Montevideo and, en route, arranging for the purchase of the vessel – a complicated bargain, but greatly preferred by Galvin’s other passengers, a small group of fiery revolutionaries heading for the war in Chile.

This work was published by the experienced mariner Thomas Arnold who had set up a Nautical Academy at 295 South Front Street on the river at Philadelphia (which he advertises here). A compendium of useful information similar in style to works such as Bowditch’s *Practical Navigator* or Blunt’s *Shipmaster’s Assistant*, it is rich in practical notes on subjects as diverse as navigational instruction, natural history, astronomy, practical seamanship, gunnery, naval tactics and ‘several sketches of trade not generally known’ (including trade with the Ile de France, Bourbon and Batavia, to name just a few). The important section of sailing directions concentrates largely on Atlantic waters, as might be expected, and openly acknowledges its debt to Horsburgh’s sailing directions of 1818 (‘which is the latest and best extant’), with a few corrections from working sea-captains.

Not in Sabin.





ROSE'S DIARY: THE FIRST OF NUMEROUS PUBLICATIONS

68. FREYCINET, Rose de. *Campagne de l'Uranie (1817-1820). Journal de Madame Rose de Saulces de Freycinet, d'après le manuscrit original, accompagné de notes par Charles Duplomb.*

Quarto, with 25 plates in colour and black-and-white, map of "l'île Rose"; a very good copy, in the original printed wrappers, hinges starting and some wear to spine, protected in bookform box with morocco spine label. Paris, Société d'éditions Géographiques, Maritimes et Coloniales, 1927.

A very scarce book, published only in limited numbers: the first published version of Rose de Freycinet's voyage journal, the only great voyage account told from a woman's point of view.

Rose de Freycinet was smuggled aboard the *Uranie*, disguised in men's clothing, before the ship left Toulon in 1817. She returned to France three years later as a heroine after a voyage which had taken her to South America, South Africa, Mauritius, West Australia, Timor, the Moluccas, New Guinea, the Carolines, Guam, Hawaii, and New South Wales. She had survived hardships ranging from an attack by Algerian pirates to their shipwreck in the Falklands, when the *Uranie* was wrecked in French Bay, forcing Freycinet to purchase the American ship *Mercury* for the return voyage to France.

Rose's journal captures her impressions of the adventure and is especially notable for the twenty-five lovely colour plates after original drawings by Arago and Pellion, including several famous Australian scenes (one of those original drawings is number 69 in this catalogue). Hill comments that Madame Freycinet's presence caused some disruption among the crew, but she was immensely popular in most of the voyage's ports of call, and is now recognised as one of the great romantic figures of exploration. Although cautious, Freycinet did not hesitate to name Rose Island in the Samoan island chain as well as "Cap Rose" in Shark Bay, after her.

Borba de Moraes, I, p. 328 ("very interesting"); Chadenat, 1607; Hill, 652 (in error listing 28 plates).

CAMPAGNE DE L' « URANIE »
(1817-1820)

JOURNAL
DE
MADAME ROSE
DE SAULCES DE FREYCINET

D'APRÈS LE MANUSCRIT ORIGINAL

ACCOMPAGNÉ DE NOTES

PAR

CHARLES DUPLOMB

DIRECTEUR HONORAIRE AU MINISTÈRE DE LA MARINE



PARIS
SOCIÉTÉ D'ÉDITIONS
GÉOGRAPHIQUES, MARITIMES ET COLONIALES
184, BOULEVARD SAINT-GERMAIN (VI^e)

1937

ROSE, 'IN ALL THE FINERY I HAD...'

69. ARAGO, Jacques. Timor, 1818. Réception à Diely.

Watercolour on paper, 285 x 348 mm., within an ink border, captioned above and below the image; in fine condition, mounted. Diely (= Dili, East Timor), November, 1818.

Against all the regulations, Rose de Freycinet accompanies Louis on a ceremonial occasion, in "all the finery I had". This wonderful watercolour by Arago has become one of the most famous original images of the *Uranie* expedition, familiar to us not from this original but from its slightly distorted publication in the Duplomb edition of Rose's journal (see no. 68). That reproduction has in turn been reproduced numerous times, notably on the cover of Rivière's translation of the journal (*Woman of Courage*, Canberra, 1996) but also as a plate in Marnie Bassett's adaptation of the journal (*Realms and Islands*, Oxford, 1962).

The official version of the scene in the narrative of the voyage (illustrated at left) differs markedly from this in many respects, and depicts a far more formal occasion than Arago draws or indeed Rose herself records. Of course the essential difference is that Rose has been entirely "disappeared" from the official version, whereas Arago shows her as the central figure in a most amusing scene. Her disappearance has a distinctly Politburo tang to it; today we would say that she has been photoshopped out.

The finished drawing prepared for publication in the official account was by the Paris artist Marchais after an original drawing by Alphonse Pellion. (The Marchais drawing is also reproduced by Rivière in *Woman of Courage*, p. 58). Arago's far more sympathetic and humorous, and obviously honest, drawing remained unpublished until the twentieth century.

The image depicts a wonderful moment in the story of the voyage, with the wit and flair typical of Arago. The *Uranie* had called at Dili in East Timor after a difficult passage. Rose describes the scene in her journal: 'we anchored four days ago. Our salute was returned. Louis was also saluted by one special salvo when he landed from the boat which took him ashore. The Portuguese Governor, Don Jose Pinto Alcoforado d'Azevedo e Souza, welcomed the dear Commander and his crew with remarkable courtesy, and as soon as he learnt that I was on board, he sent me fruit and fresh bread together with an invitation to dine with him the next day. To this end, he announced to my husband that all the notable women of the colony would be gathered at his home to receive me.'

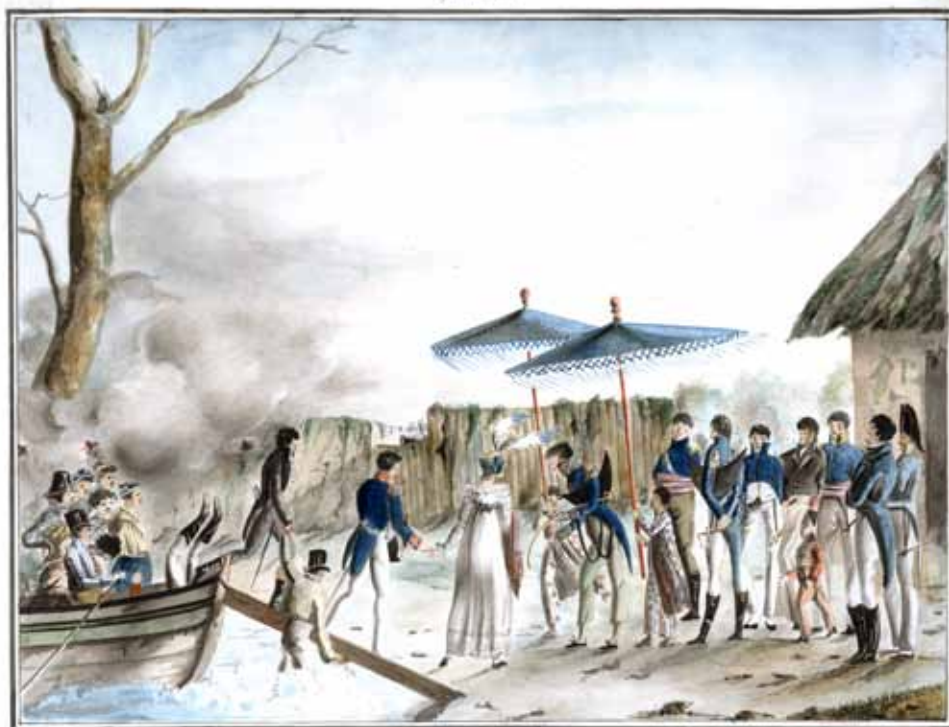
Rose continues: 'I did not possess suitable attire for such formal occasions; a light muslin dress alone, together with a hat decorated with a few feathers, was all the finery I had. The minute our boat landed, from a fortress nearby there was such a loud salute from so many guns, and such a large crowd had scattered on the beach that I needed Louis' arm to reach the end of the gangway without stumbling. The Governor was present with all his staff. When I stepped ashore, he gave me his hand and invited me to share with him the shade of a huge parasol carried by a Timorese slave dressed in strange clothes. A similar parasol was held over Louis' head'. (*Woman of Courage*, p. 59).

Duplomb's version of the drawing – with a detail of the slapstick going on in the longboat – has also been reproduced by the Western Australian Museum in their online resource *The Uranie Voyage*, where the accompanying text points out that 'it is interesting to note... that it was earlier in the voyage at Gibraltar when Rose appeared dressed as a man that the only hint of disapproval from foreign officials with whom they came in contact was received. While apparently not disturbed at all by her presence on board, the Governor was certainly not impressed with her appearance, and from then on Rose de Freycinet 'abandoned her male disguise' and dressed in the fashion recorded in some detail in her letters and, for instance, in Arago's painting... Arago was also quite a humorist, for when his depiction of the official landing at Dili is examined very closely, he shows a less dignified view of it all and, to the delight of the realists amongst us all, an officer upended in the bows of the *Uranie* longboat. Herein lies the ever-present gulf between reality and the recorded event, and we are indebted to Arago and Rose de Freycinet for its presentation.'



Detail illustrated on front cover.

Above left, detail of the censored image published in the official account (catalogue no. 51)



Adriano's Duty

ROSE TO HER ADORED SISTER-IN-LAW CLEMENTINE

70. FREYCINET, Rose de. Charming autograph letter signed to Clémentine, wife of Henri de Freycinet.

Three-page autograph letter, on a sheet of laid paper, folded to letter-size 220 x 170 mm., boldly addressed to the final page and signed "Rose"; traces of early postal stamps, old folds, in excellent condition. Paris, 29 May, 1830.

A delightful personal letter from Rose de Freycinet to her sister-in-law Clémentine, wife of Henri de Freycinet.

Rose de Freycinet (1794-1832) is one of the great romantic figures: smuggled on board the *Uranie* by her doting husband, her diary of shipboard life, since published no fewer than three times, is one of the most interesting, candid, and intimate accounts of any of the early circumnavigations or *grands voyages*. Examples of her original correspondence are very scarce indeed, particularly when they give such an unbuttoned account of details of their life in Paris. Despite an unconventional courtship, Rose became a great favourite of the whole Freycinet family, and was particularly close to Henri and his wife Clémentine: Louis and Henri enjoyed a long correspondence throughout their life and, as this letter amply attests, the two sisters-in-law were also tremendously affectionate.

This letter was sent to Clémentine in Rochefort, to which city Henri had only recently returned after serving for some time in French Guiana. As a result, much of the letter is full of Rose's plans and arrangements to try to see Clémentine and Henri. The plans have been complicated by existing engagements involving Casimir (Frederic-Casimir, 1787-1862, Louis and Henri's brother, and a famous botanist in his own right) whose boss is proving unhelpful in refusing to release him for two weeks to spend time with his brothers and their families. Rose hopes, nonetheless, that nothing will prevent Clémentine from coming to Paris. She misses her terribly; during her absence only a letter from her can really make up for Rose's sense of isolation (*'Une lettre de vous est la seule chose qui puisse me distraire réellement de cette position isolé où me laisse votre absence, mais je ne veux pas vous attrister de nouveau par le récit de mes ennuis'*).

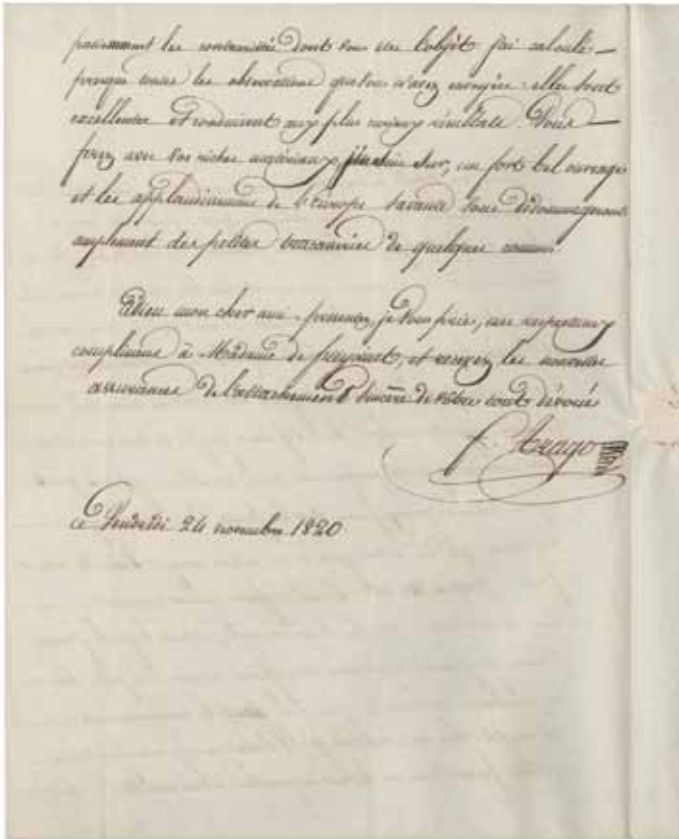
The letter also provides some important details about the career and successes of Louis. She writes with some pride about his social obligations, noting at one point that the night before Louis had been at the Duchess of Orleans' ball, a brilliant occasion which he likened to the Thousand and One Nights: he only returned, Rose notes, at daybreak. How sad that Clémentine couldn't be there; they could have gone to the ball together.

She has just spent a day at Rosny with Caroline de Nanteuil, who sends "*mille amitiés*". Caroline was Rose's other great friend; their intimacy was such that Rose had addressed her entire diary of the *Uranie* voyage to her, stressing that it was meant for her only and never intended for a wider audience, still less for publication.

As well as the famous diary, which was itself essentially a series of lengthy narrative letters to Caroline, a selection of letters from Rose to Clémentine was used to complete the narrative of the *Uranie* voyage in all three published versions of Rose's diary: by Charles Duplomb (see catalogue no. 68), Marnie Bassett, and most recently by Marc Serge Rivière in *A Woman of Courage* (see pp. 171-185), but the present letter was not included and remains unpublished. Thanks to the enormous interest in Rose and her famous narrative of the voyage, she has become recognised as one of the most interesting nineteenth-century letter-writers, and yet her letters are exceptionally rare on the market.



votre absence de Paris; sans cela, que vous vous en fussiez
 vous arrêter quelque jour à Montpellier en passant, nous nous
 y rendrions nous mêmes pour vous y trouver un jour que
 vous passeriez; si demain ^{le trois} nous pourrions aller ^{à la messe}; invariable
 de ^{nos} ^{affaires} de famille. Nous vous prions de vouloir bien réfléchir
 à tout cela et de nous en dire le résultat & votre décision
 le plus possible parce que nous attendons cela pour nous en
 nous même nos déterminations. — Cette lettre que j'avais communi-
 quée samedi n'a pu être terminée qu'aujourd'hui à cause de mes occupations
 à avoir M. Cestimir; j'ai passé le soir à Nodny dont je te reporte
 mille amitiés de Caroline et beaucoup de regrets de M. de Nassau
 de n'avoir pu me voir avant votre départ;
 Louis qui était de retour dimanche ~~soir~~ a été hier au soir
 au bal de la Duchesse d'Orléans qui a été d'un brillant digne



FREYCINET'S SAFE RETURN ALMOST IGNORED IN PARIS

71. ARAGO, François. Autograph letter signed to Louis de Freycinet (on the *Physicienne*) regarding drawings from the Uranie voyage and sympathising with his indifferent reception.

