

The Freycinet Map of 1811 – Is it the First Complete Map of Australia?

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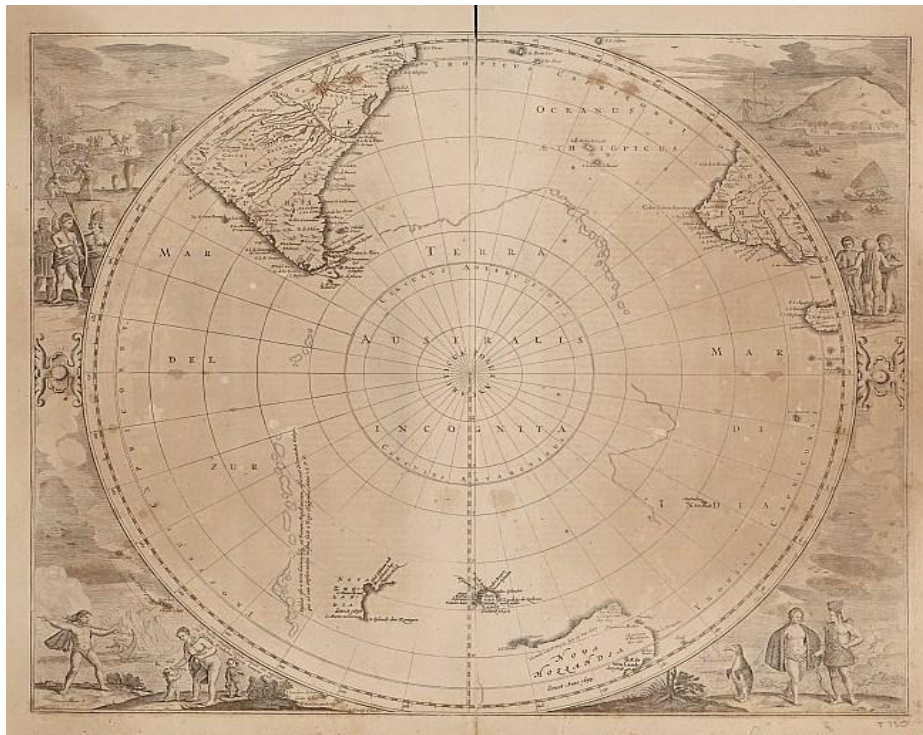
The publication of what is known as the Freycinet map in 1811,¹ generally recognised as the first full map of Australia, may be viewed as the culmination of a long chain of events which put Australia's coasts on the world map. That sequence is a fascinating one that starts well before, beginning with Australia's recorded history in 1606, when the Dutch ship, the *Duyfken*, charted 300 kilometres of the west coast of Cape York. As 2014 approaches the context for the publication of the Freycinet map will undoubtedly be revisited, with the focus shifting to the 200th anniversary of the publication of Matthew Flinders' map, the map which ultimately gave Australia its name. The Freycinet map is more than just a map however, at another level it can be seen as a product of the protracted hostilities and strategic manoeuvring of the European superpowers of that time, France and Britain. It also provides a vicarious historical link between Australia and the career of one of the towering figures in world history, Napoléon Bonaparte.² In examining these swirling tides of Australia's cartographic history as they culminated in the publication of the map, the question must be asked, was the Freycinet map of 1811 really the first map of Australia to be published showing the full outline of the entire coast?

Timeline - from Aristotle to Flinders

By about the sixth century BC Greek philosophers had developed the concept of a spherical Earth and in the third century BC Greek astronomical observations confirmed that the Earth was indeed spherical. Claudius Ptolemy (90–168AD) of Alexandria went on to document his observations and arguments in favour of the idea of a spherical Earth. This included the observation that when sailing towards mountains they appear to rise from the sea, meaning they were hidden by the curvature of the Earth's surface. The first voyage circumnavigating the Earth, by the Spaniards Magellan and Elcano, from 1519 to 1521, finally demonstrated beyond any doubt that the Earth was indeed spherical. Ptolemy also supported Aristotle's earlier idea of the existence of a hypothetical huge southern continent. By the beginning of 17th century it in fact had already been assigned a long list of different names, including *Terra Australis*, *Terra Australis Ignota*, *Terra Australis Incognita* (Latin for 'the unknown land of the South') *Terra Australis Nondem Cognita*, *Magellanica*, *La Austrialia del Espíritu Santos* and even *Australia*.³

Ptolemy had speculated that the Indian Ocean may have been enclosed by land located far to the south of all other continents, including Asia and Africa, and be of a size that balanced the lands of the northern hemisphere. Once Ptolemy's work became known in Europe one and half millennia later, his theory was to find expression in works such as Schnitzer's 1482 copy of Ptolemy's 'Mappa Mundi',⁴ and the beautifully decorated 1599 world map by Petrus Plancius, *Orbis Terrarum Typus de Integro Multis in Locis Emendatus*. Australia for a few decennia came under consideration as Ptolemy's 'Southland', but it was then realised that it didn't match

Ptolemy's concept. Following that, Cook seemingly proved once and for all that the hypothetical Great South Land did not exist.⁵ Ironically yet another southern continent began to emerge in the 1820s, one almost twice the size of Australia and possessing most of the key characteristics of Ptolemy's hypothetical Southland, including its presence around the South Pole and it being located south of all other continents. As the Latin equivalent of 'Southland', 'Australia', was already taken by then, this new southern continent became clumsily known in the 1890s as 'Land Opposite of North' - Antarctica.



Hondius' 'Polus Antarcticus' (1657) - National Library of Australia, Map T 730

De Freycinet's map of Australia, apart from adding many interesting French names, especially in South Australia, Western Australia and Tasmania, applied the same name to the smallest continent that had been in common use since 1644: 'Nouvelle Hollande', a French translation of 'New Holland' or 'Nieuw Nederlandt'. The latter name for the emerging continent had first been proposed by Dutch East Indies Company (VOC) Captain Abel Tasman after he had charted about 4000 kilometres of its coasts on his voyages of 1642 and 1644. His voyages to the perceived Southland were prompted by a need to chart any reefs, cliffs, islands and peninsulas that may have posed a danger to shipping, and to find a strategic route south of New Guinea, thought possible from rumours circulating of Torres' recent discovery of his eponymous strait.

