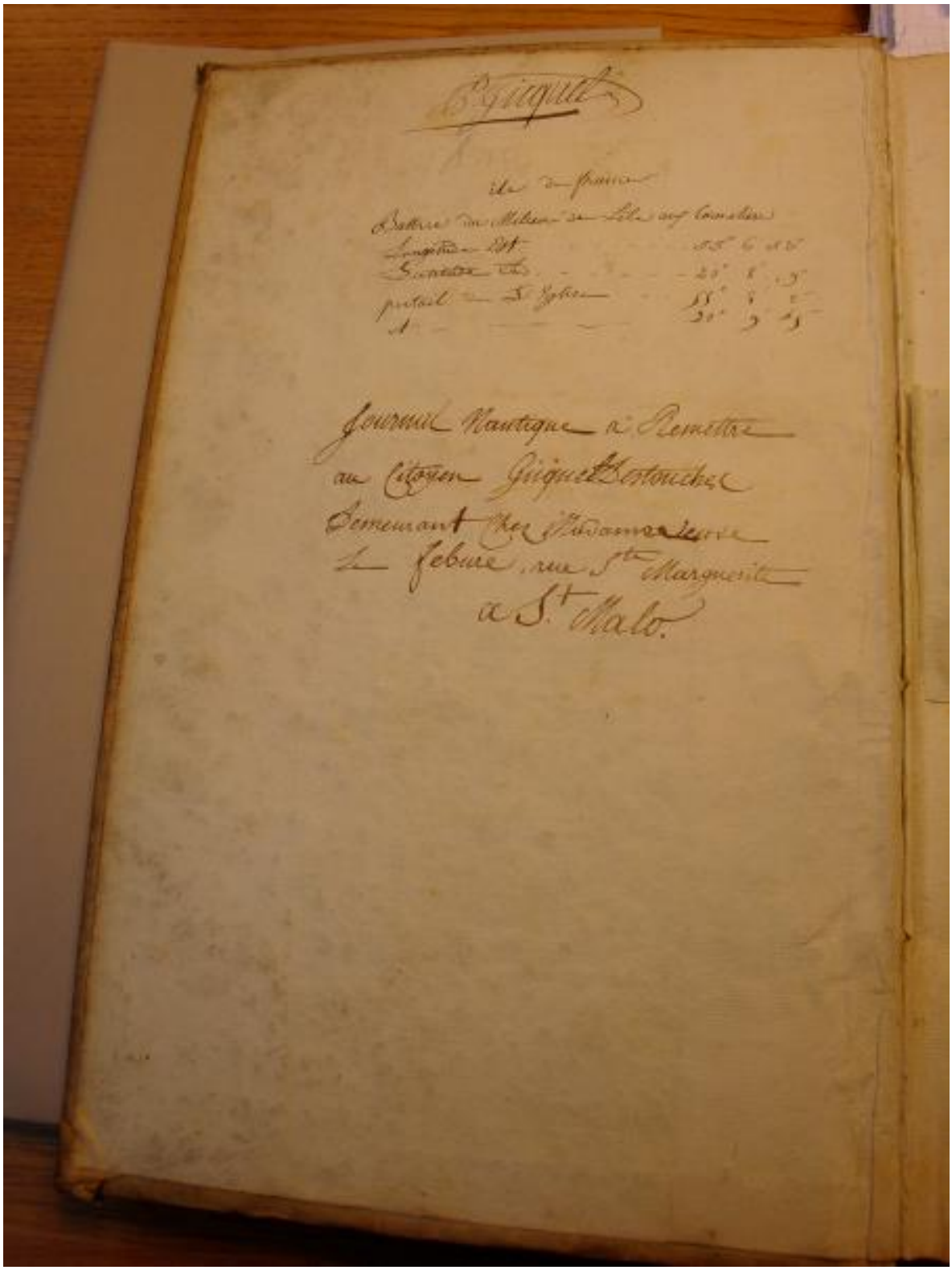
Journal and Other Documents of Pierre-Guillaume Gicquel



Inside cover of Gicquel's journal

Journal and Other Documents of Pierre-Guillaume Gicquel
Archives nationales de France, série Marine, 5JJ55

Physical Description

Cover :	G. Gicquel [signature] P. Gicquel [ink] Geographe [pencil] Years 9, 10, 11 of the French Republic Baudin Voyage N° 28
Inside Cover :	Île de France Fortifications on the middle of the Île aux Tonneliers Longitude East… 55º 6' 53" Latitude South… 20º 8' 9" Church Portal… 55º 8' 0" and… 20º 9' 45" Sea journal to be returned to Citizen Gicquel Destouches, care of the Widow Lefebvre, rue Sainte Marguerite, Saint-Malo.
Flyleaf, recto :	Note the first and last pages of my journal. I have copied out the originals of the bill of exchange mentioned and also of the note.
Back Cover :	round vignette with the number « 28 » + rectangulaire vignette inscribed « Marine/5JJ/55 »
Dimensions :	20 x 31,5 cm
Contents :	Manuscript bound in linen (358 pages) comprising – pp. 1-5 : copies of correspondence pp. 3-278 : sea journal (19 October 1800 – 17 March 1801) pp. 281-286 : observations made during the sojourn in Ténériffe, Brumaire Year IX pp. 287-358 : journal recording the fitting out of the ship and the time spent in port prior to departure, notes and observations made during the first six months of the campaign of the corvette *Le Géographe* Year IX

Period covered

27 Vendémiaire Year XI [19 October 1800] – 15 Pluviose Year X [4 February 1802]

Notes on the text

The pages are not numbered.