Two-page autograph letter, on a sheet of wove paper, folded to letter-size 240 x 180 mm., neatly written to the first two pages, the third blank and the fourth an address panel; old folds, traces of old seal, in excellent condition. Paris, 24 November, 1820.

From the great French scientist, brother of the expedition's artist, to Freycinet still aboard the *Physicienne* very shortly after the expedition's return to Le Havre. This important and revealing letter confirms that the Paris authorities had greeted the return of the *Physicienne* disdainfully. Freycinet has still not, the letter notes, received his official recall to Paris, despite the fact that fifteen days have now passed since his return.

The letter begins without preamble with Arago claiming that the “indifference” with which news of Louis’ return has been treated is entirely due to the absence of Emmanuel Halgan (1771-1852), a French naval officer and official at the Ministry, evidently then away from Paris. It is due to the “ineptitude” of Halgan’s subordinates, Arago continues, that the reception has been so muted. Arago has spoken to Lamarche who is now in Paris, and who is equally dumbfounded. There has been an attempt to rectify the situation, and this day Arago has proposed to M. de Pinon (presumably Louis’s father-in-law) that an article be placed in *Le Moniteur*, signed by Arago, stressing the scientific discoveries made on their lengthy expedition, and stating that no prior voyage had had more success. However, Arago continues, Pinon has advised against it.

Arago nonetheless goes on to congratulate Louis for the many interesting and revealing scientific observations that he has already seen, and comments that he looks forward to being able to spend more time studying these rich materials. He has already calculated almost all the observations that Freycinet has sent him: they are quite excellent, and have produced some very curious results. It has been, he concludes, a tremendous effort, and when he publishes the superb work that Arago is confident he will write, the plaudits of all of Europe’s savants will more than compensate for the small annoyances that he is currently enduring (*‘un fort bel ouvrage, et les applaudissemens de l’Europe savante vous de dommageront amplement des petites tracasseries de quelques commis’*).

Of particular note since the letter is from a leading member of the Paris establishment, the letter ends with Arago’s fond remembrances to Rose de Freycinet: soon after the voyage left it had become well known that she had accompanied her husband quite without permission. The address for the letter is also of great appeal: “*Monsieur le Capit. L. de Freycinet à bord de la corvette la Physicienne au Havre.*”

PRESERVING THE URANIE'S COLLECTIONS

72. ARAGO, François. Autograph letter signed to Louis de Freycinet while staying at Mme. Pinon's house, regarding drawings from the Uranie voyage

Written on both sides of a single leaf of laid paper, 195 x 125 mm; small tear at the head of the page, but otherwise very good. Paris, on behalf of the Académie des Sciences, circa 1825.

An encouraging note from the scientist François Arago, written on behalf of the Académie des Sciences to Louis de Freycinet regarding the material collected on the *Uranie* voyage: this letter makes an interesting supplement to Arago's earlier letter regarding Freycinet's offhand treatment on his return (see previous item). Now he is getting the run-around from the Académie itself.

Arago has taken a role in chivvying the Académie to complete its long-overdue report on the results of the *Uranie* voyage. He hasn't seen Freycinet for a few days, and in fact another Académie member, Rossel, has been commissioned to let Freycinet know all this – but he has probably forgotten so Arago has taken it upon himself to send news that he knows will be a relief to Freycinet.

The reason for the report's delay is that each specialist invited to examine the objects and specimens, drawings or papers, relevant to their speciality has wanted to take them away and study them. This is quite inappropriate of course as there is a real danger of losing material, particularly of losing working papers, no copies of which exist, since they may be dispersed to every quarter of Paris ('*de disperser dans tous les quartiers de Paris*').

The compromise arrangement just decided is that everything should be deposited at the Académie and any specialist needing to inspect material in their field can call and do so there. M. Cardot, chef du bureau, will take charge of all the original materials. The letter finishes with François asking Louis to pay his respects to both Rose and her mother Madame Pinon.

While it is well-known that it is now sometimes difficult to establish the provenance of items collected on any of the *grands voyages*, it is enlightening to see such a candid first-hand account, written by one of Freycinet's supporters, of the sometimes slipshod manner in which collections might be handled.

unanimement, qu'on s'efforcera
de déposer au secrétariat de l'Académie, sous
la garde de M. Cardot, chef du Bureau,
la totalité de vos Regimens, ainsi, cartes et
catalogues et que c'est là, seulement, qu'on
en fera l'inventaire. M. de Rossel
s'étant chargé, au nom de la commission, de
vous faire connaître cette détermination; mais
comme il peut l'avoir oublié, je prie
avec l'autant plus de plaisir le faire de-
vous la transmettre moi-même, que j'y trouve
une occasion de vous renouveler l'assurance
de mon bien sincère attachement

F. Arago

P. S. Bureau, je vous prie, une humble
réponse à Madame de Freycinet et à
Madame Pinon

FREYCINET TO HIS PUBLISHER

73. FREYCINET, Louis de. Autograph letter signed, probably to his publisher Bertrand, about proofs of the Uranie voyage account.

Single sheet of laid paper with “shell” watermark, 195 x 125 mm; old folds, excellent. Paris?, 3 January, 1826.

An interesting note from Louis de Freycinet regarding the publication of his official voyage account, particularly his work on the “*observations du pendule*”, the major scientific study of the instrument used to observe variation in the pendulum and vital in the study of longitude.

In his own introduction to the published *Observations du Pendule*, Freycinet noted that the establishment and publication of these technical data were of the greatest significance regarding the determination of the exact cartography of the southern hemisphere (see appendix 4 for details of this publication). He had been charged by the Académie des Sciences with the task, and took along three of the instruments made by Fortin, the accomplished instrument-maker associated with the Bureau des Longitudes.

Although not addressed here, the tone and content of the note strongly suggest – effectively confirm – that this was written to his publisher Arthus Bertrand. Freycinet writes that he has not yet had the finished version (“*bonnes feuilles*”) of his work on the magnetic needle, which means that he has not yet been able to complete the errata. He would also like a set of the completed sheets of the *Zoologie* section; it is interesting in this context to note that the *Zoologie* section is dated 1824, but by the time of this letter two years later it has clearly still not been actually published.

He hasn't received anything from the printers for some time, and sincerely hopes that he can rely on their assertions that there will be no further gaps in the process. It is terribly important to ensure that the different volumes of the work appear with some regularity (*‘Il est bien important comme vous le sentez que mon ouvrage puisse avoir une marche régulière...’*). If they don't he will have to give up hope of ever seeing it completed.

Je n'ai pas encore, Monsieur, toutes les bonnes
feuilles de mon ouvrage sur les observations du
Pindale et par conséquent il m'est impossible d'en
 clore définitivement l'errata; j'en prie donc de
 vouloir bien me les envoyer le plutôt possible afin
 que je puisse mettre la dernière main à ce travail.
 Je vous serai également fort obligé de m'envoyer
 les bonnes feuilles de la fin de la zoologie car
 j'ai bien de croire que l'impression de cette partie de
 mon voyage est définitivement achevée.

Voilà bien long-temps que je ne reçois plus
 rien de L'Imprimerie; M. l'Administrateur en
 chef, M. vos Monsieur, m'avez cependant fait
 espérer que je ne pourrais plus de lacunes. Il
 est bien important comme vous le savez, que mon
 ouvrage puisse avoir une marche régulière, car
 sans cela il est impossible de prévoir quand
 j'en verrai la fin.

J'ai l'honneur d'être, Monsieur,

Votre très obéissant serviteur

J. B. De Meunier

ce 3 Janvier 1826.

FREYCINET RETURNS TO BASS STRAIT

74. ARROWSMITH, Aaron. "Chart of Van Diemen's Land and Bass' Strait..." with Freycinet's own annotations.

Large engraved handcoloured map, 820 x 655 mm., main coastlines carefully gridded in ink, some other occasional annotations, old folds and a few marks but an excellent map. London, A. Arrowsmith, 2 March, 1822.

Freycinet's own copy of the excellent 1822 Arrowsmith chart of Bass Strait and Tasmania, closely based on the earlier Arrowsmith chart of the region published in June 1800, but here updated with the latest details, particularly relating to inland exploration and the work of Phillip Parker King on the west coast of Tasmania.

Freycinet, who made the major chart of Bass Strait included in the account of the Baudin voyage, and who had begun work on the account of the *Uranie* voyage by the time this map was published, had an abiding interest in this region, and would most likely have acquired this map around the same time that he received Arrowsmith's chart of Oxley's discoveries on the mainland (see following item).

Any version of this map is testament most of all to the arduous journeys of Bass and Flinders in 1798 and 1799: the printed note in the lower right discusses the early discoveries of Tasman and Furneaux, continuing: 'Mr. G. Bass visited the North Side of the Strait, called after him, in an open whale-boat from Port Jackson in January 1797, but though suspected of being separated from New Holland, Van Diemen's Land was not known to be a distinct Island, until its circumnavigation was accomplished in a small sloop called the Norfolk commanded by Lieut. M. Flinders, in the years 1798-9.'

There are some nautical adjustments and notes for this 1822 issue – Macquarie Harbour, for example, is marked on the west coast of Tasmania, after the visit of Phillip Parker King and John Oxley – but in fact the major additions to this map relate chiefly to the inland mapping of Tasmania in the wide belt of land between Launceston and Hobart. A rare map in any state, it is interesting that this copy has not been backed on linen and dissected like some copies known, but is simply presented as a complete sheet, suggesting that Freycinet always wanted it as a chart proper; perhaps there were two different ways in which the chart was issued? Quite apart from its provenance, the map includes all the hallmarks of Freycinet's almost obsessive attention to detail, most particularly his well-known habit of gridding the coastlines so as to make comparison with other maps. He has also adjusted the longitude so that it is measured from Paris, not London – another hallmark of his maps.

Arrowsmith had published the first significant chart of Bass Strait on 16 June 1800, and its importance was immediately grasped: a French copy was rushed into print for the Baudin expedition (see Scott, *Terre Napoléon*, p. 24), leading to some awkwardness when the two captains, Baudin and Flinders, finally met in Encounter Bay. Baudin, as he talked freely of his discoveries in the region, made reference to the chart, admiring the work done on the coast of Tasmania, but being slightly critical of the corresponding sections of mainland Australia around Western Port. Flinders noted drily: 'Captain Baudin was communicative of his discoveries about Van Diemen's Land; as also of his criticisms upon an English chart of Bass' Strait, published in 1800... On my pointing out a note upon the chart explaining that the north side of the Strait was seen only in an open boat by Mr. Bass, who had no good means of fixing either latitude or longitude, he appeared surprised, not having before paid attention to it! With some panache, Flinders continued: 'I told him that some other and more particular charts of the Strait and its neighbourhood had since been published, and that if he would keep company until next morning I would bring him a copy, with a small memoir belonging to them. This was agreed to, and I returned with Mr. Brown to the Investigator (*A Voyage to Terra Australis*, vol. I, p. 189). Flinders was true to his word, and gave Baudin a copy of what must have been his famous 1801 *Observations* – which includes, of course, the second English issue of the present chart – the following morning.

PART OF NEW SOUTH WALES

DISCOVERED BY CAPTAIN PHILIP VAN DIEMEN IN 1797

BASS STRAIT

VAN DIEMENS LAND

CHART OF
VAN DIEMENS LAND

and
BASS STRAIT

BY A. ABRONSMITH

Hydrographer to the Navy

1822



Scale of the Chart
The Scale of the Chart is in Nautical Miles
The Scale of the Chart is in Nautical Miles
The Scale of the Chart is in Nautical Miles

**FREYCINET STUDYING NEW SOUTH WALES:
NEW DATA AND OXLEY'S CHART**

75. OXLEY, John. "A Chart of Part of the Interior of New South Wales" with extensive annotations in Freycinet's hand.

Large map, 980 x 665 mm., with grid drawn in ink and coloured pencil, labelled in graphite, small manuscript note in ink to verso. Soho Square, A. Arrowsmith, 30 January, 1822.

The rare first issue of Oxley's chart of inland New South Wales, with notes in Freycinet's hand: this is one of the most important maps that Freycinet consulted while writing his official voyage account, of great value for his own maps of the colony.

During his lengthy stay in Port Jackson Freycinet was impressed with the progress of the colony, and ultimately devoted a large part of his account to a reasoned discussion of the region (recently published in English translation as *Reflections on New South Wales* – see catalogue numbers 52-53). He was particularly interested in the overland routes and inland exploration of Australia, a topic he pursued in his discussions and correspondence with Barron Field and Hume's editor William Bland.

Indeed, not only is this map, with Freycinet's scribbled notes on the various counties, further testament to his abiding interest in New South Wales, but it is also significant to note that in the inset map of New Holland at left, he has freely sketched in the rivers in the triangle made by Sydney, Port Phillip and Port Augusta, adding in the known details of the Rivers Murray, Lindsay, Goulburn, Darling, Sturt, and the Hume. It would appear certain, therefore, that Freycinet was using the present map as a reference in the preparation of his extensive notes on New South Wales, work which occupied him in the mid-1830s. His inclusion of the "Hume" is of some significance, because the name was later discarded when it was discovered to be part of the Murray, confirming that Freycinet was here working from earlier reports. Tellingly, by the time this part of the official account was published in 1839, Freycinet noted accurately that 'Captain Sturt's journeys into the interior of New Holland had not yet taken place at the time when Mr. Field made this statement. These journeys have taught us the great extent of the course of the Murrumbidgee River... The river discovered by Hovell and Hume, and which bears the latter's name on our map on plate 91, has been recognised to be only an extension of the Murray, and for that reason has been named as it has.' (*Reflections on New South Wales*, pp. 44-45). The "plate 91" to which he refers was his own '*Carte générale de la Colonie anglaise à la Nouvelles-Galles du Sud*', dated 1835.