The Freycinet map inevitably incorporated information from the charts or reports of many other mariners, including those of the earliest named person in Australian history, Willem Janszoon, who had charted west Cape York in 1606, Dirk Hartog, who had encountered and charted part of the west coast in 1616, Nuyts and Thijssen who had sailed along much of the south coast in another ship VOC ship, the *Gulden*

Zeepaert, in 1627, and seemingly from shipwrecks such the English East India Company's *Tryall* in 1622 and VOC's East Indiaman *Batavia* in 1629, events the reader may be familiar with.

Janszoon's chart of over 300 kilometres of the west coast of Cape York Peninsula became part of Hessel Gerritszoon's 1622 map of the Pacific. This map only showed what had actually been charted, and thus broke with the tradition of showing the outline of an imagined Southland. Similarly Johannes Janssonius' map of the Indian Ocean in Hendrick Doncker's atlas from 1659 just shows the coasts of Australia as known before Tasman, without any hint of speculative outlines of the hypothetical Southland. But others continued to speculate with varieties of the Ptolemaic theory, as seen in French mapmaker Jean Guerard's world map of 1634.

The coastline as it was known at the time of Tasman's voyages appeared on what are known as Bonaparte maps, with their bulging hypothetical east coast, for well over a century on world maps, in atlases and on globes, without substantial new information being added, until James Cook charted the east coast in 1770. By naming the east coast 'New South Wales' the process of displacing the name 'New Holland' began, so that three years after the publication of the Freycinet map, Matthew Flinders, in justifying his use of 'Australia' on his 1814 map, stated in *A Voyage to Terra Australis*:

"There is no probability, that any other detached body of land, of nearly equal extent, will ever be found in a more southern latitude; the name Terra Australis will, therefore, remain descriptive of the geographical importance of this country, and of its situation on the globe: it has antiquity to recommend it; and, having no reference to either of the two claiming nations, appears to be less objectionable than any other which could have been selected."

adding in a footnote:

"Had I permitted myself any innovation upon the original term, it would have been to convert it into AUSTRALIA; as being more agreeable to the ear, and an assimilation to the names of the other great portions of the earth".⁶

Flinders, having accepted that the hypothetical *Terra Australis* did not exist, applied the name Australia, which he considered to be the best alternative. Before long, his conclusion that there was no other landmass would be found to be mistaken. But perhaps more fundamental mistakes had already been made, when Péron assigned names of the Bonaparte family to features on de Freycinet's map, and set in train the attempt to usurp Flinders discoveries by assigning French names to them.

The French and Australia

French representation in the timeline of European exploration of the Australian coast is considerable. It begins, however, with a fictitious encounter. Binot Paulmier de Gonneville was a French navigator who, in 1503, set sail for Brazil. Upon returning in 1505 he claimed to have paid a visit to the great Austral land, six weeks sailing east of the Cape of Good Hope, and had stayed there for six leisurely months. This story did not surface again until in 1663 when a relative published a book in which he claimed

he was a descendent of an 'Indian' who de Gonneville had brought back with him.⁷ This account achieved great currency in 18th century France, particularly in the face of Dutch and the English discoveries in Australia. The French believed their de Gonneville was really the first European visitor of Australia. This myth helped generate voyages such as the one by Bougainville. It is now accepted that the 'Indian' brought to Europe by de Gonneville came from South America and had married de Gonneville's sister in France, and that de Gonneville never went anywhere near Australia.⁸

Most likely the first French mariners to actually visit Australia did so on board the of the VOC East Indiaman *Batavia*. There were eight French soldiers on the *Batavia* at the time it was wrecked on Morning Reef in the Wallabi Group of the Abrolhos Islands off the coast of WA on 4 June 1629. Two of these soldiers were murdered by the Mutineers. The others, Jean Hongaar, Jean Reynouw, Thomas de Villiers, Jean Boniver, Eduward Coo and Jean Coos de Sally, joined the Defenders holding out against the Mutineers. They played a vital role in the resistance to the Mutiny. The leader of the Mutiny, Jeronimus Corneliszoon, endeavouring to drive a wedge between these six French soldiers and the other Defenders, sent them a letter written in French, which still exists, on 23 July 1629, trying to win them over. However, the other Defenders had been alerted to Cornesliszoon's treachery and they simply took the messenger, Cadet Daniel Cornelisz, prisoner.⁹ The French soldiers remained loyal and held out heroically with the other Defenders until Commandeur Pelsaert arrived in the *Sardam* on 17 September 1629 and the Mutiny was put down.

Following this incident the first recorded contact of a French vessel with Australia took place on 4 August 1687. Captain, later Admiral, Duquesne-Guitton in the *Oiseau*, carrying Monsieur Claude Ceberet, the new French Ambassador and his staff to the Kingdom of Siam (now Thailand) to set up a new Embassy, sighted and sailed up the Western Australian coast in the vicinity of the Swan River.¹⁰ This was a year before Englishman and privateer William Dampier visited the west coast for the first time.

It would be another 85 years before the French touched upon the Australian coast again, but not before there had been a couple of close encounters. In 1768 Louis Antoine de Bougainville, on a voyage around the world in two ships,¹¹ the *Boudeuse* and the *Étoile*, came very close to the east coast of Australia. He approached and was only 100 kilometres off the coast before he was forced to turn away by the Great Barrier Reef, with Bougainville Reef now a reminder of the event. Although he did not find 'Gonneville Land', at least he came home alive, unusual for the leader of a French expedition venturing into Australian waters in this period, as we shall see. Similarly, Jean de Surville, in the *St Jean Baptiste*, had sailed parallel to the east coast in November 1769 without sighting it, before turning away when they had reached the same parallel as Sydney and making for New Zealand.¹²

So, it was not until 1772 that another French ship made landfall in Australia. Louis-François de St. Allouarn left Mauritius in January 1772, and upon coming up the coast of Western Australia sailed north from Cape Leeuwin to Shark Bay and Dirk Hartog Island. Here, in March, he landed and claimed the western part of Australia for France. The bottle in which the document claiming possession may have been sealed

was actually found in 1998, although there was no sign of the document.¹³ At the same time as St. Allouarn was claiming the west coast for France, Marc-Joseph Marion Dufresne (or du Fresne), on a largely self-financed voyage to the southern seas and to Tahiti, *en route* to Tahiti to return a Tahitian taken to France by Bougainville, arrived in Van Diemen's Land (Tasmania). The timing was purely coincidental as the two expeditions do not appear to have been connected. Marion sailed on to New Zealand where he and 27 of his crew experienced a culinary catastrophe, being eaten by the Maoris.