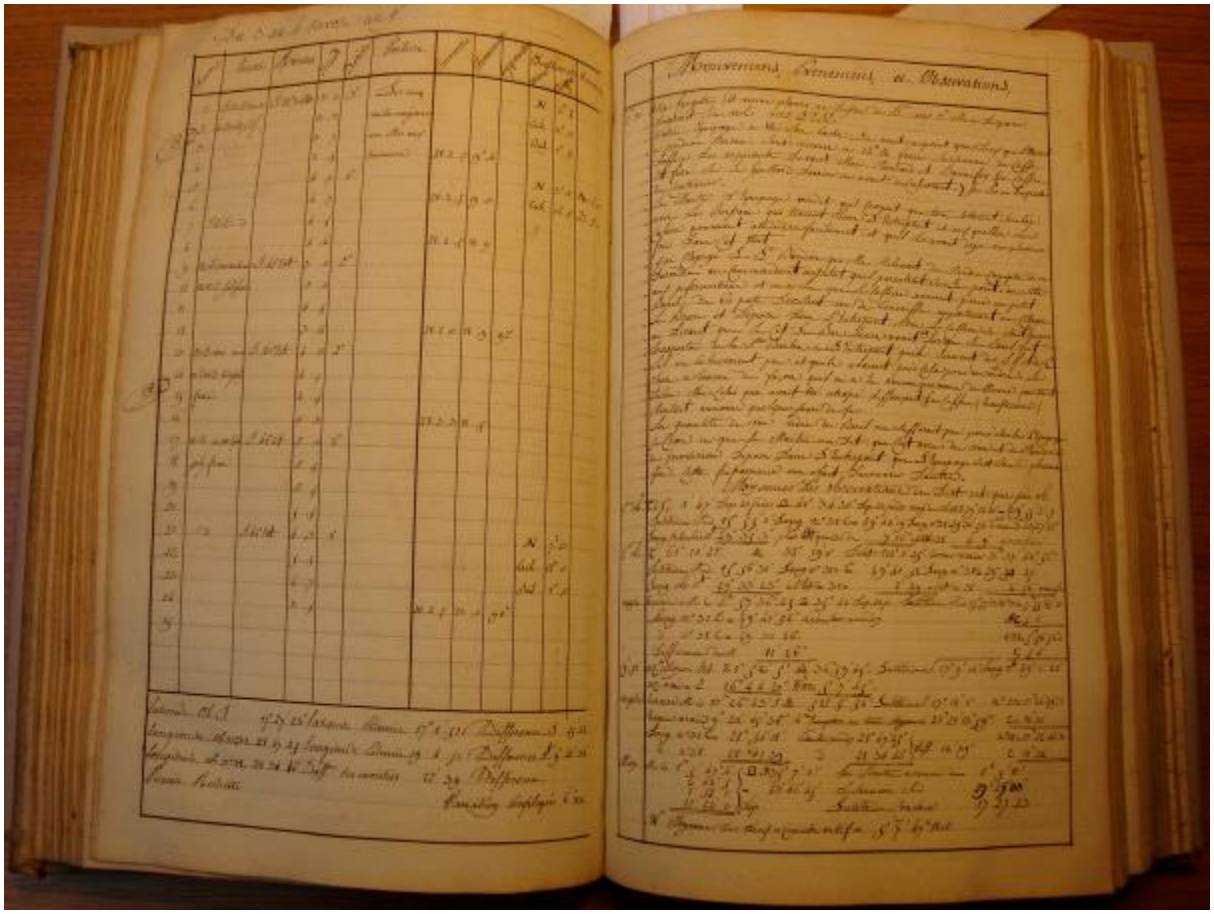
Translation

Malcolm Leader

Validation

This translation has not yet been systematically checked against the original French text. Anyone wishing to verify the accuracy of a particular passage of this English translation is invited to contact the Baudin Legacy team (see the web site for contact details).

Sample page of the manuscript



Note on the Translation

Except where otherwise indicated, all footnotes in this translation are by the translator, and have generally been inserted to explain a translation choice.

Gicquel's text contains frequent errors or omissions, as well as many words that have been noted as illegible in the transcription. Consequently, the meaning of some parts of the text is obscure or ambiguous. In seeking to render the text into intelligible English, the translator has been required to overlook obvious errors and to make certain assumptions about missing or otherwise doubtful text. Significant instances have been mentioned in the footnotes.

Where geographical or other features are generally known by their French names, these have not been translated.

The log tables have not been reproduced.

[Correspondance]

*On 19 Germinal [9 April 1801] proceedings were heard in a court case between Mr Cayeux, a citizen, and Mr Nicolas Baudin, our Commander. The matter at issue was a bill of exchange drawn in Trieste on a merchant who did not owe any money. Following is a copy of the bill of exchange, shown to me by Mr Cayeux.

In the name of God, in the year of his birth 1791, on the fifteenth day of February, in the city and [illegible] free port of Trieste, at the request of Mr Jean Henry frapp[1], bearer, the following bill of exchange was presented to Mr François Belusco for the purpose of acceptance by him.

First of Exchange. At Port Louis, Ile-de-France, 12 August 1790.
Voucher for 3075 [pounds symbol]

Sir,

In six months' time, on sight, please pay to the order of Messrs Cayeux and Allard [illegible] the sum of three thousand and seventy-five pounds [illegible]. *[?]*[2] … in accordance with the advice of your humble servant. Signed, Captain [illegible] Baudin.

To Mr
Mr Belusco, merchant in Trieste.
Paid[3] to the order of Mr Pierre Garoute, the exchange value drawn on the account of the aforementioned gentleman in Port Louis, Ile-de-France, 14 September[4] 1790. Signed, Cayeux and Allard.

Having sighted the bill of exchange, Mr François Belusca responded to the effect that: "I do not accept it because I owe nothing to the person who has presented it, notwithstanding *[?]*[5] [illegible]. In quorum fidem."

Costs in accordance with appropriate levy, and in accordance with the original. In witness whereof, signed, Pierre Gobbi, Royal Captain, Stock Exchange officer.

We, the undersigned, public stockbrokers, certify that Mr Gobbi is the person he claims to be and that his signature is fully valid, in law and practice. In witness whereof, etc. Trieste, 15 February 1791. Signed, Pandolfe Fréderick Osterrecke and Jean Weber.

Certified true copy of the original. Signed, Jean André Asquasciati.

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* *[Translator's note: this footnote appears in the original text]* [Germinal, Year 9]
[1] "Frapp" in the original French is unclear, and grammatical errors in the remainder of the sentence make its meaning doubtful.
[2] "la Seconde et la troisieme ne L'Etant pas nayant point Eté presentée valeur Recue des Dits Sieurs pour le Compte de M.r Tacola et que passerez en Compte," in the French text, is unclear.
[3] "Payé" is unclear in this context, and may be in error for "payez."
[4] "7.bre" in the original French is unclear but would appear to be an abbreviation of "septembre."
[5] "pour preservation des Droits et Titres des proprietaires et Egalement aCeux qui y Sont ineressée qui attendent ce que de Droit peuvent attendre, il a Eté protesté de tout Les Domages depens et interêts Change et Double Change et de tout ce qui Doit et fut de Droit dans LeCommerce protestable." This phrase is unclear in the French text.

The original is in Italian.

As Mr Baudin could not be subject to the jurisdiction of the civil authorities, the case was dismissed. There were also some technical irregularities.

Madame Potel, a widow and merchant in the Main Street of Ile-de-France, held a promissory note for 100¼ piastres, from Mr Baudin. She presented it to him on his arrival, and after having put her off for several days he offered her 70 piastres, threatening that if she did not accept this within the day he would pay her nothing at all. She accepted, but before she surrendered the note for the 70 piastres, I copied it out in full:

If I should lose the court action brought with a view to paying Mr Potel, I promise to repay to him the capital and interest on the present promissory note as soon as I return to Ile-de-France, towards the end of next year.

Done at Port Louis this 17th day of August 1790. Signed, Captain Baudin.

"I request that Mr Debon, a parliamentary counsel who has signing authority on my account, pay to Mr Potel the sum of one thousand and two pounds, one thousand one hundred and nineteen[6] [illegible] as settlement for food supplied to my crew during its stay in this Colony. Done at Port Louis, Ile-de-France, 17 August 1790. Signed, Captain Baudin.

At the time, Mr Baudin was captain of a stateless vessel in the service of the Emperor, and was knight in an order of the Empire. This ship, the name of which I think was the *Papita*, was sold to Mr Oury. Citizen Scoït was in command during a voyage to Africa, and lost it, along with its cargo, on Assumption Island. Citizen Ne[illegible] La Bréandais, a friend of mine, was second-in-command at the time.

[2] It was over the sale price of this ship, the *Papita* or the *Belle Jardinière*, that Mr Baudin picked a fight with Mr Oury when he was at a large dinner on board the *Chancelière du Brabant.* As he refused to leave the dinner and to hold his tongue, he was taken and bundled into his dinghy from the walkway, and canteens and empty crates were thrown down on top of him. He never sought to call anyone out over this incident, although he had been provoked. When we arrived in the Colony, he paid a visit to one of the main persons responsible for this affront.