Hume's reporting of the fine land between Sydney and Melbourne was of tremendous significance, and Freycinet is known to have followed the news with unusually close attention: one of the great rarities of the Davidson sale was Freycinet's own annotated copy of the *Journey of Discovery to Port Phillip*. In that book, Freycinet noted that he had received it from William Bland in July 1832 and, given his known interest in the subject and the work he was doing on his own voyage account, he evidently used this map in order to trace the early discoveries. This dating accords well with the inclusion of the rivers Darling and Sturt, as Freycinet had early reports on Sturt's work by the early 1830s at the latest.

Freycinet has also added the names of all the counties in New South Wales, most likely via his own copy of the 1825 version of the map, as he has noted in his own hand after the caption "*(additions jusqu'au 1825)*" (see catalogue number 76). There is also his note in pen to the verso, "Chart of New South Wales" and flourish.

NEW HOLLAND



The boundaries of the continent of New Holland, which were first traced by the Dutch navigator Willem Janszoon in 1622, are shown in red. The rest of the coast is shown in black. The names of the various bays, rivers, and points are given in small letters.

The map shows the coast of New Holland, which was first discovered by the Dutch navigator Willem Janszoon in 1622. The names of the various bays, rivers, and points are given in small letters.



The map shows the interior of New Holland, which was first discovered by the Dutch navigator Willem Janszoon in 1622. The names of the various bays, rivers, and points are given in small letters.

The map shows the interior of New Holland, which was first discovered by the Dutch navigator Willem Janszoon in 1622. The names of the various bays, rivers, and points are given in small letters.

THE 1825 REVISION, COMPLETE IN THREE SHEETS

76. OXLEY, John. "A Chart of Part of the Interior of New South Wales".

Large engraved map in three parts as issued, the uppermost sheet 425 x 1045 mm., the middle sheet 675 x 1040 mm., the lower sheet 340 x 1045 mm., in the original large sheets as issued, all with original hand-colouring, occasional pencil and ink notes including gridding; the top edge of the largest sheet a little frayed (not affecting map), generally in excellent condition. London, A. Arrowsmith, 1825.

Freycinet's own copy of one of the great large-format maps of inland exploration, Oxley's 1825 revision of his map of New South Wales, rarely seen complete in three sheets, as issued and never folded nor dissected: Freycinet has squared-up and added the longitude from Paris in the margins.

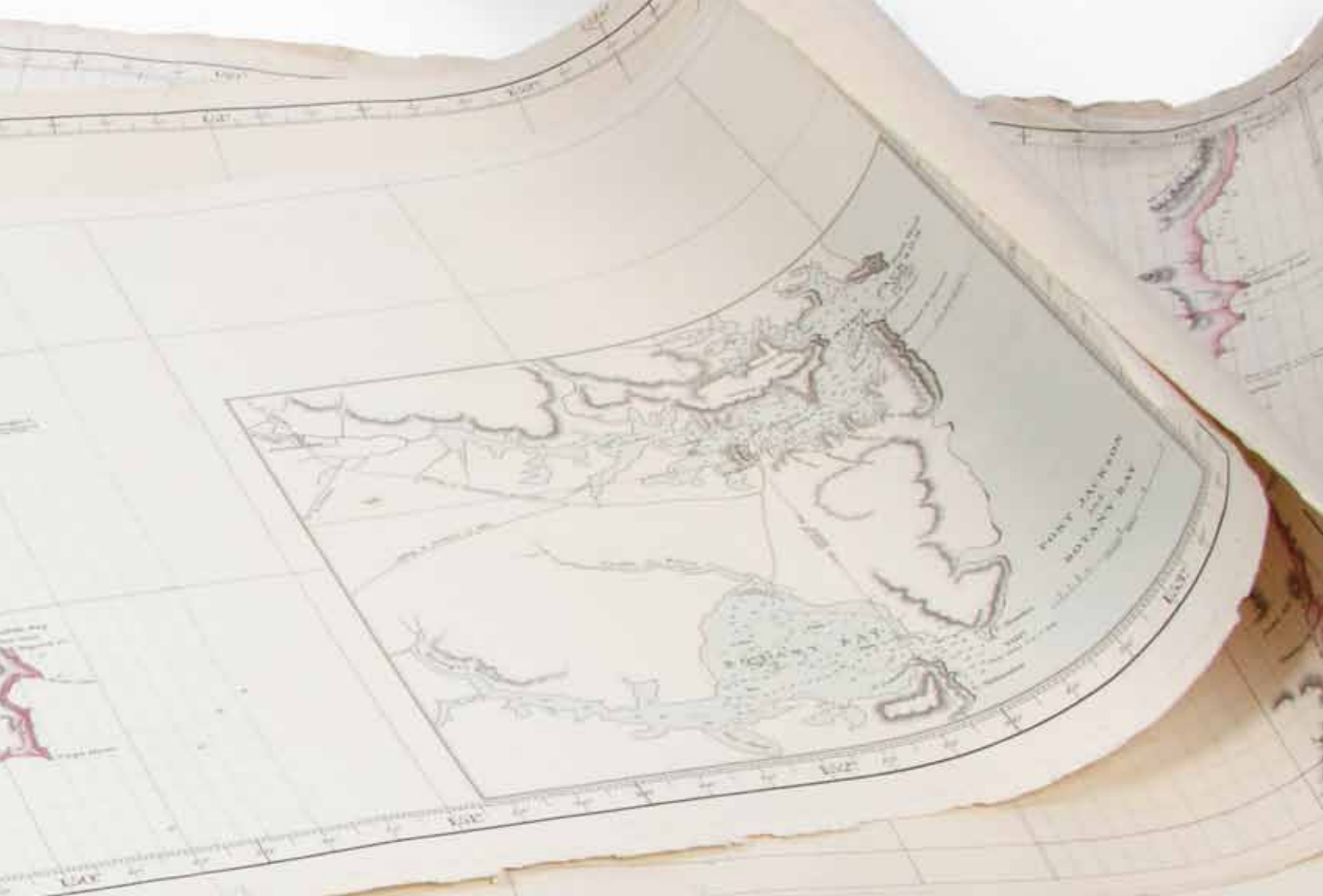
The presence of this map in Freycinet's library should come as little surprise given his abiding interest in the overland routes and inland exploration of Australia. All three sheets have the hallmarks of Freycinet's ownership, most notably his habit of carefully squaring up for close comparison as well as diligently calculating the longitude from Paris throughout; he was always terribly interested in these technical processes, even having various apparatus for scaling built to his own specifications (see catalogue no. 32). It is also certain that Freycinet compared this map with his own copy of the 1822 issue (see previous item) to which he added all of the county names printed here, and that both were consulted for his own chart of the "English Colony" in New South Wales, included in the official account of his voyage as plate no. 92.

The upper sheet depicts the Australian coast from the Glass House Mountains and Moreton Bay in the north to just south of Shoal Bay. This sheet also has the printed dedication from Oxley to Earl Bathurst, dated 2 February 1824. This part of the map was published on 4 June 1825.

The famous middle sheet displays most of modern day New South Wales with extensive printed notes on the coast and inland regions, particularly including a long printed note on Bathurst Cataract in the River Apsley. In a noticeable advance from the 1822 map the names of all the Counties have been added, and it is certain that Freycinet used this information to add his pencil notes on the counties to the 1822 map in his collection (see previous item). In the inset map of New Holland, Freycinet has again freely sketched in some tracks from Sydney to Port Phillip and from Sydney to Port Augusta.

The lower sheet follows the south-eastern coast from Batemans Bay and around Cape Howe, with the "long beach" extending to the west. In the very lowest margins of the map is glimpsed the upper reaches of Port Phillip. This sheet also includes the lovely inset of Port Jackson and Botany Bay at lower right, as well as a few printed notes on the Monaro. As with the upper section, this map was published 4 June 1825.

The central sheet is in itself a great rarity, but all three sheets together are very scarce, particularly in such crisp and fine condition, and in the original sheets as issued: for example, the copy of the chart once owned by the botanist Allan Cunningham and now held by the National Library is dissected and backed on linen, as is more common with maps owned by inland explorers rather than maritime surveyors.



A CHART
 OF PART OF THE INTERIOR
 NEW SOUTH WALES
 BY JOHN OXLEY
 Surveyor General

Every Harbour

The Harbour is surveyed on a scale of one fathom to a mile, unless otherwise stated. The soundings are in fathoms. The chart is intended to be used in conjunction with the charts of the coast of New South Wales, and the charts of the adjacent islands.

The soundings in the Harbour are on a scale of one fathom to a mile, unless otherwise stated. The soundings are in fathoms. The chart is intended to be used in conjunction with the charts of the coast of New South Wales, and the charts of the adjacent islands.

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**THE BOTANY OF THE VOYAGE, WITH
NEW HOLLAND AND HAWAIIAN SPECIMENS**

77. GAUDICHAUD, Charles. Voyage autour du monde.
Histoire Naturelle: Botanique.

Quarto text volume; bound in recent blue quarter morocco [with] folio atlas, the latter with 120 engraved botanical plates; some sporadic foxing and browning as almost always with this book, but a good copy in contemporary brown morocco, ornately decorated in blind and gilt, all edges gilt. Paris, chez Pilet ainé, 1826.

The very scarce botanical section of the full official account of the Freycinet expedition: the Atlas volume with its 120 engravings, and complete with its text volume in an unmatched later binding.

Capitalising on the incredible number of Australian specimens collected during the earlier Baudin voyage, now known chiefly because of the gardens at Malmaison (see, for example, catalogue

no. 18), the present volume confirms that Australian botany still featured as one of the great goals of the Freycinet voyage, with twenty Australian specimens here noticed for the first time. 'Gaudichaud was the first botanist of the French expeditions to botanise in the Blue Mountains and Bathurst, which he did on a brief journey, with the assistance of Cunningham and Fraser... Gaudichaud's fine work (as principal contributor) and a splendid folio atlas of 120 plates... are valuable to the botanist for the specific localities of plants collected. Port Jackson, Botany Bay, the Blue Mountains and Shark's Bay in Western Australia were visited...' (Maiden, "Records of the Earlier French Botanists", *Journal and Proceedings of the Royal Society of NSW*, vol. XLIV, pp. 137-8). The expedition made a special study of the botany of all the countries they visited. The atlas includes thirty-two plates of Hawaiian plants (including the Sandalwood – plate 45), and there are twenty plates of newly described plants from New Holland ('a charming country', thought Gaudichaud, and the only place visited on the voyage that reminded him of 'notre belle France').

Ferguson records only two sets of the full official account of the voyage, of which this forms part – the Mitchell and National Library copies, the latter incomplete.

Nissen, 989.



MINIATURE VOYAGE COLLECTION, WITH A FREYCINET SECTION

78. MACCARTHY, J. *Choix de voyages dans les Quatre Parties du Monde...*

15 volumes, duodecimo, with numerous folding maps & plates; a fine set in contemporary half calf. Paris, Dabo and Masson, 1823.

A delightful French miniature collection of voyages. There are three volumes each to the sections on Africa, Asia, America, Europe and the South Seas. This last part has good Australian and South Pacific material from a variety of sources, including Oxley and Freycinet, both of whose narratives had only just been published. The collection is most interesting and is well illustrated with early engraved maps and plates.

This handsome set, in fine original condition has the armorial bookplate of Baron de Nervo.

ROSE ON THE HARBOURSIDE IN THE "PARIS OF INDIA"

79. ARAGO, Jacques. *Vue d'un partie du Trou Fanfaron, Ile de France.*

Original ink drawing 260 x 190 mm., laid paper, descriptive title in the artist's hand, signed and dated 'J. Arago fecit 1818' to lower left corner, excellent condition in an attractive modern frame. Port Louis, Mauritius, May, 1818.



An accomplished view of the harbour of Trou Fanfaron at Port Louis in Mauritius, where the Freycinet voyage stopped in May 1818, and where the *Uranie* was extensively overhauled to repair damage to the copper sheathing. The view is by the voyage artist Jacques Arago, and shows his usual eye for detail and all-encompassing interests; not least, in the bottom left corner, there is a French officer escorting a well-dressed woman: this is Rose de Freycinet herself.

Jacques Etienne Arago (1790-1855) was the official artist on Freycinet's voyage, and is known for the witty and caustic account he later wrote as much as for his fine sketches. Arago was the third of four brothers who excelled in diverse professions, most notably his eldest brother François, a scientist and politician who, unsurprisingly, kept up to date with the voyage (see, for example, catalogue no. 71-72). Arago's undoubted artistic ability attracted the attention of the naval authorities who chose him for the demanding role of draughtsman for the Freycinet expedition. By all accounts a charming, gregarious and eccentric man, these attributes stood him in good stead during the voyage, and are reflected in the sketches he made.

Arago adored Port Louis, which he called the "Paris of India" (*Narrative of a Voyage Round the World*, 1823, p. 119). In his narrative he demurred regarding his ability to draw the town, and did not publish any view of Port Louis, but the text makes a vivid accompaniment to the present sketch, allowing us to understand at least some of the details of this scene: 'The landing place is between the *Trou Fanfaron* and the *Tour des Blageurs*: this might be taken for a piece of pleasantry. The government house, which faces you, consists of two wings, which stand so close, that they must, in some degree, intercept the light from the apartments in the centre building. A gallery of very close columns runs along the front, and makes it look still meaner' (p. 126).

The expedition ultimately stayed on the island for two months while repairs to the *Uranie* were completed. Although the stay was generally friendly, it was a difficult time on the island for the local French and Creole population under the new English rule, and many on the expedition recorded the deep-rooted dissatisfaction this had caused. Rose, who together with Louis stayed at the house of the island's chief magistrate George Smith, noted the recent damage to the port: 'Port Louis in Mauritius, prior to the fire that consumed the most attractive district, must have been much more pleasant; there are large numbers of stone houses, a few of which are very well built. But there is not a single promenade...?' (*A Woman of Courage*, p. 42).

This excellent sketch shows a mill at far left with the rest of the town in the shadow of the steep cliffs behind. On the shore in the foreground stands a small tent which must have been erected by the crew of the *Uranie*, perhaps for the observatory on board. Significantly, two French officers are also shown standing near the tent, one apparently keeping a weather eye on the small boat in the foreground, the second escorting Rose de Freycinet. Perhaps the tent was no more than a gazebo for their time on shore, as everyone seems very relaxed: the man sitting on the impromptu dock is smoking a pipe, and there even seem to be a few bottles at the door of the tent. At far right can be glimpsed the stern of a vessel which is probably the *Uranie*.