The voyage of Rear Admiral Jean François Galaup, Count of LaPérouse, who sailed the *Boussole* and the *Astrolabe* into Botany Bay in January 1788, is perhaps better known to most Australians because his encounter with the First Fleet. Like James Cook on his first voyage to the Pacific, he had already completed most of his voyage by the time he reached Australia, having entered the Pacific via Cape Horn before sailing via Easter Island to Alaska and then to California. From there he had crossed the Pacific to Macau, on to Korea, Japan and then the Kamchatka Peninsula in eastern Russia. While anchored in the harbour of Petropavlovsk on Kamchatka he sent progress reports on his expedition to France, but he also received a letter from France ordering him to investigate the British settlement that was to be established in New South Wales. The two ships sailed via Samoa and Tonga, arriving at Botany Bay on 24 January 1788 and landing just as Phillip was moving the recently arrived First Fleet from there to Sydney Cove. After sailing north into the Pacific, LaPérouse's ships disappeared near the Solomon Islands. Repeated searches eventually discovered that the vessels had been wrecked on the reefs at Vanikoro, part of the Vera Cruz group, where he is assumed to have died. A variety of place names, including the Sydney suburb of La Perouse, remind us of his voyage.

In the course of 1792 and 1793 Rear Admiral Antoine Bruny d'Entrecasteaux, a former Governor of Mauritius, circumnavigated Australia one and a half times in the *Recherche* and the *Espérance* in search of La Pérouse. He visited Tasmania twice, the charting of part of it being undertaken by his young and now famous hydrographer and cartographer Charles-François Beautemps-Beaupré. They also had extended contact with the Tasmanians. He too died before returning to France, on 21 July 1793, of scurvy. So when the Baudin Expedition set sail for Australia on 19 October 1800 there had already been a long tradition of French contact, exploration and mapping.

The Baudin Expedition in the Context of Competition and Conflict Between the French and British

In the second half of the 17th century, long before he became king, William III of England, Scotland and Ireland had made it his life's work to forestall the French King Louis XIV's ambition of dominating Europe, as it turned out with the help of Pope Innocent XI and other European allies.¹⁴ This strategy was continued by the Duke of Marlborough early in the 18th century, in bringing Louis down in a series of battles. Louis' life-long policy of aggression failed, and he found himself woken from his imperialist dream by the Treaties of Utrecht and of Rastatt at the end of the War of Spanish Succession in 1713. The humiliated Louis XIV, who had ruined France and brought her economy to its knees in the process, died in 1715, a century before the Battle of Waterloo.

The Anglo-French hostilities of the Seven Years War, fought on three continents, ended in 1763 with the Treaty of Paris, yet another humiliating defeat for France, which saw it sign over most of its North American colonies to Britain and some to Spain. France's colonial encroachments in India, underpinned by the French East India Company, also came to an end at that point. Although the British had agreed in 1802, by the terms of the Treaty of Amiens, to return to the French their former colonies in India, they simply reneged on their undertakings in this regard. As a consequence the French Governor, Charles Decaen, was unable to take up his appointment and was re-assigned to the tiny and remote island of Mauritius.¹⁵ This was to have significant consequences for Matthew Flinders in his prolonged sojourn on Mauritius as the wary and highly influential Governor Decaen detained him there for over six and a half years (1804-10). As a result he was not able to publish his map of Australia until 1814, three years after Louis de Freycinet had published his. While no further war of great significance broke out in Europe until the French Revolutionary Wars began in 1792, nevertheless an undeclared race to discover and reconnoitre new lands seems to have unfolded following the Seven Years War. In this the French appeared to be trying to atone for their humiliation, akin to the German's urge to re-assert themselves after World War I.

Both James Cook and the French mariner Louis-Antoine Bougainville were to have important roles for their respective nations during the Seven Years War, in the North American theatre. And both went on to become part of this race to find lands unknown, the Space Race of its day. Cook subsequently sailed around the world some two years after his 'rival', but Bougainville's successful circumnavigation in 1768 had actually been preceded by three secret English voyages across the Pacific in the 1760s - Byron in the frigate HMS *Dolphin* in 1764-65, followed by Samuel Wallis, again in the *Dolphin*, from 1766-68 and then Carteret in the HMS *Swallow* from 1766-69. While these had not been very successful in terms of new discoveries, they provided invaluable experience for the British. Several of the more capable and experienced men from these British voyages were to be found later on board of James Cook's HMS *Endeavour*. Thus Britain had slowly built up a strong culture in long distance maritime exploration, more so than France. They also developed a number of new navigational technologies, so that when the Baudin Expedition was being fitted out they had to purchase some of their requirements in London.

The Napoléonic Connection

Out of the political melee of the French revolution emerged Napoléon Bonaparte, an army officer who as a boy had admired the navy, and even tried to join, but was rejected. Manipulating the situation brilliantly, he quickly rose through the ranks. Revolutionary France went to war first with Austria, where Bonaparte was victorious, as he was in the many other wars and battles that would follow. Under Bonaparte France embarked on its greatest expansionary phase ever. He rose firstly to Brigadier-General in the army, then became the First Consul in a 'Consulate' of three, an all powerful troika, the result of his 'Coup d'État de Brumaire' and his popular support. The French now made determined efforts to build up their navy and to match the navigational standards of the British, and so maritime exploration was encouraged. Thus the *Bureau des Longitudes* was founded by decree on 25 June 1795. This French

scientific institution, which still exists as an academy, was to improve nautical navigation, standardise time-keeping, and make geodesic and astronomical observation. It was believed that these improvements in navigation would lay the foundations for a renaissance in French naval power.

It was in this milieu of Napoléonic optimism, that the Baudin Expedition was conceived. It arose in part as a response to the establishment of the British colony at Sydney Cove and other British territorial gains. Riding a wave of popularity and the glory generated by his successful campaigns, Napoléon then took the next step and became Emperor in 1804. His hatred of the British and their Empire led to his decision to attack it in India, via Egypt which he had conquered in 1798. However Admiral Nelson's fleet in the Mediterranean was able to defeat him at the Battle of Aboukir Bay, fitting yet again the pattern where at sea the French could not match the British. It was in this context, a year after the destruction of the French fleet in the Battle of Trafalgar, and two years after the return of Baudin's ships, that Emperor Napoléon agreed, in 1806, to the scientist Péron and cartographer Louis de Freycinet being provided access to the papers of the deceased Baudin in order to prepare and publish the glorious narrative of the French voyage to Nouvelle Hollande and its first full coastal map.