On this voyage he provided further evidence of his peace-loving nature!

If further proof of his integrity (?) is required, merchants in Bordeaux, Nantes, La Rochelle and Ile-de-France can certainly provide it. I have not included the French Cape, because he was burnt out twice down there!!! Before making judgments about the Expedition's officers, the Government would be doing the proper thing if, in the name of honour and the French Navy, it asked merchants in the above-mentioned towns to provide whatever truthful and considered clarification they can as concerns Mr Nicolas Baudin. [Signed] P. Gicquel.

[3] Will my second voyage of discovery be any happier than the first one?

Sea journal of Citizen Lieutenant Pierre Guillaume Gicquel, sailing in this capacity in the

[6] "Onzesans" in the French text has been taken as "onze cents."

corvette *Géographe* under the command of Citizen Nicolas Baudin, Commander in Chief of the Voyage of Discovery that departed Le Havre on 27 Vendémiaire, Year 9 of the Republic [19 October 1800].

Volume I

Our consort is the store-ship *Naturaliste*, previously named the *Menaçante*, captained by Commander Hamelin. The *Géographe's* marine chronometers are by Louis Berthoud, nos. 31 and 38, while those carried by the *Naturaliste* are nos. 27 and 35, by the same maker.

To assist our mapping activities I asked the Commander to stipulate that our courses and bearings be expressed in degrees of the four main compass directions, and that distances be expressed in miles and tenths thereof. It was so ordered!

For the noon latitude observations, I always use M. de Borda's and M. Maingon's methods, which provide a reliable observation and a true latitude.

The Reflecting Circle issued to me carries the number 84.

[4] [Table]

[5] Departure, 27-28 Vendémiaire Year 9 [19-20 October 1800].

Movements, Events and Observations

1 [o'clock]: The English frigate seen from Le Havre bore N45ºW; we steered towards it.

2 [o'clock]: The frigate hailed us to say that if we did not immediately heave to it would open fire on us. We brought to, port to windward, then hoisted out a dinghy and Captain Baudin went aboard the frigate, staying half an hour. The English captain and a lieutenant then came over to see our ship, which they found to be very cluttered. We gave them some vegetables and milk. The captain's name was [illegible]oocke and the frigate was the *Prosélite*.

2h45: Filled the sails. We flew both our national colours and the flag of truce.

4 [o'clock]: The headland at Dives bore S15ºW, with the mouth of the river at Isigny at W33ºS.

5 [o'clock]: Departure fix. St Marcouf Island bore S45ºW, distance 15 miles, latitude 49º43'40"N, longitude 3º22'0"W (of the Paris meridian). Course was signalled N22º30'W.

At this time, I became aware that our signals were a very incomplete set.

8h30: Sighted two lights ahead, and changed course. At daybreak, sighted several ships.

We had a decided sailing advantage over the *Naturaliste*.

10h3'31"4"', apparent time. I observed an hour angle that produced a longitude for chronometer no. 38 of 4º35'18", which brought to noon was 4º41'22". The actual time shown on the chronometer was 10h7'33.15" and the mean time on board was 9h 46'26"29"'. The

quadruple angle [sketch of a circle with a point in the middle] was 96º53'20" and the depression 20 feet. The clock daily rates are shown in the pre-departure journal and the note at the end of this volume.

I noted with astonishment that I was the only person on board the ship who knew how to use the Reflecting Circle!

All of the fixes taken to date, and those I will take during the voyage are noted as they appear on the compass.

Our draught on departure was 13 feet 8 inches aft and 12 [feet] 8 [inches] forward - a difference of 1 foot.

NB these 24 hours have been enough to alert us to very considerable shortcomings in our crew. Any merchant ship would have manoeuvred more promptly than we did as we approached the English frigate.

[6] [Table]

[7] 28-29 Vendémiaire [20-21 October 1800]

4h45: Sighted and took a bearing on the western extremity of Aurigny at S5ºE; the eastern extremity bore S20ºE.

8 [o'clock]: Two lights, taken to be Les Casquets, bore S45ºW. Calm all afternoon, with light westerly airs. The breeze freshened at midnight and at daybreak the weather clouded over. We took a reef in the topsails and then a second, then lowered the mizzen topsail and struck down the topgallant masts. The sea was getting heavier. Our masts were labouring a little because the shrouds and backstays, which are all new, were tending to stretch.

23h00: Signalled to the *Naturaliste* to take in some reefs.

24h00: The coast bore S5ºE, distance about 10 miles: it was Les Casquets and Aurigny Island.

"Many people were suffering from seasickness. This modest introduction to bad weather showed how helpful it would have been to have a sound crew to work the ship. As it was, there were only ten reliable men in the entire ship's company. The rest, except for some of the masters, are not worth the rations they consume. One could never - never - have imagined that in a large ship - 124 feet in length, 30 feet across the beam and with a crew of 117 - 21 persons would be listed as helmsmen and yet of these only the 3 masters and two ordinary helmsmen would know how to steer. Before we had even left Le Havre I had several times pointed out this misguided arrangement, as well as the weakness and generally poor quality of the crew. There had been no need to wait until we put to sea before judging their worth!! I know how to pick a good seaman by the way he looks!"

18 [18h00]: A stowaway came forward to give himself up. He said his name was Antoine Gutts and that he lives in Ile-de-France. He had been shipwrecked on the corvette *Brûle-gueule* and had been obliged to use this means of returning home because he was living in extreme poverty in France and was unable to pay his passage on a neutral ship.

[8] [Table]

[9] 29-30 Vendémiaire [21-22 October 1800]

1 [o'clock]: Les Casquets bore W78º45'S. The easternmost tip of Aurigny bore S22º30'E.

The sea was rough, with a steady fresh breeze. The ship was heeling a lot, its motion being easy without the foretopsail and very hard when that sail was set.

1h00: Wore ship.

5h15: The wind having shifted suddenly to NNW, we wore ship on to the starboard tack.

17h30: We passed very near to a frigate sailing close to the wind on the port tack, under three close-reefed topsails. Several other ships were in sight. We still had a decided sailing advantage over the *Naturaliste*.

OBSERVATIONS

[10] [Table]

[11] 30 Vendémiaire-1 Brumaire, Year 9 [22-23 October 1800]

1 [o'clock]: Saw land from the masthead, bearing NNE - it was the Lizard. Saw several ships over the 24 hours. Sea was calm. Trimmed our sails to keep pace with the *Naturaliste*.

OBSERVATIONS

[12] [Table]

[13] 1-2 Brumaire Year 9 [23-24 October 1800]. On course from Le Havre to Tenerife. The sky was cloudy and the sea calm. We set sails that enabled us to maintain pace with the *Naturaliste*, which had trouble keeping us in sight - we had constantly to bear away so we could stay in touch.

[14] [Table]

[15] 2-3 Brumaire Year 9 [24-25 October 1800]. We continue to sail much better than the *Naturaliste*, and it seems this will be a constant factor given the way the two ships have been built. Thus I will not mention it any more.

Calm sea, overcast weather.

OBSERVATIONS

[16] [Table]

[17] 3-4 Brumaire Year 9 [25-26 October 1800]. On course from Le Havre to Tenerife.

00h30: Sighted a ship bearing S33º49'W. A vessel had passed close to us at noon.