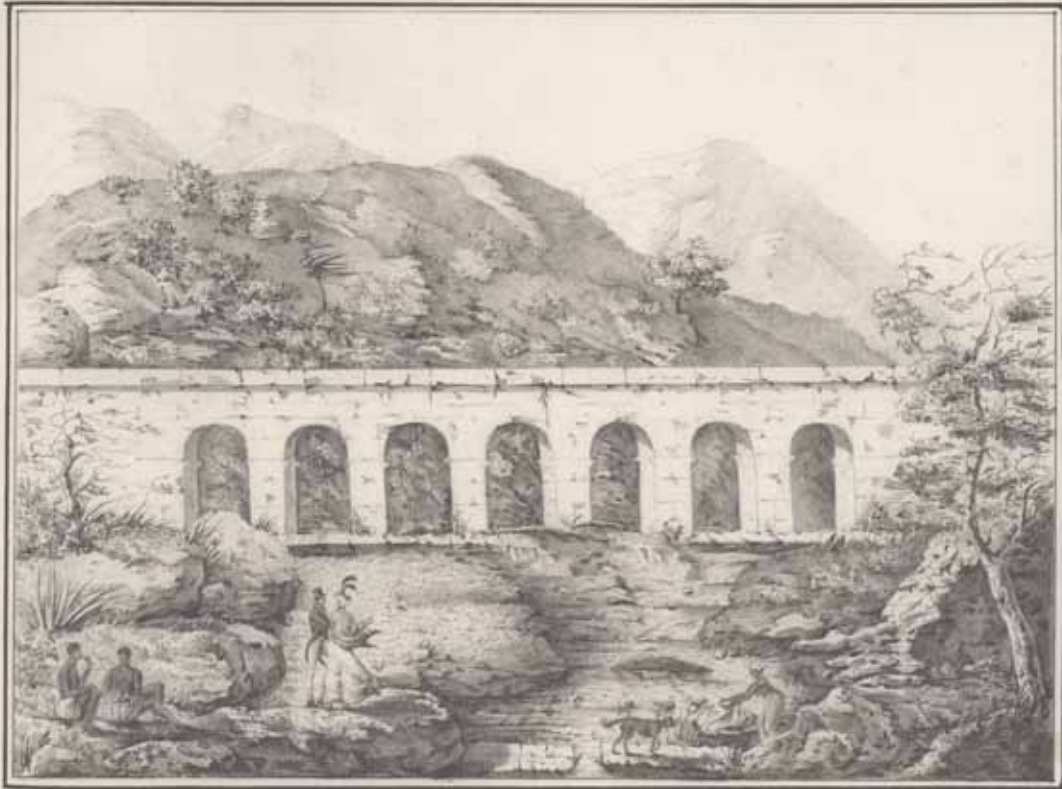
à consulter pour le *Topographe*

Sto. de. Francis, 1818.



Vue de San Francisco par le Cap de S. Francisco.

J. J. Gray del. 1818



Vue de l'aqueduc de la Grande Rivière, à l'île de France. 180

J. B. Guillemin - delin.

**A BONNETED ROSE ON ONE OF HER MAURITIUS
OUTINGS**

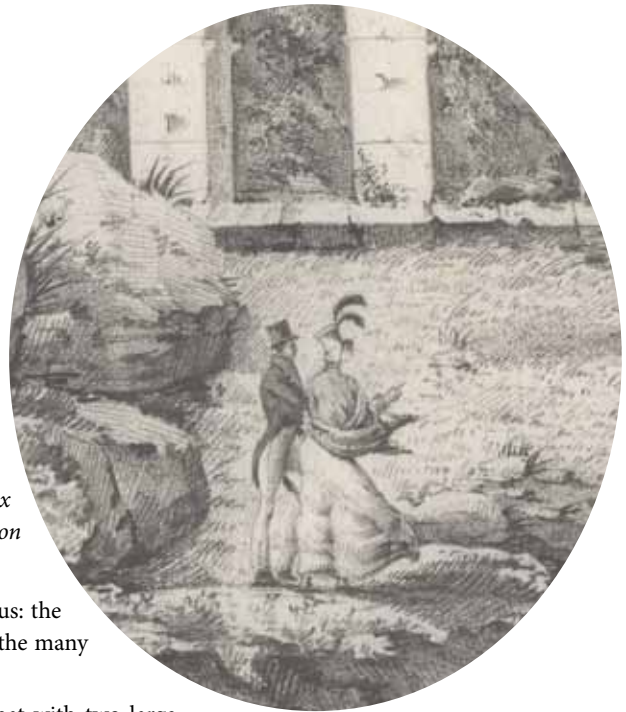
80. ARAGO, Jacques. *Vue de l'aqueduc de la grande Riviere a l'île de France.*

Original ink and pencil drawing with ink border and descriptive title, 195 x 270 mm., signed 'Js. Arago fecit 1818' lower right corner; in excellent condition in an attractive modern frame. Mauritius, May, 1818.

A particularly accomplished sketch by Arago of an aqueduct on Mauritius: the woman in the foreground is Rose de Freycinet, here depicted on one of the many outings which refreshed her during the voyage's stay at Port Louis.

That this figure is indeed Rose is confirmed not only by the unusual hat with two large feathers that she is wearing, a hat familiar from many other images of her during the voyage (including the famous scene of her being greeted at Timor, catalogue no. 69), but also by the fact that she is wearing a shawl as part of her pretty attire. Although fêted by many in the colony, Rose evidently found the going a bit fast for her liking, and her diary of the visit is marked by several unfailingly polite comments on the local women, most particularly in her nettled discussion of her attire: 'I always wore a scarf, which strangely enough offended all the Creole women, as all the ones I met, laughingly or mockingly, urged me to remove it. Mme Lindsay [her particular friend] alone not only found it most becoming but would have liked to imitate me; however, she was afraid that her husband might not allow it, for, as you know, English women wear low-cut dresses even for dinner. I cannot begin to tell you all the gossip that my scarf gave rise to; there were some who claimed that undoubtedly I must have had some blemish on my breasts, or some scar that was hidden by the gauze. Others had learnt from one woman that I had nothing to hide, as she had seen me one day wearing a low-cut dress and had noticed nothing untoward, and so on... But all joined forces to make fun of my reserved nature, giving me the nickname of "Mrs Virtue" or other similar names, to which I can assure you I paid no attention whatsoever' (*A Woman of Courage*, p. 35).

This picture not only shows Arago's skill at such topographical views, but his eye for the telling detail. Here, the two figures at lower left who seem to be taking a quiet break are likely to be two of the slaves appointed to attend to Rose and Louis. It is quite likely, in fact, that their well-earned rest may be due to them actually being two of Rose's palanquin bearers – they are certainly dressed in the fashion noted by Rose, a small white skirt gathered around the waist, and with their chests and legs naked. Rose regularly used the palanquin at the insistence of her host George Smith, and described it as quite a comfortable way of travelling: 'it is quite a pleasant way to travel, especially if one does not remain inside too long, for keeping one's legs level with the seat is tiring and cause numbness. I also found that frills on dresses get crushed' (*A Woman of Courage*, p. 24). In the foreground, a dog and two waterbirds are entranced by what appears to be a slave woman in striped pants, doing some washing in the stream. Arago's rather picturesque sketch of the three slaves, which seems rather idyllic than otherwise, is a reflection of his own optimistic opinion on how slaves were treated in Mauritius.



ARAGO'S BEAUTIFUL PORTRAIT OF A MALAY

81. ARAGO, Jacques. Malais. Timor 1818.

Original watercolour, drawn on a sheet of laid paper, 345 x 275 mm, signed lower right; in excellent condition. Timor, during the Uranie voyage, October, 1818.

A beautiful ink and water-colour portrait of a man from Timor by Jacques Arago, drawn during the voyage of the *Uranie*.

The voyage spent some time in Indonesian waters in late 1818, having already visited the west coast of Australia. 'After refreshing at the Cape of Good Hope and Mauritius he landed at Shark Bay on 12 September 1818 where he set up an observatory, thoroughly surveyed the inlets and the coastal districts and removed the plate left by Willem de Vlamingh, which he had found and re-erected in 1801. He then sailed north to Timor. [Freycinet's] accounts and description of the landscape and life and customs of that and other islands in the East Indies captivated the attention of people in Europe much more than his Australian reports, and a widespread interest developed in the expedition' (ADB).

They arrived in Timor in October, and although troubled by the difficult conditions prevailing there, Arago was delighted with the visually rich and colourful clothing in the region, and made several sketches of locals, of which this is a particularly fine example. His detailed descriptions of the people of Timor and Indonesia certainly suggest that he was very active, but it is not possible to precisely identify the sitter in this portrait. Unusually, while noting various aspects of dress and deportment in his account, the only relevant note by Arago is his comment that the Timorese 'frequently use a coloured handkerchief for their head-dress, which they arrange with wonderful skill.' (*Narrative of a Voyage Round the World*, p. 190).

Arago did include an engraving of a "Timorien" in his published work (facing p. 204 of the English edition), but the published image is significantly more martial than the present sketch, showing a muscular man gripping a Kris, the distinctive wavy-bladed dagger. No published version of the present watercolour appears to exist.





PELLION'S FINE DEPICTION OF RURAL LIFE ON GUAM

82. PELLION, Alphonse. Guam travaux d'agriculture.

Watercolour and ink on wove paper, 380 x 490 mm. (paper size), signed lower left, at some point folded along the centre line (perhaps for inclusion in a portfolio); some wear along the old fold, and some toning to the margins, one or two spots but an excellent image with bright colouring, pencil note "reduit au petit format de l'atlas" at upper left margin. Guam, March, 1819.

A fine watercolour view of Guam by the Freycinet voyage artist Alphonse Pellion, the original of one of the views which was later included in the official account of the Freycinet voyage, with the same title given here.

Alphonse Pellion (1796-1868) was one of the voyage artists on the *Uranie*. Now less well known than his colleague Jacques Arago, nonetheless Pellion's work was very accomplished, and many of the views ultimately included in the official account are after his sketches.

In the foreground a well-dressed man rides on his mule, accompanied by a flamboyant woman in Spanish dress carrying some supplies and smoking a cheroot; the two of them are picking their way up a steep path, marked at the top by a cross. To the right, four shirtless farm workers – two women and two men – are working a field, while to the left in the middle-ground is a field under cultivation by ox and plow with, further behind, a well-established plantation. Pellion has an adroit touch, while his eye for detail recalls the work of the senior artist on the voyage, Jacques Arago – see, for example, the ribs of the starving dog, trailing after the heavily-laden mule. In the printed version the scene is very close to that depicted here, although one of the farm workers was not included and some of the details have been altered – the dog, for one, has become much fatter.

While in Guam the voyagers spent much of their time around the town of Agagna, which is the likely locality of this view. Any number of notes in Arago's *Voyage Round the World* give an insight into the scene: 'The country round the town is not more cultivated than that at a distance from it. You may see, indeed, humble huts, round which a few yards of rice, Indian corn, and tobacco, are cultivated: but how much ground is lost! what culpable indolence prevails!... The ploughs and carts at Guam remind us of the infancy of agriculture and the arts... The dress of both men and women is like that of the common people in some provinces of Spain, with a few modifications... The segars used by the women are of a monstrous size; and there is a sort of coquetry displayed in having them six inches long and eight or nine lines in diameter' (*Voyage Round the World*, pp. 247, 256, 259, 260).

Signed by Pellion at bottom left.

COASTING THROUGH THE HAWAIIAN ISLANDS

83. ARAGO, Jacques. Five coastal profile drawings of the island of Hawaii.

Five sheets of fine laid paper, each approximately 210 x 315 mm; in excellent condition, all five sheets signed "Js. Arago fe. 1819" at lower right. Hawaii, on board the Uranie, August, 1819.

The rarest cartographical survival: five sheets of coastal profiles of the Hawaiian islands, drawn directly from observations made on board the *Uranie* by Jacques Arago, with detailed captions. Each of the five sheets is signed in the lower right, and all are dated 1819. Owhyhee was first sighted on 5 August, but the ship was becalmed, and they did not make their anchorage at Kealakekua until 8 August. While the views themselves are charming, the captions are equally exciting: one, accompanying the striking coastal profile of "*Iles Sandwich*", for example, notes that this part of "*Mowhée*" was drawn about two hours before they came to their anchorage in Lahaina. The views are like stills from a film, and make a breath-taking accompaniment to Arago's own text.

Sheet 1: two mountainous views of *Owhyhee*, including a view of "*Mowna Kaa*" (= Mauna Kea), the spectacular dormant volcano on the island.

'It was on the 6th of August that we discovered the island of Owhyhee: we were only a short distance from it; and the land, which we expected to see of a prodigious height, appeared to us of very moderate elevation... On a sudden, the thick clouds separating, which covered its regularly formed sides and enormous base, *Mowna Kah* stood majestically before us... its head surrounded with vapour... At the distance of some hundred yards from the top, a light tint of green, bordering immense masses of lava, gave a little animation to this magnificent but savage landscape' (*Narrative*, part II, p. 28).

Sheet 2: a series of coastal views beginning with *Taouraé* (noted as being drawn on 15 August 1819, at three in the afternoon), *Ranaï*, *Morokini*, and finishing with *Mowhée* (from about 5 or 6 leagues)

'We coasted along *Taouraé*, a barren island, flat, and moderately elevated, on which was not the slightest appearance of vegetation. The soil is reddish, and furrowed at intervals. The island is desert and uninhabited; some breakers extend beyond its western point. On doubling this, we discovered the small rock of *Morokini*, from whose summit rises a lofty column of smoke, which would have induced us to suspect there was a volcano under it; the pilots on board, assured us, however, that this was not the case. That part of the North-East coast of *Mowhee* which we were able to distinguish, appeared to me to be extremely barren...' (*Narrative*, part II, p. 118).

Sheet 3: a striking coastal profile, with the note that this part of "*Mowhée*" was drawn about two hours before they came to their anchorage in Lahaina (they anchored at Lahaina on 16 August).