The Baudin Expedition

From its inception the Baudin Expedition was intended to assert the glory of France, by undertaking a voyage of discovery that would further scientific knowledge and perhaps eclipse the achievements of James Cook. Originally it was conceived as a global voyage of discovery. Enthused by collections Baudin had brought back from the West Indies in June 1798, Jussieu, Director of the Museum of Natural History in Paris, supported and recommended to Forfait, the Minister of Marine, a proposal prepared by Baudin for such a voyage. The proposal languished, however, until January 1800 when Baudin directly appealed to Bonaparte, who had just become First Consul. Bonaparte sought from the Minister of Marine an indication of his intentions, and on 25 March he received a delegation comprised of Baudin and eminent members of the Institut National de France. It appears an in-principle decision to proceed was made at that meeting, but the realities of war and finances soon pared back the voyage to the 'coasts of New Holland.'¹⁶

The explicit purpose of the voyage was 'observation and research relating to Geography and Natural History',¹⁷ a quintessential project of the Enlightenment. Although there was never any overt intention for the voyage to be a spying mission, there seems to have been a subtext involving strategic reconnaissance. Not surprisingly, in the context of ongoing war between France and Britain, there was also always the edge of suspicion about the expedition among the British colonists in New South Wales, in spite of their superficial cordiality.

With '600 leagues' of unexplored south coast in New Holland, the prospect of new discoveries beckoned. Claims have been made that Baudin and Matthew Flinders were also engaged in a race to find a fabled north-south strait, 'Williamson's Strait',¹⁸ running from the south coast through continental Australia, connecting with the Gulf of Carpentaria.¹⁹ Flinders, while acknowledging that 'geographers were disposed to

give the appellation of 'Continent' to New Holland, made the arguable and possibly self-serving claim that 'doubts still existed' whether Australia was a continent and not a number of large islands.²⁰ So, to allow for this possibility Flinders was instructed that:

in case you should discover any creek or opening likely to lead to *an inland sea or strait* [original emphasis], you are at liberty, either to examine it or not, as you shall judge it most expedient, until a more favourable opportunity shall enable you so to do.²¹

Baudin, on the other hand, was given no such direction.

Once approval for the expedition was given, Baudin and the Ministry of Marine proceeded with all haste, lest circumstances alter and the First Consul change his mind. Bonaparte did in fact intervene, to reduce the officers' and scientists' food allowance ('table money'), insist they take a Chinese seaman to Mauritius, favour appointment of certain officers and scientists, and insist they assemble 'a special collection for Mme. Bonaparte'.²² In June, abetted by Sir Joseph Banks, British passports were supplied by the Admiralty, the favour being returned the following year when the French issued a passport for Flinders in HMS *Investigator*. When recruitment of crew and scientists commenced many pressed their claims. At the time of embarkation there were 23 scientists on board, at least six more than Baudin thought he required. Baudin had many, probably too many, midshipman as well, a number of whom had been foisted upon him by Forfait, as a result of pressure applied by influential families. Alas, in this excess of personnel lay some of the seeds for the dissension and disaffection that arose in the course of the expedition and the acrimony that followed, souring its achievements.



Louis de Freycinet - National Library of Australia

Among those joining the expedition's ships, the renamed *Géographe* and *Naturaliste*, were Louis-Claude de Saulses de Freycinet and his older brother Henri-Louis. Louis, who had joined the French navy in 1793, took up the posting of Sub-

Lieutenant, subsequently rising to Lieutenant in 1803, on the *Naturaliste*, under Captain (later Rear Admiral and then Baron) Hamelin. Henri, also a Sub-Lieutenant, sailed with Baudin, and he too was promoted to the rank of Lieutenant by 1803. Ironically, Louis, who would write his name in Australian cartographic history, did not initially sail as a 'geographer' [ingénieur-géographe = hydrographer], that honour fell to Charles-Pierre Boullanger and Pierre Faure.²³ One other member of the expedition who was to ultimately have a highly significant influence on its outcomes was the peripatetic 25 year old François Péron. He was belatedly taken on as a trainee Assistant Zoologist, although he had initially sought the novel position of anthropologist.²⁴

The expedition finally got under way from Le Havre on 19 October 1800. Baudin's instructions directed that he proceed to D'Entrecasteaux Channel in Tasmania (Van Diemen's Land) but largely because of delays in receiving his instructions and problems encountered in Mauritius (Île de France) they did not reach Cape Leeuwin on the south west corner of the continent until early winter 1801, two months later than anticipated. Various locally inspired difficulties arose in Mauritius, and so by time they departed 19 scientists, officers and lower ranks, along with a number of seamen, had deserted. Among the deserters was Zoologist Jean-Baptiste Georges Bory de Saint-Vincent who, upon his return to France, sought to protect his personal position by blackening Baudin's reputation, thus sowing the seeds for the calumnies that followed.

Upon reaching the south west coast of Australia in the vicinity of Capes Leeuwin and Hamelin on 27 May, Baudin, having equivocated about his plans for a number of weeks,²⁵ decided in the end to head north instead of proceeding to Tasmania as instructed, 'the season not allowing us to follow the Government's intentions.'²⁶ Within days, upon rounding Cape Naturaliste, they entered the expansive and uncharted Geographe Bay. The scientists were in a fever of anticipation, the prospect of previously unexplored coasts beckoning. Once ashore some got themselves into scrapes of one sort or another, but the real problems began when the expedition's *chaloupe* [longboat] was swamped and filled with sand and could not be recovered.²⁷ While attempts were being made to refloat the longboat storms began to sweep in, associated with an approaching low. To prevent the ships from becoming embayed Baudin decided they should sail immediately. But some of the scientists and crew were still onshore and desperate efforts were made to retrieve them, but in the process one sailor, Assistant Helmsman Timothée Vasse, was lost.²⁸

As they sailed from Geographe Bay, the *Géographe* and *Naturaliste* lost contact with each other for a whole three months, despite having two pre-arranged rendezvous points, in the Swan River-Rottneest Island area and Shark Bay. It was not until both ships reached Timor that they met up again. Here, while a new longboat was being built, they endeavoured to rest and recover. But the sojourn was marked by dysentery and fever, the death of the much respected naturalist/gardener Riedlé, and serious conflict and dissension among the officers, leading to an almost complete breakdown in command.