02h30: Signalled to the *Naturaliste* to take a reef in the three topsails; we did the same.

05h00: Struck down the topgallant masts. The breeze was fresh, the weather overcast and the sea a little rough. Squalls up to 11h00, when the wind slackened and the weather fined up. At daybreak, the *Naturaliste* was a long way astern. Our foremast was labouring a lot because of the slack in the shrouds. We hauled them taught first on the port side, then wore ship and sailed for a while on the port tack so we could haul the starboard shrouds taught. In the course of this manoeuvre, we joined up with our consort again.

At noon, chronometer C[7] was 48'33" ahead of apparent time.

OBSERVATIONS

[18] [Table]

[19] 4-5 Brumaire Year 9 [26-27 Brumaire[8] 1800]. Sea running a swell, with the wind gradually abating. The *Naturaliste* kept its studding sails set.

04h30: Sighted a ship bearing W11º15'N.

18h00: Sighted a brig bearing S22º30'W, apparently on the same course as us.

OBSERVATIONS

[20] [Table]

[21] 5-6 Brumaire Year 9 [27-28 October 1800]. Very fine weather, although there were light squalls from time to time. A heavy swell caused the ship to roll considerably. Struck down the topgallant masts.

We were unable to set the mizzen topsail due to the extreme fragility of its mast.

OBSERVATIONS

[22] [Table]

[23] 6-7 Brumaire Year 9 [28-29 October 1800]. Cloudy sky, with the sea running a light swell.

17h50: Sighted three large merchant vessels bearing S22º30'E, on the starboard tack. They passed close to us at 18h30.

ASTRONOMICAL OBSERVATIONS

[24] [Table]

[25] 7-8 Brumaire Year 9 [29-30 October 1800]. Sighted several ships. The fine weather

[7] Sic. Elsewhere in the journal, references are to one of two chronometers - no. 31 or no. 38.
[8] Sic. "October" is assumed to have been intended.

continued. Swayed up the topgallant masts.

OBSERVATIONS

[26] [Table]

[27] 8-9 Brumaire Year 9 [31[9]-31 October 1800]. Cloudy sky, sea reasonably calm.

23h00: Saw a large number of porpoises, which however only stayed briefly near the ship.

OBSERVATIONS

[28] [Table]

[29] 9-10 Brumaire Year 9 [31 October-1 November 1800]. Continuing fine weather.

4h00: Sighted a cutter bearing SSW, sailing close to the wind on the port tack. It manoeuvred to get a look at us, and despite indecisive handling finally seemed to wish to get close. Having made out that it was flying English colours, the Commander ordered us to set a course that would cut across its path, so we could speak. However, before nightfall it took fright and went on the other tack to move away. We then immediately hove to; the *Naturaliste* passed astern and was ordered to continue on its course; we followed soon afterwards. At that point, the cutter - which I took to be a French privateer - gave chase and at sunset it fired a gun in our direction, the shot dropping half way between us. We hove to once again and hoisted out our dinghy, but the cutter went on the port tack, away from us. We hoisted in the dinghy and resumed our course to rejoin the *Naturaliste*.

The cutter observed us all night from a considerable distance, and only called off the chase at 23h00.

OBSERVATIONS

[30] [Table]

[31] 10-11 Brumaire Year 9 [1-2 November 1800]. In sight of Canary and Tenerife Islands.

At noon, land was sighted bearing S45ºW, and at that time we set a westerly course. What we had sighted was probably Gran Canaria, although the Commander believed it to be Fuerteventura. The *Naturaliste* wished to fly the signal for "land-ho!" but in fact only hoisted the "look-out!" flag. We all studied the signal book to see if that flag had any other meaning and that is when everyone realised there was no signal for "land-ho." We informed the Commander of this, and said that our consort had undoubtedly wished to signal land. I had observed this anomaly from the day we set out.

2h00: I sighted land ahead and was no longer in any doubt, given our position, that it was Tenerife and that the noon sighting had been Gran Canaria. However, the Commander continued to believe that it was Fuerteventura and that the earlier sighting had been Gran Canaria. It was only in the evening, when we clearly saw the heights of Tenerife, that he saw

[9] Sic. "30" is assumed to have been intended.

his error. I have been around these islands often enough to know them well.

4h00: Gran Canaria bore S38ºW, distance approximately 27 miles.

5h45: The middle of Gran Canaria bore S15ºW and Ponta Naga on Tenerife bore W7ºN. The peak was at W8ºS, distance 59 miles. The quadruple angle of elevation of the peak is currently 7º12'0", average 1º48'0".

9h20: The western extremity of Tenerife bore W, with the easternmost visible extremity at S33º45'W.

16 [o'clock]: The island extended from W10ºN to S32º45'W, approximately 15 miles.

14 [o'clock]: We had been sailing under topsails, and at daybreak we were about 9 miles from land. When we were south of Ponta Naga we hoisted the national colours, being certain that a salute would be fired. Sailed alongshore, standing off 2 miles. At 21h45 the Spanish pilot came aboard and at exactly 22h00 we dropped the best bower in 22 fathoms, over a bottom of grey sand [illegible]. The *Naturaliste* dropped anchor at 22h30, somewhat further to the east of the mole. The harbourmaster and one of the General's aides-de-camp came aboard, and a port longboat helped us to moor. From the anchorage position the mole bore S59º30'W, with the spire of the large church at W30º11'S, Antequera Hill at E13º32'N and Canaria at E45º30'S and S18º15'E. The anchorage latitude, according to the tables, was 28º48'52"; longitude was 18º35'39"W. Chronometer checking is located at the end of this journal, in my observations.

[32] [Table]

[33] 22-23 Brumaire Year 9 [13-14 November 1800]. From Tenerife to Ile-de-France.

3h00: Got under way under topsails; clearance at 3h15.

3h15: Steered S33º45'W until 4h00, when we turned S45ºW. In the evening the *Naturaliste* joined and informed us that four foreigners, who claimed to be seamen, had just been found hidden aboard. While we were hailing, the *Naturaliste's* helmsman made a false move on the tiller that almost led to a collision between the two ships.

Our speed over the 24 hours was very much greater than our consort. Our advantage is considerable under all sail settings.

The sky was cloudy and the sea calm.

I was finally able to place a thermometer next to the barometers kept in a partly grilled cupboard near the mizzen mast, under the quarterdeck. This is the one used for readings in this journal: it sometimes differs by 4.5-6º from those kept outside in the shade.

Departure fix.

5h20: At 5 miles offshore, the Peak bore W30ºN, with Punta Rasca at W26ºS. Latitude 28º13'0"N, longitude 18º39'0"W.

OBSERVATIONS

NB. When the *Naturaliste* came over within hailing distance and almost collided with us, the officer of the watch and I helped us bear away and thus avoid the collision. Instead of managing the problem, the Commander lost his head. He jumped down from the hencoop where he had placed himself for the discussion with the *Naturaliste,* tossed his hat as hard as he could on to the deck and yelled out: "How can you possibly get so close to another ship? I want no more hailing between the ships - it's too dangerous!" The crew was afraid and had visions of being shipwrecked! Several of the *Naturaliste's* officers witnessed Captain Baudin's fear; he went down to his cabin after his outburst. If he reacts this way to every spot of danger we are bound to face, then it will be only through luck that we might survive. I loaned my copy of the *Tactique*[10] for general use by the crew, since Mr Baudin's signals were unsatisfactory.