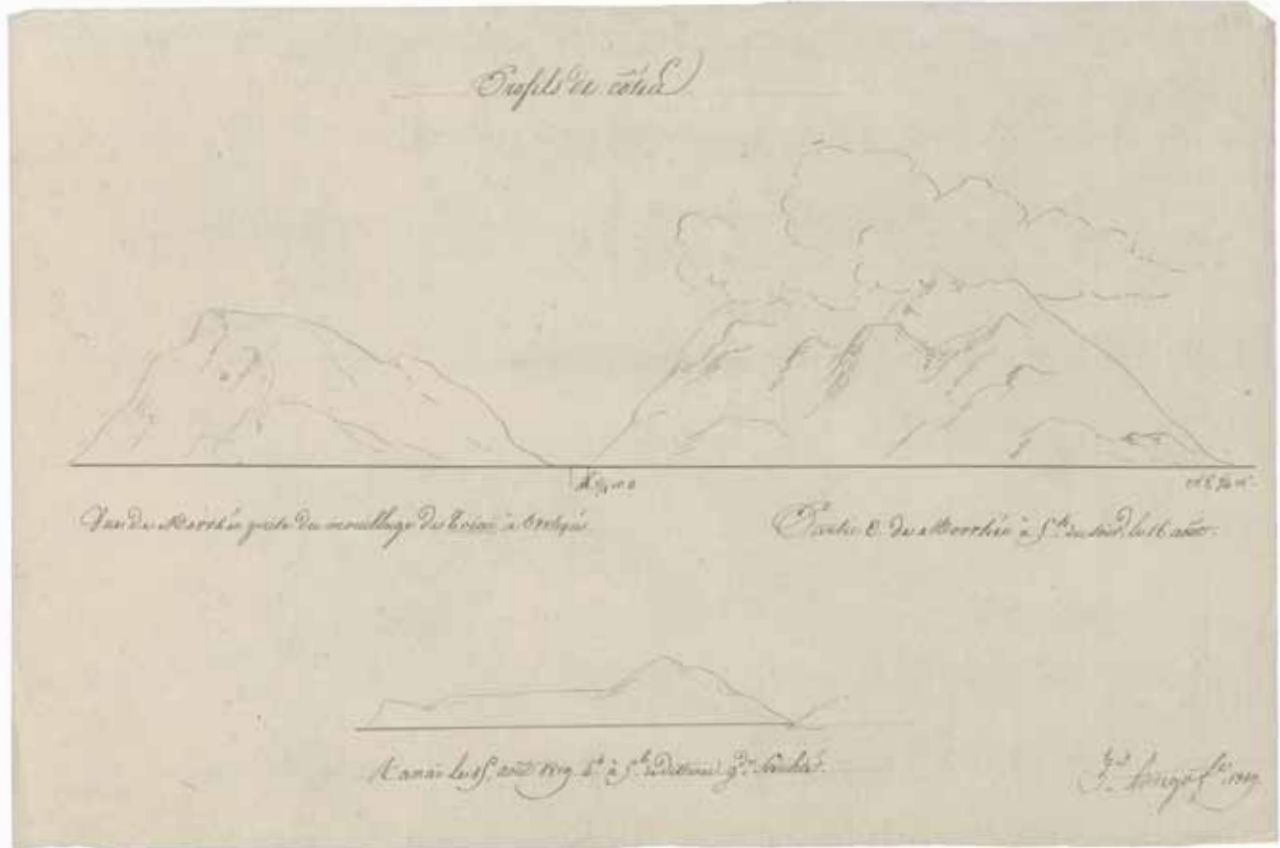
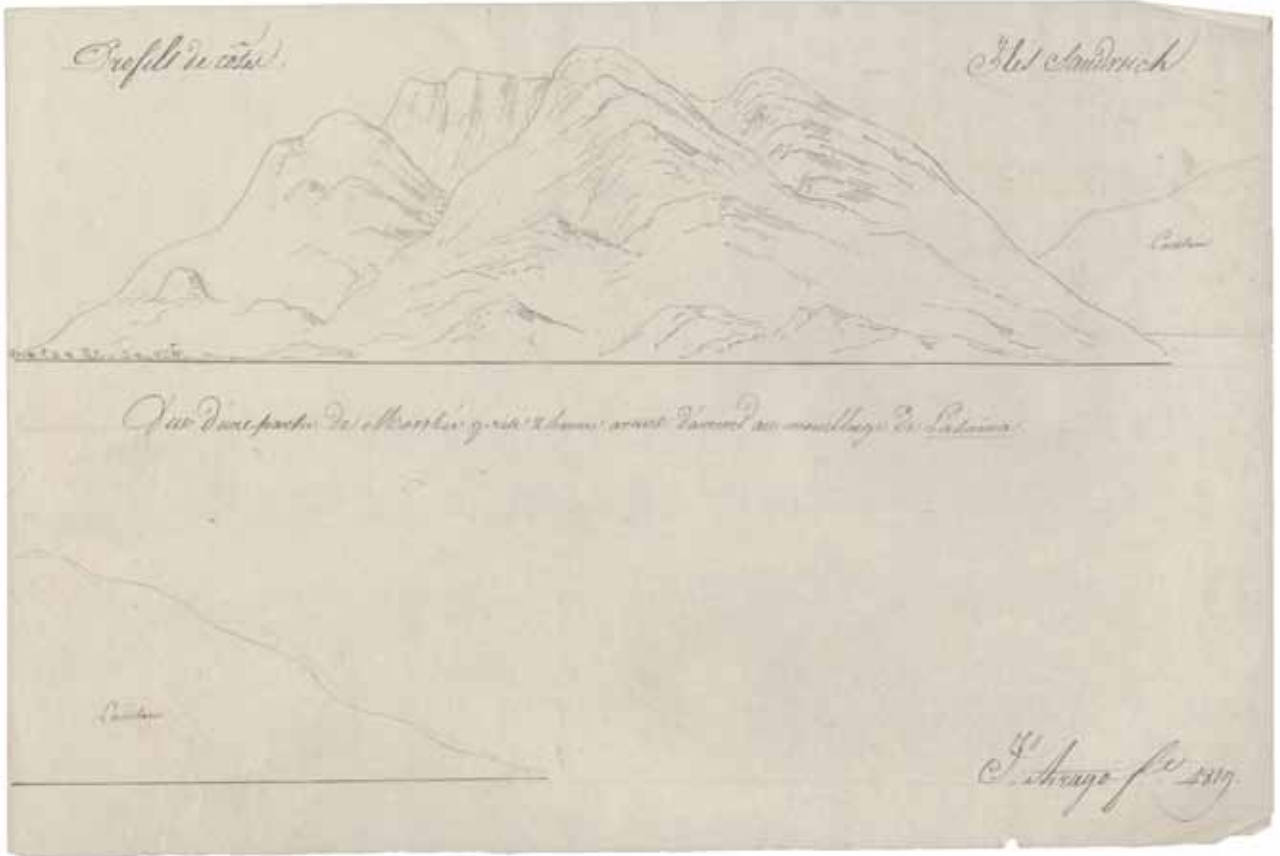
Sheet 4: coastal views of *Mowhée* showing the entrance to *Toïai*, in *Owhyhee*, as well as part of *Mowhée* on 16 August, as well as showing a smaller profile of *Ranai* on 19 August; *Ranai* is marked with the simple comment, "*stérilité*".

'The Western coast is bold, and the volcanic rocks which rise above it are cut into sharp angles, forming deep ravines and frightful declivities... As soon, however, as the South-West part of the island had been coasted for a little time, and we approached the North, a vigorous vegetation began to show itself, together with banana and other trees, which give life to the scene, and awaken pleasing sensations in the mind of the navigator. From the perpendicular of the most lofty summit of the great mountain, to the North-West point of the island, and even beyond that, the country is quite delightful; so that it was with extreme pleasure we beheld the anchor drop in the harbour of Lahaina...' (*Narrative*, part II, pp. 118-9).

Sheet 5: two views of *Ranaï* and *Morotaï*, both taken on 25 August 1819, both at the distance of two leagues.

'After having quitted *Woahoo* with much regret at not being able to visit *Atooi*, where we might have completed our observations on the natives of the Sandwich Islands, our ship's head was directed nearly South...' (*Narrative*, part II, p. 155).

THE ARTIST'S ACCOUNT OF THE VOYAGE





84. ARAGO, Jacques. *Promenade Autour du Monde pendant les années 1817, 1818, 1819 et 1820, sur les corvettes du Roi l'Uranie et la Physicienne, commandés par M. Freycinet.*

Two volumes, octavo, and small folio atlas; the atlas with separate title, table and 23 lithograph plates; text in contemporary quarter French mottled calf with double labels, the atlas uncut in the original blue-grey boards with printed label on the front cover; a fine set. Paris, Leblanc, 1822.

First edition: a fine and attractive set. The significant alternative narrative of the Freycinet expedition by the voyage's official artist Jacques Arago, with a fine series of lithographs by him. Arago's prolific illustrations in the official account of the voyage are quite different to those that he publishes here, which are notably free by comparison and show his great interest in the native peoples encountered. 'Several of the plates record somewhat gruesome aspects of Hawaiian culture' (Forbes). He writes too in an entertaining style with his text reflecting his keen powers of observation, whereas the official account of the voyage was far more serious and scientific in tone. The eccentricity of both illustrations and narrative in Arago's account made it popular, and it was of course within the budget of the normal reader, whereas the official narrative in its long series of volumes cost about one hundred times more.

The narrative, written in the form of letters to a friend, deliberately omits the 'eternal repetition of winds, currents, longitude and latitude'. It is particularly informative about the expedition's visits to Hawaii and Australia: in each case they happened to visit at crucial points in the local history. They arrived in Hawaii in August 1819, and visited Maui, Hawaii and Oahu, making the last careful examination of the native culture before it was dismantled by western influences.

Extensive portions relate to Western Australia, and to New South Wales where Arago gives an interesting account of colonial society at the close of the Macquarie era. There are good descriptions of Sydney, and the explorers' visits to Camden and the Blue Mountains. The French were entertained handsomely by the Governor and other members of the local aristocracy, with expeditions to the country estates of the Macarthurs, the Oxleys and the Kings.

Borba de Moraes, I, 44; Davidson, 'A Book Collector's Notes', pp. 112-4; Ferguson, 850; Forbes, 'Hawaiian National Bibliography', 537-8; Hawaii One Hundred, 26; Hill, 28; Judd, 4; Sabin, 1867.



WITH NEW PLATES

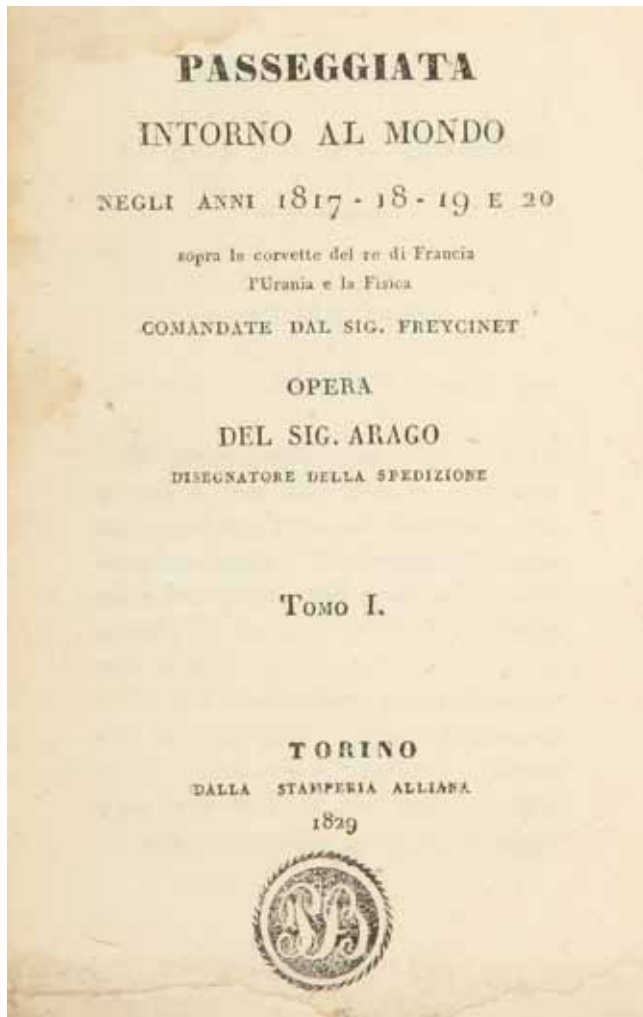
85. ARAGO, Jacques. *Narrative of a Voyage Round the World, in the "Uranie" and "Physicienne" corvettes, commanded by Captain Freycinet during the years 1817, 1818, 1819 and 1820.*

Two parts in one volume, quarto, with a folding map as frontispiece and 25 engraved plates from original drawings by Arago; a few spots, but a very good copy in period-style full morocco, elegantly gilt to spine. London, Treuttel and Wurtz, 1823.

The first edition in English of this private narrative of the 1817-1820 Freycinet expedition to Australia and the Pacific – in fact the first appearance in English of any account of the whole voyage.

The huge multi-volume official account of the voyage was far more serious and scientific in tone, and has never been published in full in English translation (see catalogue no. 51). Arago's book in this and many subsequent editions became one of the voyage best-sellers of the nineteenth century. Included in this English edition is the important official report to the French Academy of Sciences on the collections made in the course of the expedition: this was not included in the French edition published in Paris the previous year.

Davidson, 'A Book Collector's Notes', pp. 112-4; Ferguson, 885; Forbes, 'Hawaiian National Bibliography', 562; Hawaii One Hundred, 26n; Hill, 29; Judd, 4; Sabin, 1865.



UNRECORDED ITALIAN EDITION

86. ARAGO, Jacques. *Passeggiata intorno al Mondo negli Anni 1817-18-19 e 20...*

Seven volumes, each with half-title for the series "Raccolta di Viaggi", untrimmed; a few stains and some browning of the pages, bound in simple modern marbled-paper wrappers. Torino, Dalla Stamperia Alliana, 1829.

Extremely scarce Italian translation of Arago's account of the *Uranie* voyage: not recorded in Forbes' *Hawaiian National Bibliography* and not known to Ferguson.

Italian publishers are well-known for having produced small-format editions of the great voyages in the early decades of the nineteenth-century, with translations of Cook in 1816-17 and La Pérouse in 1815. The popular printers were much quicker off the mark with this translation of Arago, which appeared within a few years of the original.

Forbes notes two early Italian editions of Arago's work: both are four-volume works (unlike the seven present here), one published in Milan in 1824 (Forbes 573), the other in Naples in 1830 (Forbes 741). Both of the editions recorded by Forbes have a small series of plates, but the present work was evidently issued unillustrated. Each of these Italian editions is very rare indeed; this Turin edition perhaps the rarest of all three.

Not in Ferguson; not in Forbes.



THE NEW VERSION, WITH NEW TITLE

87. ARAGO, Jacques. *Souvenirs d'un aveugle. Voyage autour du monde...*

Four volumes, octavo, with 60 lithograph plates (six folding); a fine set in a most attractive later binding of quarter dark green morocco. Paris, Hortet et Ozanne, 1839.

A fine set of the substantially changed version of Arago's classic account of the French circumnavigation in the *Uranie* under the command of Louis de Freycinet, 'often incorrectly described as a later edition of Arago's *Promenade...* it is actually a different, more elaborate work...' (Hill).

The eccentricity of both the illustrations and narrative in Arago's account made it very popular. Much of the fourth volume deals with the expedition's visit to New South Wales, and there are nine fine lithographs of Aborigines, including detailed studies of hunting, rituals and bush dwellings. The visit to western Australia is dealt with in the first volume, with further illustrations. The major part of the third volume deals with Hawaii and is also extensively illustrated.