Leaving Timor on 13 November 1801 the expedition at last made for Tasmania, sailing back down the west coast of Australia, across the Great Australian

Bight and reaching there on 13 January 1802. The voyage was marred by the legacy of Timor, dysentery and fever ravaged both ships, leaving 11 crew and scientists dead and many infirm. But once they had reached south east Tasmania the expedition entered one of its most productive periods. The whole length of the east coast was charted and there were extensive interactions with the Tasmanians, who were closely observed. Nevertheless here on the east coast they lost a boat crew led by Boullanger. Fortunately they were rescued by an English brig, the *Harrington*, in Banks Strait (between Furneaux Group and Tasmania) and returned the following day to the *Naturaliste*. Baudin, unaware of this and having lost contact with Hamelin set off in the *Géographe* to begin surveying the south coast from Wilson's Promontory westward. It was during this leg of the voyage that the famous encounter with Flinders took place. Still concerned about the fate of his boat crew, he even asked Flinders to look out for them. Meanwhile, Hamelin, after carefully charting from Wilson's Promontory to Western Port Bay, decided to make for Port Jackson as he was running short of food and water, and in need of anchors.

Having already been informed by Flinders at the meeting at Encounter Bay of his discovery of Kangaroo Island, St. Vincent's and Spencer's Gulfs, Baudin noted, as he proceeded westward, that the tip of Fleurieu Peninsula was 'the southern part of the peninsula between the two gulfs.'²⁹ After satisfying himself of the proportions of these gulfs they coasted to the Nuyts Archipelago, the point reached by the *Gulden Zeepaert* in 1627 and D'Entrecasteaux early in 1793. Despite repeated attempts, the unpredictable weather prevented them from getting behind St. Peter and St. Francis Islands (finally accomplished the following year). So Baudin decided at last, on 8 May, to make for Port Jackson, where the *Naturaliste* had already arrived on 26 April.

The *Naturaliste* had only been in port for 23 days, enjoying the generous hospitality of Governor King and the denizens of Port Jackson, and revictualling, before Hamelin decided to put to sea again. During their visit Hamelin had learnt from Flinders, who had arrived on 9 May, that Baudin would be arriving there soon. Ostensibly Hamelin was intending to alert Baudin of the 'scant resources of this colony,'³⁰ but there is some speculation on other possible motives. But as it turned out, in the face of the westerlies and rough seas in Bass Strait and south of Tasmania, and with rations quickly diminishing the *Naturaliste* was forced to return to Port Jackson. Upon their arrival on 28 June they found Baudin and the *Géographe* in the harbour and a joyous reunion followed, especially when Boullanger and the boat crew, given up for lost, were reunited with their shipmates. By then news of the signing of the Treaty of Amiens had also reached New South Wales, and so the five months they were to spend at Port Jackson were to be highly amicable for the most part.

Before resuming the voyage Baudin decided to purchase a 30 tonne schooner, which he named *Casuarina*, and to send Hamelin back to France in the *Naturaliste*. As the voyage had progressed Louis de Freycinet, now a Lieutenant, had shown his talents as an officer and a hydrographer and so was given command of the *Casuarina*. The three ships, their crew reinvigorated, sailed out through the Heads on 18 November, the *Naturaliste* carry a large cargo of specimens, birds, animals, plants, most of what had been collected up till then. In convoy they had reached King Island in Bass Strait by 8 December. Here they were to part, the *Naturaliste* to make for

France while the *Géographe* and *Casuarina* would resume their westward exploration of the south coast from the Nuyts Archipelago. Shortly after they parted, and before *Naturaliste* had set sail, an armed schooner, HMS *Cumberland* under Acting Lieutenant Robbins hove to, soon followed by HMS *Porpoise*, carrying a small complement of soldiers. Their announced intention was to establish settlements in south east Tasmania, at Frederick Henry Bay and the Derwent River. Essentially this was a ploy by Governor King, a response to rumour most likely originating from Péron, that the French had plans to form a settlement in D'Entrecasteaux Channel at some point.³¹ King wanted news of his supposed new settlements to be carried back to France, thus forestalling the French. During this farcical episode, where the British mariners had to beg for supplies from the French, the interlopers even raised the Union Jack, reportedly upside down, on King Island.

This rude interruption was soon forgotten as the expedition carried out further surveying of islands in Bass Strait and then made its way west to Kangaroo Island, Nuyts Archipelago and on to King George Sound. Baudin found the *Casuarina* already waiting there following another lengthy and risky separation of the two ships after they had last sighted each other near Kangaroo Island. This was largely due to miscommunication and misread intentions, but contributed to the dissatisfaction of officers and scientists with Baudin. From King George Sound another leg up the west coast was planned. Besides coasting briefly to fix the position of Cape Leeuwin and St. Allouarn Island, Baudin took the *Géographe* almost directly to Shark Bay, leaving the close in work to de Freycinet in the *Casuarina*, particularly between Rottnest Island and the coast. It was at this point that Baudin began to show the first signs of the illness that was to ultimately claim his life.

The visit to Shark Bay involved much shell collecting by the naturalists, punctuated by a couple of confrontations with the rarely seen local Malgana people,³² 100 in number on one occasion. On 23 March 1803 they departed Shark Bay, checked the position of North West Cape and then followed the Pilbara coast northward from there, examining many islands up to the Dampier Archipelago. With *Casuarina* now sailing inshore more accurate charting was at last being achieved. The voyage northward continued, passing Roebuck Bay, the Lacepede Islands, Cape Leveque, Cape Borda, Cape Voltaire, and the Buccaneer and Bonaparte Archipelagos as it went. At Cassini Island on 24 April they encountered Macassans in their praus, harvesting trepang. With the summer monsoon abating the winds became fickle and so Baudin gave the order to head for Timor again to replenish their water and other supplies. By now Baudin was becoming seriously ill and in Timor he designated Henri de Freycinet as his replacement in the event of his death.