[34] [Table]

[35] 23-24 Brumaire [14-15 November 1800]. From Tenerife to Ile-de-France. The sky was a little cloudy, the sea calm. The water ration was set at one bottle per person.

OBSERVATIONS

[36] [Table]

[37] 24-25 Brumaire Year 9 [15-16 November 1800]. Steady, fresh breeze. Weather overcast, with a slight swell.

18h00: Course was signalled and set S22º30'W. Some crew reported having seen a flying fish.

OBSERVATIONS

[38] [Table]

[39] 25-26 Brumaire Year 9 [16-17 November 1800]. Cloudy weather. Still a fresh breeze.

During the night, we saw many phosphorescent particles in the sea, about two hands' width big. I thought that they were the glutinous sediment we usually call Flemish Caps. I did not see any during the day, but it is true that the backwash and [illegible] prevented anything being seen close to the ship.

Saw many flying fish during the morning.

[40] [Table]

[41] 26-27 Brumaire Year 9 [17-18 November 1800]. Overcast sky, very dark at night. Fluky wind, calm sea. Frequent tidal races.

The sea was very phosphorescent during the night, especially during my watch. The

[10] The reference would appear to be to Bigot's *Tactique navale ou Traité des Evolutions et des Signaux* (1763).

phosphorescence caused by the ship's wake was so great that at times the sails were lit up as if by the moon. I had never seen this effect before.

We saw some bonitoes and many flying fish, but our crew does not seem keen on fishing. I noted their indifference with some regret, and privately promised something to the person who caught the first bonito. Observations [blank].

[42] [Table]

[43] 27-28 Brumaire Year 9 [18-19 November 1800]. Same weather until morning, when it fined up. The sea remained calm, with frequent tidal races. Saw some porpoises and flying fish.

9h00: Saw a [illegible] bearing NNE.

Caught a large grey shrimp.

OBSERVATIONS

[44] [Table]

[45] 28-29 Brumaire Year 9 [19-20 November 1800]. Fine weather; sea still calm.

Some heat lightning during the night; saw many bonitoes but none was caught.

The thermometer currently situated in the barometer cupboard is producing readings 1.0º to 0.8º less than several other very good thermometers on board.

OBSERVATIONS

[46] [Table]

[47] 29-30 Brumaire Year 9 [20-21 November 1800]. Overcast sky, with light clouds; very calm sea.

22h00: Citizen Hamelin signalled to invite the Commander to dine on board his ship. In response he was told that [illegible]; the ship, having closed to hailing distance, said that all of its crew were well.

NB I was unable to obtain copies of these private signals that consist of a pennant and two flags.

OBSERVATIONS

[48] [Table]

[49] 30 Brumaire-1 Frimaire Year 9 [21-22 November 1800]. Light and very fluky breeze. Weather constantly overcast.

6h00: Saw some tropicbirds, a swallow, a shark and some bonitoes.

OBSERVATIONS

[50] [Table]

[51] 1-2 Frimaire Year 9 [22-23 November 1800]. Very light airs - almost dead calm. Sea very flat, with the sky often covered with light cloud. No sign of the calm conditions changing. Distant lightning and thunder during the night in S and WSW.

01h30: We sounded at a depth of 100 fathoms, using a specially designed instrument. The thermometer attached to it gave a reading of 20º when first retrieved, whereas when placed just below the surface it rose to 24.2º.

Since our departure from Europe, I have noted that it has been very difficult to obtain a precise reading of levels in the barometers. Their [illegible]* ~~*are~~ too wide (*it seems to me), making them too sensitive to the ship's movement. In these superb sea conditions their maximum reading is 48p ~~45~~ and the minimum 28p [illegible], which is extraordinary. Another manufacturing defect is that the graduation is too far away from the tube. The indicator stick, or style, should sit beyond the graduation and not cover it as happens now.

These barometers are by Citizen Mossy and are well made. To date I have not been precise in recording the degree of atmospheric humidity shown on the hygrometers, but the reason for this is that the persons responsible for these instruments have been ill.

We saw some fish, but caught none. The crew shows extraordinary apathy as far as fishing is concerned.

3h30: "We had promised to give the *Naturaliste* a side of the steer we were to slaughter, and this was delivered at 19h00. Sub-lieutenant Freycinet returned in the dinghy to see his brother and, not being appropriately dressed (having come on board in a hurry), he went immediately to his brother's cabin to dress more decently before seeking to present himself to the Commander. However, the response to his request was that there was no Commander on board for him. The Commander gave the coxswain a letter to deliver to Citizen Hamelin, and made the following entry in the logbook:

Captain Hamelin returned my dinghy at the request of Citizen Sub-Lieutenant Freycinet.[11] This officer, <u>who presumably is very new to the service</u>, had no sooner come aboard than he disappeared and I would not have had the pleasure of seeing him had it not been explained to him that it was extremely rude to come aboard a ship at sea without presenting oneself to its Captain. To ensure that he does not commit a similar act of rudeness or absent-mindedness in the future, I wrote to Mr Hamelin to order the officer confined to his quarters for two days. The letter describing the facts and this officer's behaviour can be found in my journal. Signed Captain N. Baudin, Commander."

OBSERVATIONS

[52] [Table]

[11] French original of this sentence is unclear.

[53] 2-3 Frimaire Year 9 [23-24 November 1800]. Baffling winds made it necessary for us to work the ropes frequently. Fine weather, although sometimes cloudy. The sea very calm.

We saw several species of fish, including two fine sea bream that have been following the ship for several days. No one has been skilful enough to catch one.

The large filter supplied by Citizen Smith was brought into use, and the water filtered through it was very good. The small filter used for table water since our departure from France did not purify the water, which tasted just as bad when it came out as when it went in.

OBSERVATIONS

[54] [Table]

[55] 3-4 Frimaire Year 9 [24-25 Frimaire[12] 1800]. The heat was stifling, even though the thermometer did not rise above 24º in the shade. In the afternoon, we again drew some seawater from a depth of 100 fathoms. Since it was calm, the instrument remained in the water for approximately one hour. When it was brought to the surface its thermometer registered 13º, but it was broken as it was being removed from its case. The water brought up first was then distilled, but it was not possible to draw any conclusions from this experiment.

We hauled a seine [illegible] off the stern and caught a number of small fish of various species, varying in length from ¾ of an inch to 4 inches.

OBSERVATIONS

[56] [Table]

[57] 4-5 Frimaire Year 9 [25-26 November 1800]. Swell from the SSW. The changeable winds gave us a lot of trouble and were very tiring for the crew. During the night there was lightning in the S and NE and in the morning a storm broke. We received a lot of rain, with variable wind. "The Commander sent to Citizen Boulanger the bearings I had taken of the Santa Cruz anchorage and its latitude as I had observed it, instructing him to use these to determine the outline of the bay for the purpose of making a map. Citizen Boulanger told the Commander that it was not possible to do this using the simple data available - at least a second station point and a base would be required. The Commander was initially unable to grasp this and sent for me to ask whether it was possible to draw up a map from the bearings that I had taken at Tenerife. My response was the same as Citizen Boulanger's, and the Commander finally understood that it could not be done!! A foreword to later chapters"!

The stormy, rainy weather prevented us from making any observations. Noon comparison: chronometer no. 31 = 0h 52'53.1", chronometer no. 38 = 0[h]51'4.5", a difference of 0'48.6."