By the time this version of his book reached the public, the remarkable Arago had lost his sight: hence the new title used for the work of *Souvenirs d'un aveugle*. In his moving opening note Arago observes that '*n'avoir rien vu, c'est n'avoir rien à regretter. On ne perd réellement qu'après avoir possédé... et j'ai tant perdu!*'

Ferguson, 2689a; Forbes, 'Hawaiian National Bibliography', 1134; Hill, 30.



THE RARE SUPPLEMENTARY VOLUME

88. ARAGO, Jacques. *Souvenirs d'un Aveugle. Voyage autour du monde... Chasses. Drame.*

Large octavo, 15 plates, untrimmed with an early library stamp on the title-page; a handsome copy in polished half calf, spine banded and gilt. Paris, H.-L. Delloye, 1840.

Fine copy of this unusual addition to his voyage account by the prolific and eccentric Arago, which includes vivid descriptions of the natural history of Australia. The fifteen dramatic plates are all after Arago's own drawings, and include an image of an Australian Aborigine confronted with a rearing Black Snake.

A rather good note in the Hill catalogue confirms that this is an unofficial supplement to the 1839 Hortet et Ozanne edition of Arago's *Souvenirs d'un aveugle*, a richly illustrated account that is 'much prized' (see previous item). This is a popular account of hunting from around the world, with each of the sections devoted to a different animal. Two sections are devoted to animals of Australia, the Black Snake (pp. 152-165) and the Kangaroo (pp. 367-379). If anything, Arago's tale of the Black Snake is the more arresting, telling the story of an Aboriginal man bartering with a plantation owner before coming face to face with the snake among the eucalypts. The lengthy description of Sydney and its environs is based, of course, on his own visit when he completed the circumnavigation in the *Uranie*.

By the time this version of his book reached the public, the remarkable Arago had lost his sight: hence the new title which he reused for several different works, the *Souvenirs d'un aveugle*.

With the bookplate of the Comte Polydor de la Rochefoucauld.

Ferguson, 2906aa (in addenda); Hill, 30 (note); not in Forbes.



THE COMPLETE SET

89. ARAGO, Jacques. *Souvenirs d'un aveugle. Voyage autour du monde...*

Five volumes, octavo, with 75 lithograph plates; an unusually good set in original quarter dark green morocco, flat spines ornately gilt. Paris, Hortet et Ozanne, 1839-1840.

A fine set of the substantially changed version of Arago's classic voyage account, now complete in this edition with the fifth, supplementary volume (see previous item) *Chasses - Drame*, a selection of further illustrated reminiscences that had not appeared in other versions. It contains descriptions of hunting experiences during the voyage, including a 14-page description of a kangaroo hunt in New South Wales. This additional volume is scarce, and its existence is not noted by either Ferguson or Forbes.



THE ABRIDGED POPULAR VERSION

90. ARAGO, Jacques. *Souvenirs d'un aveugle. Voyage autour du monde par Jacques Arago, nouvelle édition revue et augmentée...*

Large octavo, with a portrait frontispiece, lithographs and in-text illustrations; slight spotting and offsetting, a good copy in original, slightly worn morocco. Brussels, Société Typographique, 1840.

One of the reduced single-volume editions of Arago's classic account. There were numerous editions of his narrative: this particular one is not recorded by Ferguson (although a four-volume version of the same year is Ferguson 2906).

Ferguson, 2906b; Forbes, 'Hawaiian National Bibliography', 1191.



MINIATURE PICTURE BOOK, WITH BAUDIN AND FREYCINET IMAGES

91. SHOBERL, Frederic. *Asiatic Islands and New Holland [The World in Miniature]*; being a description of the manners, customs, character, and state of the various tribes by which they are inhabited...

Two volumes in one, duodecimo, with 26 handcoloured engraved plates; a very good copy in original cloth, rebacked retaining original spine. London, Ackermann, 1824.

A very good copy of this charming illustrated book; although separately published it also formed part of the series "The World in Miniature", published by Ackermann between 1821 and 1825, which ran to forty-three volumes and covered most areas of the world, filling a demand for information on exotic places. The delightful coloured plates here include six studies of Australian Aborigines, some of which are recognisable as coming from either the Baudin or the Freycinet voyage publications.



WITH IMAGES BASED ON ARAGO

92. LETAILLE, Charles. *Tableau Abrégé de l'Histoire des Voyages ou Fragments les plus curieux des voyages récemment faits dans l'Asie, l'Afrique, l'Amérique et l'Océanie.*

Duodecimo, with seven tinted lithographed cut-out figures mounted on tabs; very good in original green papered boards with a hand-coloured lithograph mounted on front board with embossed gilt paper trim. Paris, Charles Letaille, after 1839.

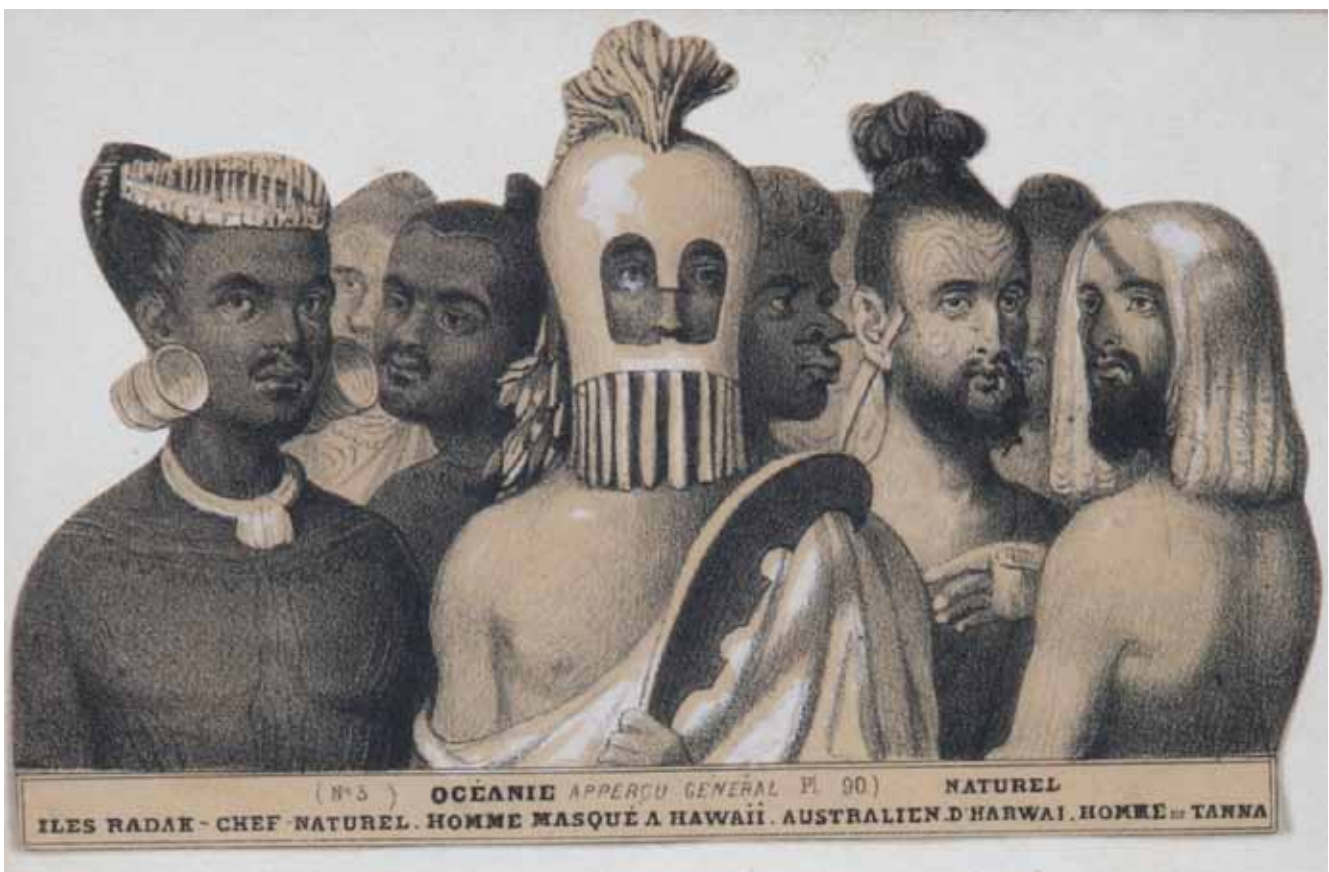
Rare and charming children's book about the cultures of people from around the world, based on accounts and images from published voyage accounts. The section covering Oceania is based on the work of Jacques Arago, the artist on Freycinet's *Uranie* expedition, and Domeny de Rienzi.

The plates include a depiction of a tattooed man from New Zealand, a masked man from Hawaii in a group which also features an Australian, and a particularly interesting plate showing the exchange of mirrors and trinkets with a "cannibal" from Ombai (in Irian Jaya). This last scene is very close to a similar event earlier portrayed by Arago in the official account of the *Uranie* expedition, showing such an exchange taking place in Shark Bay. Another scene of aborigines being offered a mirror and trinkets by French voyagers was included by the artist Sainson in the official account of the voyage of the *Astrolabe*, 1826-1829 (published 1833).

The engraver and publisher Charles Letaille had begun printing religious images, but in 1830 established a series of publications especially for children. Each volume in the series was illustrated with a series of plates printed in sepia and carefully cut-out in order to be able to remove the pictures from the volume to stand on their own. In the same series he also made copies of *Robinson Crusoe* and *Gulliver's Travels* (the latter was recently featured in an exhibition at the Bibliothèque Nationale). Letaille published a number of works using a core of lithographed images, including a game, *Jeu du Petit Voyageur*.

This is the second edition of this work, with the seven tinted lithograph *découpées* mounted on tabs to give a three-dimensional appearance (the plates are misnumbered 1-5, 7-8).

Not in Ferguson.



APPENDIX 1: THE MAIN CHARACTERS

François ARAGO (1786-1853):

A towering figure of French science, whose support for Freycinet in particular must have been very influential.

François was the eldest of the four Arago boys, and his scientific ability and taste for adventure were awakened by his early research into longitude, an arduous investigation which saw him arrested as a possible French spy by the Spanish before escaping to Algiers in a small boat. His return to Paris marked the beginning of a great career, meaning that his comments on the return of the Freycinet expedition make an important statement (no. 71), as does his letter regarding the attempts to safeguard the enormous natural history collections that had been sent to Paris (no. 72).

Jacques Etienne ARAGO (1790-1855):

The great artist and chronicler of the *Uranie* voyage, younger brother of the scientist.

Arago joined the Freycinet expedition in 1817, and the wonders of the voyage stayed with him for the rest of his life; he continued writing and drawing increasingly fanciful depictions of the Pacific right up until he lost his sight – which is why his last published version of the voyage is called the “souvenirs of a blind man” (no. 87).

Perhaps no single image conveys his eye for detail and whimsical charm more than his watercolour of Louis and Rose arriving in Dili: everything is present, from the grace of Rose, the attentions of Louis, even the delight of the Portuguese governor, while, almost unnoticed at far left, a hapless French officer has fallen over in the longboat, his feet pointing to the sky (no. 69). Arago’s range can be seen in the three other pictures here, including the more technical views of the harbour at Port Louis (no. 79), another sketch of one of Rose’s excursions in Mauritius (no. 80) and his handsome portrait of a Malay in his finery (no. 81). Arago is also known – particularly in English translation – for his own charming account of the voyage, much reprinted, translated and revised, which is more often consulted than Freycinet’s official account (nos. 84-90).

Aaron ARROWSMITH (1750-1823):

The English cartographer, later Hydrographer to the King. Arrowsmith’s maps were the finest of his era, and are of particular importance for the exploration of the Australian coast and inland.

Freycinet is known to have taken Arrowsmith’s chart of South America on board the *Uranie*, and the track chart he made during the voyage shows the last days of the vessel

before she struck rocks and was run aground in French Bay on the easternmost coast of the Falklands: the map not only includes some of his own infuriated notes about the errors he observed, but also, marked with a small printed cross, the very rocks on which he foundered (no. 65). He also carried on board a map of West Falkland island during the same voyage (no. 66). Equally interesting are the three Arrowsmith charts of Australia which Freycinet studied, including the 1822 map of Bass Strait, and two versions of Oxley’s famous chart of New South Wales (nos. 74-6). These Australian charts are testament both to Freycinet’s abiding interest in the development of the region, and to the close friendship he maintained with Australian figures like Barron Field and William Bland.

Nicolas Thomas BAUDIN (1754-1803):

Captain of the *Géographe* and commander of the 1800 expedition to the *Terres Australes*.

Baudin is a tragic figure, an accomplished sailor and expert navigator whose memory has become tarnished by the sometimes waspish accounts of his *savants* and junior officers: the two earliest chroniclers of the voyage Bory de Saint-Vincent and Péron both treated him with disdain, the former by openly mocking his old-fashioned methods and the latter by all but omitting him completely from the official account; nor did Louis de Freycinet break the tradition of ignoring Baudin when he completed the official account after Péron’s death.

This disappearance is unjust, not least because Baudin was one of the driving forces behind the voyage. He had already made two substantial scientific voyages, the first in 1792, while seconded to the Archduke Francis of Austria, a scientific expedition to the Indian Ocean to collect plants and specimens for the collections at Schönbrunn; then, in 1796, he made a similar scientific voyage to the West Indies, where he collected material for museums in Paris.

His experience made him appear the ideal choice to lead a voyage which was given the dual scientific impulses of completing the cartographic survey of the coast of Australia while also conducting scientific investigations in the region. Certainly his toughness was legendary, and no doubt some of the animosity felt towards him was due to his unflinching sense of duty, which kept him exploring the remote reaches of the Australian coast even when his crew was nearly overcome by scurvy. But whatever the reason, he was not a well-liked leader, misunderstood by the *savants* in particular, many of whom jumped ship in Mauritius after only six months at sea. Louis de Freycinet certainly learnt the lesson of Baudin’s voyage, refusing to

take any civilian savants on his own voyage, insisting that all of his scientists also be serving naval officers.

Rash when he should have been considered, and ponderous when quick action was needed, Baudin has garnered a reputation not much better than that of his contemporary William Bligh, and certainly both men seemed to vex their officers and offend their supporters. In Baudin's case, this cannot have been helped by his poor health, and by the time he died in Mauritius as the *Géographe* and the *Casuarina* headed for France, there seems to have been nobody left to lament his passing.

His journal was published in English translation by Christine Connell in 1974, and in France in 2000. The three brief letters published during the course of the voyage in the *Annales du muséum national d'histoire naturelle* (no. 6) represent a highly unusual opportunity to read Baudin in his own words.