The expedition set sail from Timor on 3 June to explore from their previous point of departure into the Gulf of Carpentaria. Progress was slow as they tacked back and forth into the teeth of the south east trades and against a heavy swell, or waited for the *Casuarina* to catch up. They reached the Tiwi Islands and headed north east into the Arafura Sea as they tried to make toward the Gulf of Carpentaria. But then on 7 July, 350 kilometres west of Cape Valsch (Tanjung Vals) on the south coast of New Guinea and still well outside the Gulf, Baudin finally decided to cease their explorations. Various reasons forced this decision, he had been very ill that day, 'spitting blood', the *Casuarina* could not keep up yet it was vital in the surveying of

the shallows of the Gulf, and the ‘quadrupeds and emus were very sick.’³³ When the order was given to turn for Mauritius at 9.00 pm, the whole crew ‘sprang up in a transport of joy.’³⁴

A month later they were in Mauritius, learning that war with England had resumed in May. But Baudin’s condition, probably tuberculosis, continued to worsen and on 16 September he died. Flinders’ nemesis, Decaen, now titled Captain-General, had taken over from Governor Magallon only a month earlier. He and Rear-Admiral Linois now appointed Lt. Milius, left behind two months earlier by the *Naturaliste en route* to France, as Commander of the *Géographe*, not its most senior officer, Lt. Henri de Freycinet. Exactly two months after Baudin’s death the *Géographe* weighed anchor and sailed for home, stopping briefly at the Cape before reaching Lorient roadstead on 24 March 1804.

The Tempest: Publication of the Official Account of the Voyage and the Freycinet Map.

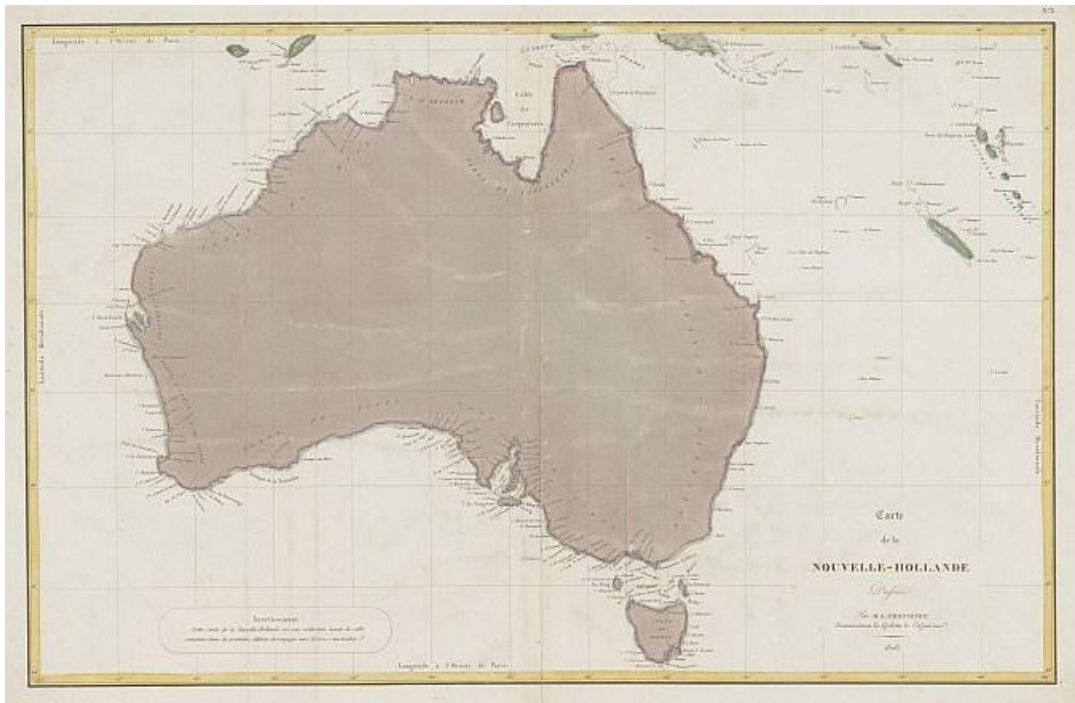
From a scientific viewpoint the Baudin expedition had been an outstanding success. In all about 100,000 specimens were brought back, including 2,500 new species, as well as a large collection of indigenous artifacts from Tasmania and the south Pacific. In geographic terms much of Australia’s coastline had been explored, though they had been gazumped by Flinders in the *Investigator* and Lt. Grant in HMS *Lady Nelson* in the charting of the previously unknown part of the south coast. Just about all the expedition could lay claim to discovering was a small stretch of the coast of South Australia, from Mt. Schanck to Encounter Bay.

The voyage had been an especially arduous one, beset by many difficulties, and taken a great toll of personnel. Of the 23 scientists who set out, only three returned, the others either abandoning the expedition, dying or left behind at various ports to convalesce.³⁵ Among those to return was Péron, who immediately set about securing a preeminent role for himself, taking charge of the collections, writing scientific reports and lobbying Decrès, the new Minister of Marine, to be named chronicler of the expedition. It appears to have taken some time, however, to determine which Ministry (Marine or Interior) was responsible for which parts of the anticipated publication and the personnel to be involved. In the meantime Péron, probably trying to curry favour, gave the entire ethnographic collection (206 items) to Empress Josephine. With the support of the ‘professors of the Museum’ and the intervention of the father of palaeontology Cuvier, Napoléon at last issued a decree on 4 August 1806 authorising publication. Péron and the gunner cum naturalist and artist Lesueur were selected, with Louis de Freycinet, who had already been working on charts, to undertake the cartography.

Publication of the volumes giving the official account of the expedition, *Voyage de Découvertes aux Terres Australes*, and the associated atlases took nine years, being beset by delays and complications which resulted in some confusion in the order of publication.³⁶ For example, the first volume, *Historique*, was published in 1807, but the second volume, also *Historique*, was not published until 1816, whereas volume 3, *Navigation et Géographie*, was published in 1815. This was partly due to the death of Péron in 1810, from tuberculosis, when de Freycinet took over