[58] [Table]

[59] 5-6 Frimaire Year 9 [26-27 November 1800].

1h00: The rain stopped. The breeze was fluky up until 4h00, then calm for the remainder of

[12] Sic. "November" is assumed to have been intended.

the 24 hours. The sky was almost continuously overcast. Bright lightning in the western quarter, with distant thunder.

The sea was running a southerly swell and it appears (assuming the dead reckoning was correct) that over the past 48 hours the current has carried us N36ºW, some 26 miles. However, in this area, and with the weather we have been experiencing over the past few days, accurate reckoning is difficult no matter how much care is taken.

We saw some bonitoes, porpoises and bottle-nosed dolphins.

22h00: A small shark about two metres long was caught and was much admired by our scientists, some of whom sketched it while others dissected it. The view was that scientists who had previously considered this beast had not described it accurately!

OBSERVATIONS

[60] [Table]

[61] 6-7 Frimaire Year 9 [27-28 November 1800]. Still periods of calm, then baffling breezes that become very inconvenient because of their variety and the fatigue they cause the crews.

[62] [Table]

[63] 7-8 Frimaire Year 9 [28-29 Frimaire[13] 1800]. Continuation of periods of calm followed by extremely variable breeze, causing a great deal of trouble for us. Still a rolling southerly swell. We remained at a considerable distance from the *Naturaliste*, which made a number of private signals for the Commander at 5h00.

18h00: Saw a three-master bearing S45ºW, distance about 12 miles.

21h00: That ship hoisted English colours, and we hoisted our own. Up until 22h00 it manoeuvred to put some distance between us. It appeared to be a corvette, fitted out for war.

At noon it bore S20ºW, distance 9 miles. Took another shark, this one about 4 feet long. Two small suckerfish, caught along with it, were much admired by our scientists.

OBSERVATIONS

[64] [Table]

[65] 8-9 Frimaire Year 9 [29-30 November 1800]. Cloudy weather, with storms in the distance. The *Naturaliste* still standing off 2-3 miles.

6 [o'clock]: The [*English*] ship still in sight, bearing S39ºE.

21h00: Took another small shark, about 5 feet in length. Saw many bonitoes and sea bream around the ship, but none was caught.

[13] Sic. "November" is assumed to have been intended.

22h45: A severe squall hit us from ESE. The strong wind obliged us to strike the topsails on to the [illegible]. None of our sails was taken in, and the wind struck them with considerable force. The officers were obliged to lend a hand to work the ropes - yet another example of the weakness and ineffectiveness of our crew. Most of them were terrified by the ship's list when the squall hit us, even though there was no danger - the sea was very calm.

The rain was very heavy up until noon. I am very obliged to Citizen Le Bas, who was kind enough to stay in my cabin throughout the squall, [illegible] the water coming in through my porthole, which - but for him - would have drenched my bed. I will not forget this act of kindness that! Such an event is sufficiently rare to ensure that I will remember it all my life!!!

We were asked in future to go personally to fetch our water rations from the scuttle-butt, like ordinary seamen. The reason given was that there was only one servant for us and he was unable to perform that duty.

Comparison: chronometer no. 31 = 1h11'30.7", chronometer no. 38 = 1h10' 23.3"; a difference of 1'7.4."

During the squalls, Mr Baudin paid no attention to commanding his ship but was with the seamen, bracing the main topsail to the wind and then working the other ropes. His second-in-command acted as my servant during this time, instead of coming up on deck! One can draw one's own [illegible] conclusions from this as concerns the state of our ship.

[66] [Table]

[67] 9-10 Frimaire Year 9 [30 November-1 December 1800]. Squally weather, with fluky winds and overcast sky. A small swell running. Under as much sail as possible to take advantage of the weather and to keep within sight of the *Naturaliste* - which is still sailing badly but is doing everything it can to keep up with us.

Today I worked on a rose for the azimuth compass, as the existing one could not be used. Thus, all future azimuthal observations made with the main compass refer to this rose.

Comparison: chronometer no. 31 = 1h 8'20.8", chronometer no. 38 = 1h 7'7.1"; a difference of 1'13.7".

[68] [Table]

[69] 10-11 Frimaire Year 9 [1-2 December 1800]. Still squally weather, but with a calm sea. The ship's water gave off a repulsive odour coming from the pump, and was so foul that all silverware instantly turned as black as ink and the cabin interiors the colour of lead. To try to solve the problem, 26 inches of water were pumped into the bilge through the stern pump, since there are no cocks or *[?]*[14]- something I had noted in Le Havre at the very beginning of the fit out. Le Bas[15] told me at the time that they were not necessary, and the port engineer said that it was not the practice to do this in Le Havre.

[14] "De différent silomètre" in the French text is unclear.

[15] Throughout his journal Gicquel frequently refers to the "Capitaine de Frégate" ("Commander") rather than naming Commander Le Bas. In order to differentiate between this usage and that of "Commandant" ("Commander") for Baudin, the translator has inserted Le Bas' name rather than rank where it is clear this is the meaning. However the French is shown in a footnote on each occasion.

8h00: A very fine porpoise was harpooned, some 6 feet 6 inches long. The artists made sketches of it but I noticed that the drawing produced by the Commander's artist had the back much too arched.

OBSERVATIONS

[70] [Table]

[71] 11-12 Frimaire Year 9 [2-3 December 1800]. I made the two observations of variation for today on the middle of the gratings, as far away as I could get from the great quantity of iron that people seem to have taken pleasure in placing on all of the ship's external[16] parts. Moreover, I took the greatest care in making these two observations. The wind compass, by Lenoir, is very well made and, I believe, accurate. Nevertheless I had 1º4'28" difference between the two observations, and can only attribute this to the enormous quantity of iron around the forecastle, quarterdeck and poop. Without being confident of this phenomenon, I would never dare produce such observations, but I fear that my ability to perform this type of work is nevertheless under question, and indeed I believe I saw evidence of such doubts. However, I refer doubters to the account of D'Entrecasteaux's voyage written by Citizen La Billardière. They will find in it descriptions of variations observed on board the *Recherche* and will see that they were not performed by schoolchildren. I was responsible for about a third of them, while the two Raoul brothers carried out the others.

Fluky winds, overcast sky, calm sea.

18h00: In the morning, we noticed that the foretopmast had strained and split from the fid-hole up to the top-rope sheave-hole; it is not unserviceable, but needs changing and repair.

OBSERVATIONS

[72] [Table]

[73] 12-13 Frimaire Year 9 [3-4 December 1800]. Occasional squalls, interspersed with reasonably fine weather. The sea running a moderate south-south-easterly swell. During my watch, from 8h00 until midnight, the ship did not steer even though there was a light breeze; there was more than 11º15' leeway.

It seems to me that this tendency to make a lot of leeway is a defect in the ship, and must in large measure result from its poor trim and from those [illegible] nettings. I have noted that the leeway is under-estimated.

3 [o'clock]: I sighted several grey boobies. The Commander said that he had seen some moonfish.

OBSERVATIONS

[74] [Table]

[16] "Exancés" in the French text is unclear.

[75] 13-14 Frimaire Year 9 [4-5 December 1800]. Some squalls and a lot of rain, which fell extraordinarily heavily between 13h00 and 15h00. The ship was sailing less well than normally; it is slack, which proves that we are too far by the stern. Ever since we set out, stores have consistently been taken from the forward section, with nothing taken from the after section.