Empress Joséphine de BEAUHARNAIS (1763-1814):

The first wife of Napoleon Bonaparte.

Although Napoleon may be better known for his role in promoting the Baudin voyage – his bust adorns the voyage medal (no. 5) – it is Joséphine who perhaps had the more enduring association with the voyage because of her famous garden at Malmaison and later, after her divorce, at Navarre.

Joséphine bought Malmaison, near Croissy-sur-Seine on the outskirts of Paris, in 1798, and although she lived in the great estates of France, it was always her spiritual home. The real significance of the gardens at Malmaison was Josephine's magnificent collection of plants, with contributions from all of the great botanic gardens of Europe, including many sent to her from Sir Joseph Banks and many more sent by the voyaging botanists as well.

The huge collections brought back from the Baudin voyage were divided between the Paris museum of natural history and Malmaison, and indeed most of the live specimens were kept in Joséphine's garden, hence the beautiful vignette printed on the title-page of the 1807 "historique" atlas, which shows kangaroos, emus, and black swans cavorting in the gardens before a tableau of maps relating to "Terre Napoleon" (nos. 1, 2, 23). The zoologist Desmarest noted that only two Eastern Grey Kangaroos were in Paris, but that there were "many more" at Malmaison (no. 19).

Joséphine also commissioned work by the great botanical illustrators of her day, and it was Pierre-Joseph Redouté himself who contributed many of the beautiful illustrations in Bonpland's work on Malmaison and Navarre (no. 18). Interestingly, the letter from François Péron also notes that several of the Australian plants had been sent by Mirbel, director of Malmaison, to the Freycinet family home in Montélimar (no. 14): no trace of these plants appears to survive today.

Jean Baptiste BORY DE SAINT-VINCENT (1778-1846):

A young French naturalist – only 22 when he sailed – who was appointed to the *Géographe* as a savant, but who clashed so openly with Baudin that he was one of the first to jump ship at the Ile de Réunion (off the coast of Mauritius). Nonetheless, Bory de Saint-Vincent remains a key figure because he published the first account of the voyage in 1804, in which he was fiercely critical of Baudin (no. 8).

After leaving the expedition he spent many years exploring Réunion, becoming an expert on the natural history of the region. He joined the army on his return to France, saw action across Europe notably at Austerlitz, but after Napoleon's defeat went into exile. The first decade of the Bourbon restoration was difficult for Bory, and saw him grasp at any number of elaborate schemes (no. 9) and even spend time in debtor's prison in Paris (no. 10). His later career, however, saw him return to prominence.

Baron Georges CUVIER (1769-1832):

Cuvier, the French zoologist and one of the great scientific figures of his day, came to Paris in 1795 where he took an appointment at the newly-formed *Muséum nationale d'histoire naturelle*, remaining there until his death from cholera in 1832 (the same epidemic that killed Rose de Freycinet).

His pre-eminent position in Paris and at the museum meant that he was heavily involved in both the Baudin and Freycinet voyages, both of which were planned as scientific ventures. Although works like his 1817 magnum opus *Le Règne Animal* (no. 20) include some natural history specimens collected during the Baudin voyage, for example, by the time of Freycinet's own expedition he had become more of an *eminence grise*, and Louis was warned not to succumb to the plotting of the great but self-promoting naturalist (nos. 60-1).

Barthélemy FAUJAS DE SAINT-FOND (1741-1819):

Leading French scientist who lived in the département of the Drôme, a neighbour and close friend of the Freycinet family.

Faujas' important position together with his particularly close relationship with Louis de Freycinet, to whom he was a mentor, meant that he was intimately involved with Louis' career. In this light his letter to Louis written just weeks after his return in 1804 lamenting Baudin's "inept" command is revealing (no. 12). His correspondence to Louis also gives an insight into the planning of the *Uranie* voyage and particularly the machinations of the Parisian scientists (nos. 60-1). Perhaps the most remarkable survival is his letter to Louis offering his personal copy of Bloch's wonderful book on fishes to assist the *savants* on board the *Uranie* (nos. 62-3).

Matthew FLINDERS (1774-1814):

The great hydrographer, commander of the voyage of the *Investigator*, the British riposte to Baudin's expedition.

Flinders had already served with distinction in New South Wales, notably in tandem with George Bass, but where the latter had decided to become a privateer, Flinders sought and was granted command of the *Investigator*. It is interesting to note that much like Freycinet who sailed with his wife Rose, Flinders wanted to take his new wife Ann to accompany him on his own voyage, but was thwarted by the Admiralty, who insisted she leave the ship. Flinders didn't sail until July 1801, almost a year after Baudin, but in the event, the meeting of the two captains in Encounter Bay meant that most of the Great Australian Bight was first charted by the Englishman, and only what became known as "*Terre Napoleon*", east of Adelaide, was first charted by the French.

Flinders was imprisoned in Mauritius as he made his way home, lending support to accusations that the French had openly copied his charts (an accusation partly fuelled by the fact that Freycinet's large maritime atlas (no. 30) was only poorly known in England). These questions of priority bedevilled both publications, and became a stalking horse for national rivalries at a time when the two nations were at war: it is now known that both Louis and Henri de Freycinet were terribly upset at the accusations of plagiarism (nos. 35-6). At the same time, it is difficult to know what either of Baudin or Flinders would have made of this: their own meetings had been cautious but cordial, and they had even swapped information (no. 74). Particularly sad is the reflection that Baudin had been very grateful for the succour he had received from Flinders himself, and especially for his generous reception in Port Jackson by Governor King, and had left a letter with the Governor of Mauritius asking him to give assistance to any English ship.

The copy of his great account of the voyage included here, published just one day before his death in 1814, was that owned by the Quaker missionary James Backhouse, who made use of Flinders' notes during his own criss-crossing of the Australian continent (no. 3).

Jeanne Clémentine de FREYCINET (1795-1876):

Known as Clémentine, the wife of Henri de Freycinet was a great favourite of Rose, and the two women continued to correspond during Clémentine's long absences from Paris (no. 70). Clémentine was born in the French Atlantic seaport of Rochefort, the daughter of the influential Bésar family; Louis congratulated Henri on the good match when she married Henri in 1815, writing that Henri is lucky to be aligned with such a family, particularly his father-in-law Captain Bésar (no. 33).

Louis-Claude de Saulces de FREYCINET (1779-1842):

Cartographer and naval officer, the most important French officer to visit Australia in the history of *grands voyages* in the region. Louis de Freycinet's contributions to the charting, science and history of Australia were immense.

A junior officer when the Baudin voyage sailed, Freycinet's abilities were soon noticed, and he was given command of the newly built *Casuarina* for the return voyage to France. Back in Paris, his adroitness with mapping and charts meant that he was given the task of preparing the atlas for publication, a role in which he immersed himself for almost a decade (nos. 30-37). After the death of Péron in 1810, Freycinet was also given the job of finishing the official account (nos. 1, 2, 23).

In 1816, newly married to Rose, Freycinet began petitioning to be given a command of his own, and by 1817 the *Uranie* was ready to sail from Toulon (no. 58). The voyage, which had been marked by great success had its sad denouement in the treacherous waters of the Falklands, where the *Uranie* foundered after striking rocks. After many travails, Freycinet ultimately chartered and then purchased a small vessel which he renamed the *Physicienne* for the last leg (no. 67).

Intriguingly, one of the first things he did on his return to France was to complete a thoroughly revised and updated edition of the Baudin voyage (no. 25). We know that he worked at this task during the voyage of the *Uranie* and very likely during the enforced idleness at the Falklands. Concomitantly, he began work on the magnificent account of the *Uranie* voyage, work which would consume the rest of his life: the last volumes did not appear until two years after his death (no. 51). Louis de Freycinet was admitted into the French Academy of Sciences and was a founder of the Paris Geographical Society. He died in 1842 still grieving the loss of Rose ten years earlier.

Louis-Henri de Saulces de FREYCINET (1777-1840):

Appointed to the *Géographe* at the relatively senior rank of capitaine de vaisseau, Henri de Freycinet (as he is generally known) served for some two years as Baudin's first officer, and petitioned to be given command of the voyage after Baudin's death in Mauritius (no. 7).

Two years older than his brother Louis, Henri was responsible for much of the mapping of the Australian coastline, and was also keenly involved in promoting the Atlas in France (see, for example, the "Rochefort" letters, nos. 32-36). He had joined the navy in 1794 and had a distinguished career, including seeing a great deal of action against the British. He lost his right arm in battle in 1806, and was twice imprisoned. In his later life he served as the governor of Ile Bourbon (Réunion), and later served

in French Guiana. Henri and Louis were tremendously close, and their letters are marked by candour and affection: it was to Henri, that Louis confided the sensitive information regarding the outfitting of the *Uranie* in Toulon (no. 58).

Rose de FREYCINET, née Pinon (1794-1832):

The great romantic figure of early Pacific exploration, one of the first women to circumnavigate the globe, and the first to leave a detailed account of her experiences, her famous diary which takes the form of letters to her friend Caroline de Nanteuil, first published in 1927 (no. 68) with several subsequent versions.

Rose had married Louis in 1814, and the two were devoted. Louis first submitted his plan for the *Uranie* voyage in August 1816, and it seems that from the early stages it was hoped that Rose, then 22 years old, would join him on board. This was a serious risk for Louis' career, but Rose enchanted first the crew on board, then the influential people she met in their many ports of call, and finally Paris itself, meaning that Louis was never censured for his breach of protocol: to the contrary.

Intelligent, lively and observant, most of what we know about Rose is derived from manuscripts and pictures, because the one concession Louis made to protocol was to all but erase her name from the official account, although to Rose's delight her name did creep into the official account, for Freycinet named both "Rose Island" in the Pacific near Samoa and "Cap Rose" in Shark Bay in western Australia for her. Two of the treasures of this catalogue are a letter to her adored sister-in-law Clémentine (no. 70) and, most precious of all, Arago's delightful watercolour depicting Louis and Rose stepping ashore at Dili (no. 69). It is interesting to note that Rose often appears in Arago's pictures, whether ashore at Port Louis (no. 79) or wrapped in her favourite shawl and wearing her distinctive hat in Mauritius (no. 80).

Rose died in 1832 and was buried in Paris, but her remains were later taken to the family home at Saulces.

Charles GAUDICHAUD-BEAUPRE (1780-1854):

A surgeon on board the *Uranie* who was also in charge of collecting Australian and Pacific botany during the voyage.

An able naturalist, he is now a rather forgotten figure, despite the fact that he was the author of the important botanical section of the Freycinet voyage (nos. 51 & 77). In Sydney he collaborated with Allan Cunningham and Charles Fraser, notably during an excursion to the Blue Mountains, but he also collected Australian specimens in every port of call on the continent. Gaudichaud later worked in South America during the 1831 voyage of *L'Herminie*, and again circumnavigated the globe in 1836 on board *La Bonite*, captain Vaillant.

Jacques Félix Emmanuel HAMELIN (1768-1839):

Baudin's second-in command, and commander of the *Naturaliste*. He was thus Louis de Freycinet's captain for much of the voyage.

On the visit to Dirk Hartog Island in 1801, it was a party of Hamelin's men that discovered the famous Vlamingh plate. His subsequent naval career was one of great distinction; Napoleon made him a commander of the Légion d'honneur and a Baron. Just a few months after the departure of the *Uranie* from Toulon he was based there as general major of the navy. In 1833 he was appointed Director of Marine Cartography. In this context his letter to Louis de Freycinet asking for a copy of the second edition of the Baudin voyage atlas (no. 29) is very appropriate.

Hamelin Bay, just south of Cape Freycinet between Cape Leeuwin and Cape Naturaliste on the SW coast of Western Australia is named for him, as is Hamelin Pool Marine Nature Reserve in Shark Bay, the only marine reserve in Western Australia.

Phillip Parker KING (1791-1856):

Naval officer and hydrographer, commander of the *Mermaid* and the *Bathurst* for four voyages of exploration on the Australian coast between 1817 and 1823. One of the implicit objectives of King's work was to keep an eye on the French expedition of Freycinet.

According to tradition, King first became interested in surveying when he met Matthew Flinders, and it is certainly the case that he was given unusual responsibility when he was appointed to the *Mermaid* in 1817 at the relatively young age of 25. The *Mermaid* was a very small ship when compared with the *Uranie*, but King's accomplishments made him the great successor to Flinders, ably assisted by John Septimus Roe. In King's later career he famously commanded the *Beagle*, and successfully made surveys of the dangerous coastal waters of South America. King lived in Sydney for much of his life, dying in 1855.

Rather sadly, King and Freycinet never met, as the French expedition left Port Jackson a few days before the *Mermaid* returned in 1820, but in a nice gesture, Freycinet is known to have left one of his silver voyage medals (no. 55) for King, in memory of the assistance rendered to him and his fellow officers during the Baudin voyage by Governor King - Phillip Parker King's father.

King's excellent account of the voyage is known in a very small number of copies published in 1826 (no. 54), with the bulk of the edition appearing one year later. It is interesting to compare this considered but rather modest work with the lavish publication finally completed after Freycinet's death in 1844 (no. 51).

Charles-Alexandre LESUEUR (1778-1846):

Appointed to the *Géographe* as an assistant gunner, his skills as an artist were early recognised, and he is now remembered for his deft sketches.

Péron and Lesueur were as thick as thieves, and the two set about writing the official account after their return. Although both contributed to the first volume published in 1807, Péron's failing health saw them travel several times to the south of France, where they stayed with the Freycinet family in the Drôme and tried to cure Péron's tuberculosis in the warmer Mediterranean climate. It was Lesueur who arranged for the publication of the two short biographies of Péron (no. 15). Lesueur moved to Philadelphia in 1815 and spent the following two decades in the United States where he continued his natural history studies with great success. He remained in touch with his Baudin comrades, notably his fellow naturalist Bory de Saint-Vincent (no. 16).

John Joseph William Molesworth OXLEY (1784?-1828):

Australian surveyor-general and explorer during the Macquarie era.

Oxley arrived in Australia in 1802, and the following years saw him actively involved in the survey of Western Port and Van Diemens Land (no. 74). His famous narrative was published in London in 1820, but the present catalogue includes two of his rarest works, both from the collection of Louis de Freycinet with his familiar notes: the 1822 large format chart of New South Wales (no. 75) and the revised 1825 issue of the same map, complete in three large sheets (no. 76).

Alphonse PELLION (1796-1868):

Appointed to the *Uranie* voyage as the second artist alongside Jacques Arago.