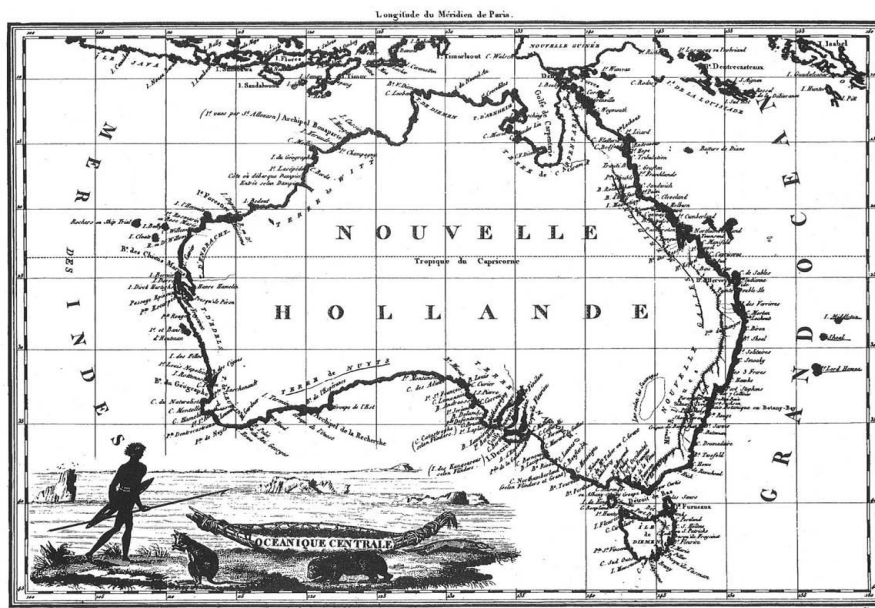
map of Australia is not strictly correct either, in relation to both the Freycinet map and the Flinders maps. All have numerous small gaps where inlets were missed or it was too dangerous to undertake close surveying. Hence the term ‘full’ is used, as the full outline of Australia is finally discernable. Thus, the Freycinet map is generally regarded as the first full map of Australia to be published.⁴⁰ But is this really the case? There are in fact a number of other maps which could be considered as possible candidates for full maps of Australia published prior to 1811.

Addressing the question of precedence, the first reference to the publication of a full map of Australia is in part 1 of the *Atlas Historique* of 1807,⁴¹ accompanying the first volume of *Voyage de Découvertes*. In the table of contents is listed ‘Carte Générale de la Nouvelle Hollande.’ But when one looks, it does not appear to be there. Professor Scott examined four original editions but was unable to locate any such map in that publication. One of us (Gerritsen) examined a further nine original editions, with the same result. Ironically Scott, in the first edition (1910) of his book *Terre Napoléon*, lists the map in his illustrations, as being ‘From Freycinet’s Atlas of 1807’,⁴² but it is missing there as well! However, the explanation was actually already evident in 1816, in a note indicating the map intended for part 1 of *Atlas Historique* was ‘présenté avec plus de détails et dans un autre ordre dans l’atlas historique, 2e partie.’ [‘presented with more detail and in another order in *Atlas Historique*, part 2.’]⁴³ In other words the map was published in the second part of *Atlas Historique* in 1811.⁴⁴ It would appear that this occurred in part because the engraver had not been paid for two years.⁴⁵ The establishment of this provenance is why the 1811 map, published in part 2 of *Atlas Historique* and as a single sheet, is authoritatively regarded as the first full map of Australia.⁴⁶



The Freycinet map, ‘1808’ - National Library of Australia, Map RM 2189

Despite the credentials of the 1811 map, another map exists in the National Library's map collection which seems to have been published earlier, in 1808. Its appearance is different to the accepted 1811 map, it places Australia further to the west, it has a slightly different title, 'Carte de la Nouvelle Hollande', and the catalogue indicates it was published in 1808.⁴⁷ Authorship of this map is ascribed to Louis de Freycinet and the catalogue indicates that it may have been published in Paris, but the publisher is unknown. Physical examination of the map reveals nothing further other than a note in pencil on the rear indicating it was acquired by the National Library in 1983, and the price that was paid. However, closer scrutiny quickly demolishes the claim that its publication actually preceded the 1811 map. A cartouche in the bottom left corner indicates that 'Cette carte de Nouvelle-Hollande est une réduction exacte de celle contenue dans le première édition du voyage aux Terres-australea.' ['This map is an exact reproduction of that contained in the first edition of *Voyage aux Terres Australes*']. This would indicate it is simply a copy of the map contained in the first edition of *Voyage de Découvertes*, so it is published after 1811. Further examination shows that much of the nomenclature has been changed to reflect the precedence ascribed to Flinders following publication of his map in 1814. Professor Scott refers to a map of this form,⁴⁸ claiming it was published in a revised *Atlas* in 1817. But no trace of any such atlas can be found.⁴⁹ An antiquarian bookseller, offering a copy of this map, claims it comes from a revised atlas published in 1815.⁵⁰ Again, no trace of any revised atlas from this period can be found.⁵¹ Moreover, not all the volumes of the first edition of *Voyage de Découvertes* had even been published by then, let alone revised volumes. However, if one examines the second edition of *Voyage de Découvertes*, published in 1824, the explanation of this conundrum becomes clearer. There is the '1808' map in the *Atlas* of this publication, identical to the '1808' map.⁵² The '1808' on the map simply reflects the state of cartographic knowledge at the time of the map's preparation, not the date of publication, as '1808' also appears on the cartouche of the 1811 map. Thus we can conclude the '1808' map was published after 1814 and is probably a single sheet reproduction of the 'Carte de Nouvelle Hollande' contained in the 1824 *Atlas*.



'Océanique Centrale' map - Tooley, Plate 67

The last example of a map that could lay claim to being an earlier map than the 1811 Freycinet map is one showing Australia as ‘Nouvelle Hollande’ with ‘Oceanique Centrale’ inscribed on a cartouche formed by an illustration of a Tasmanian Aboriginal bark-bundle canoe. According to one of the most respected authorities on Australian cartographic history, Ronald Tooley, this map was prepared by Pierre Lapie and published in 1809.⁵³ As Lapie was at the time Chief of the Topographic Section of the War Office in France,⁵⁴ and presumably privy to the cartographic work of the Baudin expedition, such a claim must be taken seriously. However, internal evidence in terms of the nomenclature on the map suggests the date may be wrong. In 1810 a review of the first English translation of the first volume of Péron’s *Voyage de Découvertes* was published.⁵⁵ The anonymous reviewer, thought to be John Barrow, Secretary to the Admiralty, indicated he had seen copies of some of Flinders charts and papers,⁵⁶ and took issue with the application of French names to Flinders’ and others’ prior discoveries, citing some examples including Kangaroo Island and North West Cape.⁵⁷ And there on ‘Oceanique Centrale’ one then finds a number of instances where dual names were applied, so that Kangaroo Island for example, the French ‘Île Decrès’, has adjacent to it in brackets ‘I. des Kangourous selon Flinders.’ This dual naming would seem to place the publication of ‘Oceanique Centrale’ after 1810. In fact, it appears in an atlas of Lapie’s maps, *Atlas Complet du Precis de la Geographie Universelle*, published in 1812.⁵⁸ From this conjunction of evidence it is now believed Tooley was in error and ‘Oceanique Centrale’ is now ascribed a publication date of 1812.⁵⁹