During the rain, a lot of water entered through the gratings, which are completely uncovered, and through the quarterdeck hatches, which are very poorly covered. If this rain continues, we will see some of the unfortunate effects of this arrangement.

Tonight, hauling the seine over the side netted some translucent, luminous shapes 3-4 inches long. These are the bodies responsible for the phosphorescence we have seen in the water at night for some time now, especially on very dark nights. I saw a large number of them along the *[?]*[17] coast, but they were of a smaller species than the ones caught tonight.

19 [o'clock]: We found a kingfisher on the deck, somewhat crushed but not damaged in any way. This was the first I had handled in all the time I had been at sea.

Chronometer Nº 31 = 1h16'43.3", chronometer Nº 38 = [illegible]h15[']7.2["]; a difference of 1'36.1". This morning, the 14th [Frimaire, 5 December 1800] during Freycinet's watch and at a time when close attention was being given to an approaching squall,, Le Bas,[18] looking hurried, snatched the speaking trumpet from the officer of the watch and hailed the maintop to send him down some cabbages. He then disappeared when the squall hit. This behaviour greatly astonished everyone! At the time the food we were being served was already very inadequate.

[76] [Table]

[77] 14-15 Frimaire Year 9 [5-6 December 1800]. Still the same weather. In the evening, we noticed that the damage to the foretopmast had worsened, so we immediately arranged to change it. We first struck down the foretopgallant mast, and by 20h00 the foretopmast was down on deck, with the spare being in place at 23h00.

The damage to the foretopmast had resulted from the fid apparently not being strong enough, leading to play in the mast. The wooden section between the fid-hole and the top rope sheave-hole was not strong enough and had sprung and let the topmast sag; hence the need to change it for repair.

If the sheave-hole had been drilled at an angle instead of being parallel to the fid-hole this accident would not have occurred. All our topmasts are made in the same way, so it is a construction fault attributable to the yards in Le Havre.

On this subject, I drew my friend Ronsard's attention to another defect in all French topmasts. This is that the tenon for the topgallant cap is always perfectly square, whereas to ensure greater strength it really should be oblong. The square corners always wear away due to the movement of the ship, so tenon rounds off, the cap twists and consequently the topgallant mast is no longer stable. If, on the contrary, the tenon was oblong, this problem could not occur. Furthermore, my view is that, like the English, Dutch, Americans and Danes we

[17] « Côte Dangole » in the French text is unclear.
[18] "Capitaine de frégate"

should slightly lengthen our mast [illegible]. This would make our masts infinitely stronger and we would no longer need to rig preventer backstays at the slightest hint of bad weather.

At noon, the foretopgallant mast was swayed up and the foretopsail was set.

21h00: The *Naturaliste* requested permission to send over to the Commander a copy of its crew list. This was granted and an officer came across with it. Everyone was well except for some seamen who had venereal disease.

Saw many flying fish.

OBSERVATIONS

[78] [Table]

[79] 15-16 Frimaire Year 9 [6-7 December 1800]. Many squalls and a lot of rain over the 24 hours. As can be seen the winds were extremely variable, especially in the morning, and this - combined with the fact that the *Naturaliste* was close by - made it necessary for us to manoeuvre constantly.

1h30: The *Naturaliste* signalled a noon longitude of 20º24'0". As the ship was a mile to the west of us, our own position was 20º23'0". "I had the [illegible] and the hourglasses checked. The [illegible] was short 6 inches per half-knot and the 28" half-minute glass was short 0.3". The quarter-minute glass is accurate."

20h00: Sighted a frigate bird - a tropical bird - the first to be seen.

Chronometer no. 31 = 1h28'22.6" [no.] 31[19] = 1h26'38.0"; a difference of 1'44.6".

The ship continued to be too much by the stern. By dint of representations, I obtained agreement to transfer some cargo forward and after that, the ship steered properly. I also convinced the Commander to dismantle the empty cages that considerably hindered our manoeuvring. This occurred on the morning of the 17th [Frimaire, 8 December 1800] and not on the morning of the 16th [Frimaire, 7 December 1800].

[80] [Table]

[81] 16-17 Frimaire Year 9 [7-8 December 1800]. The sky was in turn cloudy and fine. Very calm sea, with some rain squalls.

21h00: Caught a small shark, 6 feet long, but this was met with general indifference: the rage to anatomise and to dissect had already subsided. Over these last 48 hours there has been a difference N of 34' 12" and a difference W of 1º6'56". The currents alone could not have [illegible] accounted for this difference. Problems in the dead reckoning contributed much to it. The ship was not steering, even at 1½ knots, and with the helm hard a-lee it only moved sideways. This meant we were unable to take advantage of the breeze, which was most often a south-easterly, and contributed a lot to our western leeway.

[19] Sic. It is assumed that "38" was intended.

OBSERVATIONS

[82] [Table]

[83] 17-18 Frimaire Year 9 [8-9 December 1800]. Overcast weather, with occasional squalls and rain.

OBSERVATIONS

[84] [Table]

[85] 18-19 Frimaire Year 9 [9-10 December 1800].

2h00: Asked the *Naturaliste* for a fix of its position. It signalled latitude 2º0'N, longitude 21º51'W, as reckoned over the 24 hours.

Considerable amount of rain fell between 5h40 and 17h00 in the evening. Wind very variable and the sea choppy. During the night the *Naturaliste* followed very close astern, and at 15h15 it almost collided with us.

There were a number of strong squalls, especially at 15h30. The sun appeared only intermittently, and at noon it was not visible at all.

18h30: Saw a small monkfish in our wake.

Chronometer no. 31 = 1h30'57.0", no. 38 = 1[h]28[']57.2'; a difference of 1'59.8".

[86] [Table]

[87] 19-20 Frimaire Year 9 [10-11 December 1800]. A swell set in from SE, and towards midnight we felt the breeze from this quarter gradually strengthen. Small squalls occurred, though without producing much rain. The sun appeared during the morning, enabling us to open up and air the ship and giving the crew an opportunity to dry off their linen. This dry weather was welcome indeed; the humidity had already produced a disagreeable odour inside the ship.

Our carpenters worked at enlarging the fore hatchway. They also cut 18 inches off the damaged foretopmast and drilled a fid-hole a bit higher up.

At noon the *Naturaliste* was 3 miles to the north of us. It signalled its position as latitude 1º21'N, longitude 23º42'W.

OBSERVATIONS

[88] [Table]

[89] 20-21 Frimaire [11-12 December 1800]. Fine weather, although a little cloudy, with a well-formed swell. We were a long way ahead of the *Naturaliste,* whose position at noon was latitude N0º21', longitude W25º6'. It bore W11º15'N of [illegible], distance 3 miles. "The Commander ordered me to pass the results of my variation observations to him every ten

days."

OBSERVATIONS

[90] [Table]

[91] 21-22 Frimaire Year 9 [12-13 December 1800]. Crossed the equator at 6h05 in the evening.

Fine weather, moderate breeze, a slight swell running.

6h05: We crossed the equator. Chronometer no. 31 put the longitude at 25º3'4" and no. 38 showed 25º4'32", west of Paris.

19h30: The crew celebrated the passage of the line, and everyone who had not previously crossed it was initiated. There were quite a few of them; among the officers, only four of us had experienced it.