Pellion was a midshipman on board the *Uranie*, and is now particularly remembered for his trip to Bathurst while the expedition was staying in Sydney. Much like his famous predecessor on the Baudin voyage, Nicolas-Martin Petit, he drew many sensitive portrayals of the Australian aborigines: his original pencil and ink double portrait of Tara and a man called Peroa was exhibited as one of the highlights of the State Library of New South Wales "One Hundred" exhibition, celebrating the centenary of the David Scott Mitchell bequest. Nonetheless, Pellion remains a shadowy figure, although his artistic skill is evident. Many of his sketches were engraved for the official account (no. 51), including his picture of farm workers in Guam (no. 82).

François Auguste PÉRON (1775-1810):

Appointed to the *Géographe* as a trainee zoologist, the

death of the two senior zoologists catapulted Péron into a position of some authority, and ultimately led to him being appointed to write the official account of the voyage.

As a young man Péron had intended to join the priesthood, but was reluctantly dragged into the army in 1792 to defend Landau. Wounded and imprisoned, he spent the following two years locked up in the Fortress of Magdeburg, during which time he lost sight in one eye, an injury which saw him invalided out of the army. He won a scholarship to study medicine in Paris but in 1800, crossed in love, he sought refuge on the Baudin voyage. Péron and Baudin clashed continually, especially after the younger man became notorious for wandering off on the remote Australian coastline, but he also proved himself an able scientist. The appointment of the young and rather wilful Péron as chronicler of the voyage would have appalled Baudin had he lived to witness it, and Péron certainly managed to almost erase his former captain from the printed record. Péron's death from tuberculosis in 1810, before the account was completed, was greatly mourned, most particularly by Lesueur, who commissioned two biographies of his friend (no. 15).

The inclusion here of a long and involved letter by Péron to Freycinet discussing the later careers of their fellow Baudin veterans is an exceptional discovery (no. 14), as is the unrecorded printed letter he sent from the Cape of Good Hope regarding the small-pox (no. 11) and his rare scientific study of the "pyrosoma" (no. 13).

Nicolas-Martin PETIT (1777-1804):

Like his friend Lesueur, Petit signed on to the *Géographe* as a gunner, but was always recognised as a skilled artist.

Petit had trained in Paris under Jacques Louis David, and was adept at caricature and portraiture. These skills were of great moment during his interactions with the Tasmanian and Port Jackson aborigines, and his portraits were later included in the official account of the Baudin voyage (nos. 39-46). Helped by Péron and Lesueur, Petit would sing and clown about, giving him the best opportunity to capture his striking portraits, the most significant early archive of known Aborigines.

Petit was badly affected by scurvy on the voyage, and died tragically from complications of the disease and gangrene in 1804.

Jean René Constant QUOY (1790-1869):

Surgeon and naturalist on board the *Uranie*. Together with Jean-Paul Gaimard, he was the author of the zoological section of the official account (no. 51).

Correspondent of various learned societies including that at Rochefort, Quoy was the official naturalist on board, and his accomplished work during the voyage saw him

promoted to chevalier of the Legion d'honneur in 1825. He had a very grand career in the Pacific, later sailing with Duperrey on the *Coquille* (1822-25) and with Dumont d'Urville on the *Astrolabe* (1826-29). It was Quoy who salvaged Bloch's great book on fishes from the wreck of the *Uranie* at French Bay (no. 63).

Anselme RIEDLE (1763-1801):

The gardener appointed to the *Géographe*.

Riedle was a German naturalist and old friend of Baudin's: the two men had earlier sailed together to the West Indies, where Riedle's skill in nursing plant specimens during the rigours of a voyage had first become apparent. Together with Henri de Freycinet, Riedle was one of the first to set foot in Geographe Bay, and during the voyage spent much time ashore collecting.

The "gardener" was an important position on board a vessel which had as one of its first priorities the collection of natural history specimens. The Baudin voyage, of course, is well-known for the magnificent collection associated with Josephine's garden at Malmaison, and it was Riedle's watchful attention that ensured the safe arrival of many specimens (no. 18). Riedle was, besides, one of the very few friends Baudin had on board, so his death from dysentery in Timor was a bitter blow. Riedle was buried with honours in Coupang, next to David Nelson, the gardener aboard Bligh's *Bounty*. A detailed letter from Riedle written on board the *Géographe* was published in the *Annales* of the Muséum nationale d'histoire naturelle (no. 6).

Adrien TAUNAY the younger (1803-1828):

The junior artist on the *Uranie*, only fifteen or sixteen years old when he joined the expedition at Rio.

Although rather overshadowed by the two senior artists Arago and Pellion, Taunay was a useful addition to the crew, and an adept draughtsman, as can be seen in his sketch of two north Pacific objects traded at Hawaii (no. 64). Taunay returned to Rio in 1820, and later sailed with Langsdorff as they navigated the inland waterways of Brazil. Taunay died trying to cross the Guaporé River after becoming separated from his fellows in 1828.

APPENDIX 2: THE SHIPS

BAUDIN'S SHIPS

1. The *Géographe* was Baudin's flag-ship, a corvette that had originally been named the *Galatée*.

Some 350 tons and 124 feet in length, the *Géographe* was a lean and relatively fast sailing vessel. Together with the *Naturaliste* the vessel sailed from Le Havre in October 1800. Baudin died in Mauritius, while the second-in-command Sainte-Croix Le Bas had long since left the expedition in Timor, forced to go ashore after openly quarrelling with Baudin. This meant that in Mauritius a new commander had to be appointed. Henri de Freycinet lobbied for the position but in the event it was given to Pierre-Bernard Milius, who had earlier sailed for France on the *Naturaliste*, but who had been left behind to recuperate in Mauritius.

The *Géographe* finally returned to France in March 1804.

2. The *Naturaliste* was the second ship of the Baudin expedition, a store ship that had originally been named the *Menacarte*. Louis de Freycinet left France on board, but in Sydney was given command of the small *Casuarina*.

The *Naturaliste* was of very similar dimensions to the *Géographe* (350 tons and 127 feet in length), but was a noticeably slower sailor, which caused the two ships to become separated on several occasions. The captain of the vessel was Jacques Felix Emmanuel Hamelin, with Pierre-Bernard Milius as second-in-command: both men would survive the voyage, Hamelin still in charge of the *Naturaliste* which had been sent home laden with specimens in 1802, and Milius ultimately in charge of the *Géographe*, to which he transferred after recuperating in Mauritius.

The *Naturaliste* reached Le Havre in June 1803.

3. The third ship of the expedition was the *Casuarina*, a smaller vessel named for the timber from which it was built and which proved very useful for close inshore survey work.

Baudin had bought the Port Jackson-built vessel of only 30 tons and 29 feet in length from Governor King in 1802, and Louis de Freycinet was placed in command. The *Casuarina* remained close to the *Géographe* for the rest of the voyage on the south and west coast of Australia, but was abandoned in Mauritius, the remaining crew all being accommodated on the *Géographe*. This fact helps explain why Henri de Freycinet's letter asking to be granted command of the *Géographe* (no. 7) also enquires about the fate of Louis, who had to give up his command.

FREYCINET'S SHIPS

1. The only vessel to leave France on the Freycinet expedition was the *Uranie*, a corvette that had previously been known as the *Ciotat*.

Similarly to Baudin's ships, the *Uranie* was a corvette of some 350 tons, carrying a complement of 120 men and 23 officers, including the artist Jacques Arago and a priest. Freycinet did not want any civilians on board, but he arranged to have discreetly added a small cabin or "dunette" on the poop deck to accommodate his young wife Rose. They sailed from Toulon in September 1817, and although developing some worrying leaks, the vessel behaved admirably for the entire voyage. The wreck of the *Uranie* in French Bay in the Falklands in February 1820 was a devastating blow for Freycinet, who at least managed to run the vessel ashore, meaning that the logs, journals and notes were salvaged, although some eighteen cases of natural history specimens were lost and many more damaged.

The *Uranie* was found to be beyond repair; recent archaeological dives in what is now known as Berkeley Sound have identified parts of the wreck.

2. The *Physicienne* was the vessel that brought the Freycinet survivors home to France.

Stranded in the Falklands Freycinet had endured complicated negotiations with the captain of a vessel called the *General Knox*, but ultimately succeeded in chartering the *Mercury*, Captain Galvin, then running guns to the Chilean rebels. The French were packed on board the *Mercury* and sailed from the Falklands in late April 1820, some two months after they had first run aground. After some vivid disputes between Freycinet and the original passengers, it was decided that rather than simply chartering the services of Galvin that they should simply buy the vessel outright: this transfer occurred in Montevideo in early May, and they finally reached Le Havre in November 1820.

APPENDIX 3: PUBLISHING DETAILS OF THE BAUDIN VOYAGE

The official account of the Baudin voyage appeared over ten years, in two quite distinct sections. The two-volume narrative with a small folio atlas of two parts (including some charting, chiefly of specific ports, and the famous views and portraits of native peoples) appeared between 1807 and 1816. The separate large-scale coastal mapping of Australia, an imperial folio atlas accompanied by a volume of partly narrative text together forming the first Australian pilot, was published between 1812 and 1815. Each of these sections could be acquired as a stand-alone publication. Not only were they issued on different dates, and sold separately, but they were distributed by different booksellers. Some buyers then and collectors now prefer to acquire both sections and thus to have the entire official publication, ideally in matching bindings: this constitutes a “complete set”.

With future French *grands voyages* accounts this separation of the different sections would become increasingly the case. To people schooled in the English tradition, the notion of just buying the parts of the voyage that one wanted to read seems odd but in many ways it is quite sensible. In fact it did happen with English voyages, in the sense that the official works on the astronomy of Cook’s voyages by Wales and Bayly, for example, were published quite separately from the narrative accounts, and are virtually never found in a “set” of Cook’s voyages. They don’t look similar enough for us to think of them as being part of the complete official publication of each voyage.

It may be worthwhile to spell out the publication of this voyage in some detail.

1. Narrative of the voyage (‘Historique’)

First edition.

- a. Text part 1, 1807. This was the text volume completed by Péron before his death.
- b. Text part 2, 1816. This was the text volume written by Louis de Freycinet.
- c. Atlas part 1, 1807. This was the volume of plates prepared under Péron’s supervision. It has altogether 40 engraved plates, two of them folding, 23 of them coloured.
- d. Atlas part 2, 1811. This was the smaller-format volume of maps prepared under Freycinet’s supervision. It contains 14 engraved charts, two of them double-page (the famous maps of Australia and Terre Napoleon).

All four of these volumes were also issued in a Large Paper format. Examples of this are very rare.

As can be seen from these dates, in 1807 the first section of the narrative appeared, with a volume of text and an atlas. The second atlas appeared four years later in 1811, while the second text volume did not appear until five years later in 1816. These four volumes published over ten years (sometimes bound as three volumes if the two parts of the atlas are placed together as a single volume) form the complete regular publication of the Baudin voyage.

2. Cartography of the voyage (‘Hydrographique’ or ‘Navigation et Géographie’)

First and only edition.

- a. Text volume, 1815. Prepared by Louis de Freycinet.
- b. Atlas volume, 1812. Prepared by Louis de Freycinet. It contains 32 engraved charts, 25 of them double-page. All but two of the charts depict the Australian coastline.

These two volumes form the complete cartographic section of the voyage, and were published quite separately from the narrative account.

3. Narrative of the voyage (‘Historique’)

Second edition. Revised by Louis de Freycinet himself during and after the voyage of the *Uranie*, this was published in 1824 in four octavo volumes and a single-volume quarto atlas. The atlas contains 68 plates in total, which include most of those in 1c above with an additional 25 engraved plates, accompanied by reduced and revised charts from 1d.

It is on the general map of Australia that Freycinet, in the post-Napoleonic era, has famously changed many of the place-names back to their English versions. We have not seen it pointed out before that the celebrated vignette on the engraved title of the atlas volume (see illustration overleaf) depicting Malmaison and its Australian menagerie and arboretum has been re-engraved to make a fundamental change of detail: no longer is the map at centre front lettered “*Terre Napoleon*”; it has quietly become “*Nlle Hollande*”.

4. The English editions.

- a. The only contemporary English edition was a version of the first volume prepared by Péron (1a), published in 1809: a copy is no. 26 in this catalogue.
- b. In 2003 the State Library of South Australia issued Christine Cornell’s translation of the second text volume (1b).
- c. Finally, in 2010, the same publisher produced Cornell’s complete translation of the text of the revised second edition (3), a copy of which is no. 28 in this catalogue.

Bearing these remarks in mind, the main forms in which the official publication of the Baudin voyage can be seen are all represented in this catalogue as we will explain here by reference to the list above,

A set of the narrative of the voyage consists of 1a, 1b, 1c, and 1d. An example of this is no. 23 in this catalogue.

A set of the cartography of the Baudin voyage is made up of 2a and 2b. An example of this is no. 30.

A “full set” of the Baudin voyage is made up of 1a, 1b, 1c, 1d, 2a, and 2b. Examples of this can be seen at nos. 1 and 2 in this catalogue. (No. 1 has some of the volumes present in their rare Large Paper issues).

The second edition of the official account, 3 in the list above, is no. 25.

A hybrid version is occasionally seen, in the form of a first edition to which has been added the series of new plates prepared for this edition. An example of this is no. 24.

APPENDIX 4: PUBLISHING DETAILS OF THE FREYCINET VOYAGE

The full publication of the voyage, which took twenty years of Freycinet’s life and was finally completed two years after his death, runs to nine quarto volumes of text and four large folio atlases. Altogether there is an extraordinary total of 355 engraved plates, maps or plans, 120 of which are in colour. It was published between 1824 and 1844. As was foreshadowed with the manner of publication of the Baudin voyage, each of these sections was intended as a stand-alone publication.

A full set is composed as follows:

Zoologie. Text by Quoy & Gaimard, one volume quarto, with folio atlas, with engraved title and 96 engraved plates (all but 19 printed in colour and finished by hand). Paris, 1824.

Historique. Text by Freycinet, three volumes quarto text (including one coloured plate), and folio atlas with engraved title and 112 engraved plates, charts and plans, (42 of the plates printed in colour and finished by hand); the plates by Arago, Pellion and others include 16 of Australia, 32 of Guam and the Marianas, 9 of Hawaii and 16 of Timor. Paris, 1825-39.

Botanique. Text by Charles Gaudichaud, one volume quarto text, and folio atlas, with engraved title and 120 engraved plates. Paris, 1826.

Navigation et Hydrographie. Text by Freycinet, one volume quarto text with three engraved plates, atlas folio, with 22 engraved charts (10 of which are folding). Paris, 1826.

Observations du Pendule. Text by Freycinet, one volume quarto text. Paris, 1826.

Magnetisme Terrestre. Text by Freycinet, with folding engraved world chart. Paris, Imprimerie Royale, 1842.

Meteorologie. Text by Freycinet, one volume quarto. Paris, Imprimerie Royale, 1844.



Detail of vignette depicting Malmaison, from engraved title of part 1 of the Baudin atlas (see catalogue no. 1)

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