Having eliminated known contenders for the Freycinet map of 1811 we are able to conclude with some confidence that it was indeed the first full map of Australia as such to be published. It therefore has a ‘special place in Australian history.’⁶⁰ But what of Louis de Freycinet? Despite the debacle over Flinders discoveries, and the embarrassment of his map being published naming St. Vincent’s Gulf as ‘Golfe Josephine’, when Napoléon had already divorced her, he went on to have an illustrious career as an explorer, scientist and geographer. Most notable was his global voyage of exploration in *Uranie*, accompanied by his wife Rose, in which he visited Australia once more, in 1818. When at Shark Bay he invited controversy yet again, by removing the Vlamingh Plate, left in 1697 in place of the Hartog Plate of 1616, but that, alas, is another story for another time.

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¹ de Freycinet 1811, 'Carte Générale'.

² Whose role in history will itself be endlessly re-examined as the international commemorations of the Battle of Waterloo, due to take place in 2015, draw near.

³ On the 'Astronomia: Teutsch Astronomei' map of 1545 (National Library of Australia: MAP Ra 290).

⁴ See http://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/Image:Claudius_Ptolemy-The_World.jpg.

⁵ Although the mythical *Southland* continued to exist in the minds of some geographers for some time yet.

⁶ Flinders 1814, vol. 1, iii.

⁷ Perrone-Moisés, 1995.

⁸ Sankey 2006.

⁹ Letter by Jeronimus Corneliszoon, 23 July 1629, in Pelsaert, 148-9; Summary of Evidence and Sentence of Daniel Cornelissen, in Pelsaert, 240.

¹⁰ Godard, 2000.

¹¹ With, as it happens, a woman (in disguise) on board, the first woman to circumnavigate the globe.

¹² Horner 1987, 46-7.

¹³ Cramer, 1999, 295-314.

¹⁴ Roberts 1941, 237.

¹⁵ Tiley 2002, 282.

¹⁶ Horner, 40.

¹⁷ "Plan of Itinerary for Citizen Baudin" in Baudin, 2004, 1.

¹⁸ Based on a supposed voyage by American Captain Williamson through central Australia (Toft 2002, 11,75,91). But no source is given for this fabricated voyage and we have not been able to locate it as yet, despite extensive searching.

¹⁹ See for example Toft, 2002.

²⁰ Flinders, vol. 1, i.

Discussion of this issue is beyond the scope of this paper. We will, however, be addressing it in a forthcoming paper.

²¹ Flinders, vol. 1, 8.

²² Horner, 61,81-2.

²³ Baudin himself did some charting of the south coast and applied various placenames, which were later displaced by Péron. Baudin's charts were only recently rediscovered (Eccleston 2006).

²⁴ Horner, 78-9.

Péron has already risen to the rank of sergeant in the Republic defence of Landau (being captured and losing an eye), a municipal secretary, studied theology, medicine, zoology, comparative anatomy, physics, chemistry and several languages, finally qualifying in medicine.

²⁵ Horner, 139-142.

²⁶ Letter: Baudin to Hamelin 24 April 1801 quoted in Horner, 140.

²⁷ This was at the mouth of the Wonnerup-Vasse estuaries, where the existence of the hulk was reported by many people from the Busselton-Wonnerup area until it finally disappeared in 1959. See Gerritsen 1995; Gerritsen 2008, 11-13.

²⁸ It would appear Vasse was effectively abandoned but lived with the local Wardandi people for about two years (Cullity 1992). A more comprehensive account and detailed analysis of the evidence for his survival will be given at a conference by one of us (Gerritsen) later this year.

²⁹ Baudin, 382 (Margin Note)

³⁰ Hamelin to Minister of Marine quoted in Horner, 246-7.

³¹ But King had already been warned of the possibility in despatches. See Brown 2004, 273.

³² They may have been Nhanda, there is some uncertainty as to which Aboriginal group occupied the part of Shark Bay visited by the expedition. See Gerritsen 2004, 87.

³³ Baudin, 561.

³⁴ Midshipman Charles Baudin quoted in Horner, 314. Baudin, who was not related to Captain Baudin, went on to become an Admiral.

³⁵ Horner, 2-3.

³⁶ Péron 1807; Petit and Lesueur 1807; de Freycinet 1811; de Freycinet 1812; de Freycinet 1815; Péron and de Freycinet 1816.

³⁷ See for example Fornasiero, Monteath and West-Sooby 2006.

³⁸ Bory 1804.

³⁹ Flinders 1804.

⁴⁰ Perry and Prescott 1996, 136-7.

⁴¹ Petit and Lesueur 1807.

⁴² Scott, p. xiii.

⁴³ Péron and de Freycinet 1816, 467.

⁴⁴ de Freycinet 1811 *Atlas Historique*, Part 2.

⁴⁵ Horner, 11.

⁴⁶ Perry and Prescott 136-7.

⁴⁷ National Library of Australia: MAP RM 2189.

⁴⁸ Scott, 89. It can be ascertained Scott is referring to this map as he quotes from cartouche.

⁴⁹ Despite searching the National Library catalogue, Libraries Australia catalogue, consulting rare book catalogues (Wantrup 1987, Horden House 2010), and searching the internet.

⁵⁰ Personal communication – D. Lilburne, Antipodean Booksellers, 12/1/2011.

⁵¹ Also involving searching of the National Library catalogue, Libraries Australia, consulting rare book catalogues (Wantrup 1987, Horden House 2010) and searching the internet.

⁵² Péron 1824 *Atlas*, No. 1. Verified in Perry and Prescott, 188.

⁵³ Tooley 1987, 112, Plate 67.

⁵⁴ Tooley, 111.

⁵⁵ Anon. 1810.

⁵⁶ Anon., 52.

⁵⁷ Anon., 53.

⁵⁸ Malte-Brun 1812, Plate LXII.

⁵⁹ Perry and Prescott, 160; National Library of Australia: MAP T 843.

⁶⁰ Ingleton, 295.