If ever I have the honour of commanding a ship there will be no such absurd ceremony on board. My crew will have a double ration of grog and will be able to amuse themselves, but there will be none of these insipid - and in my view unbearable - masquerades.

OBSERVATIONS

[92] [Table]

[93] 22-23 Frimaire Year 9 [13-14 December 1800]. Some squalls, with a cloudy sky, rain and some strong gusts. A south-easterly swell was running.

19 [o'clock]: Discovered damage to the main topgallant crosstrees, although they could be repaired without having to be changed. Saw a tropicbird.

"Yesterday and today I took into account the difference in longitude over the 24 hours in making my noon determination. I will continue to do so every day, as this will be likely to be more accurate than following simple dead reckoning."

OBSERVATIONS

[94] [Table]

[95] 23-24 Frimaire Year 9 [14-15 December 1800]. Fine weather and calm sea. In the afternoon we shifted two casks of wine and some barrels of beer from the after to the forward section; the ship immediately steered better.

During the morning inspection, it was noticed that the mizzen topsail fid was broken. It was changed at 21h00 and at 23h00 I was informed that the new one was already under strain. I suggested using an iron fid, one of the spares for the topmasts. That was agreed, and the carpenter immediately set about making the change.

22h30: We hauled the foretopmast rigging taut,[20] after having made more sail since early morning so that we could get ahead and thus carry out this operation at leisure.

The *Naturaliste's* position was latitude 2º57'S, longitude as observed 27º39'W.

OBSERVATIONS

[96] [Table]

[97] 24-25 Frimaire Year 9 [15-16 December 1800]. Same weather as the previous day. I noticed that over these two days the *Naturaliste* had been keeping better to the wind than usually.

OBSERVATIONS

NB: For some days (and although I was unaware of it) the Commander had been telling the other officers they were bracing the yards too much and that this was hindering the ship's progress. He wanted the yards set at an angle of 45º with the keel, with the arms braced to windward so that from the windward side the foretopgallant crosstrees would not be visible from the main topsail bolt-rope. When I came on watch at 8h00 in the evening I noticed that the sails were wrongly set - they were in accordance with the new principles but not with those I subscribe to (which are those of Messrs Bourdé, Bouguer etc), which show that the angle of obliquity of the yards needs to be 24º, and in practice even at 30º our ship is not properly trimmed! Consequently, I had the sails braced to starboard to ensure a proper trim. The Commander then made the same comment to me as to the other officers, reiterating that what I had done was preventing the ship from sailing properly. I reminded him of the principles enunciated by the above-mentioned authors and of the *Manière de Manœuvrer*[21] by Mr Traversay, with whom I had the pleasure of studying for 21 months. I said that it was because the sails had been braced his way that the *Naturaliste* had been able to gain on us during the afternoon, whereas at 8h15 I had been obliged to reduce sail to wait for it even though the sails had only been braced differently for fifteen minutes. At 11h00 I had successively taken in the topgallants, the main staysail, the standing jib and the mizzen topsail [illegible] mast, yet the *Naturaliste* was still behind us. In these circumstances, how could one still claim that an angle of obliquity of 45º was still the best sailing angle? Mean variation of 2 azimuths [illegible] 8º31'12"NW.

[98] [Table]

[99] 25-26 Frimaire Year 9 [16-17 December 1800]. Cloudy sky, moderate although very variable breeze, calm sea. At 2h30 the Commander signalled to the *Naturaliste* that if the wind veered aft during the night a course would be set SSE.

3h00: Saw several tuna.

OBSERVATIONS

[100] [Table]

[20] "Tenu les agrès" in the French text is unclear.

[21] While the context appears to suggest that this is the title of a book, the translator has not been able to confirm this.

[101] 26-27 Frimaire Year 9 [17-18 December 1800]. Continuing fine weather; still sailing close to the wind and tracking its changes.

20 [o'clock]: "As can be seen opposite, I have measured the angle of the ship's heel. The sea was calm enough and there was a moderate breeze, so we could sail close to the wind under all possible sail without any danger to the masts - even allowing for their weakness. Even so we had only set the 5 main sails, with a reef in the topsails, plus the mizzen, mizzen top staysail, main staysail and the fore staysail. The heel was substantial for this set of sails in this weather, which goes to show that the vessel is not very stable. The poor manner in which it has been loaded, putting weight on the upper sections without sufficient weight below, is largely to blame for this state of affairs. As the Commander intends to repeat this experiment frequently, I will henceforth mention it in my journal."

The sea became slightly rougher during the morning.

OBSERVATIONS

[102] [Table]

[103] 27-28 Frimaire Year 9 [18-19 December 1800]. Calm sea, cloudy sky. Breeze very fluky.

OBSERVATIONS

[104] [Table]

[105] 28-29 Frimaire Year 9 [19-20 December 1800]. The sky was very cloudy, with the sea running a slight swell. The *Naturaliste* made us lose a lot of headway to windward, especially during my watch. The tiller-rope was changed, for no very good reason.

OBSERVATIONS

[106] [Table]

[107] 29-30 Frimaire Year 9 [20-21 December 1800]. Persistent fine though cloudy weather. Calm sea, moderate breeze.

8 [o'clock]: The jib-boom broke ([illegible]) close to the cap, at a point where there were several knots. Had it been in good shape the wind would not have been strong enough to break it. In the morning we set another boom, although it too is very weak.

The *Naturaliste*, unusually for it, passed to windward during the night and at noon it was a mile off our beam. Its latitude was 11º12' and its longitude, as observed, was 30º36'.

OBSERVATIONS

[108] [Table]

[109] 30 Frimaire-1 Nivôse Year 9 [21-22 December 1800]. The sky was cloudier than

during the preceding days and there were several light squalls, making the winds variable from ENE. The sky cleared up when they backed from east to south. The *Naturaliste's* position was latitude 12º45'S, longitude 30º27'W.

OBSERVATIONS

[110] [Table]

[111] 1-2 Nivôse Year 9 [22-23 December 1800]. Fine weather, moderate breeze; we followed the changing winds until course was signalled SSE.

OBSERVATIONS

[112] [Table]

[113] 2-3 Nivôse Year 9 [23-24 December 1800]. Continuation of fine weather and calm sea.

OBSERVATIONS

[114] [Table]

[115] 3-4 Nivôse Year 9 [24-25 December 1800].

2h30: A frigate bird hovered around the ship. It disappeared around 3h00, flying off to the ESE.

"Our crew was drunk all night, to the point where two of them, totally inebriated, came at 12h15 to attempt to force the lock on the midshipmen's pantry locker even though Ronsard, Bonnefoy and I were present (this locker is situated on the quarterdeck, forward of the capstan). I prevented them from continuing.

The bosun told me he thought they had all got drunk on the liquor stored in the orlop, which the holdmen could access quite easily. He said he had seen them several times previously in a similar state.

I made Lieutenant Baudin, who took over the watch from me, responsible for giving an account of this incident to the Commander as soon as he appeared on deck. We made enquiries and learned that the holdmen had got into a small barrel of 120 quarts[22] of excellent Tenerife wine belonging to Citizen Le Brun and stored in the orlop. However, the holdmen sought to excuse their action by saying that when the barrel was transferred from the gunroom to the orlop Citizen Le Bas had told them that they would be good-for-nothings and idiots[23] if they did not drink it, and they had taken this to be an order. In the end, no one was punished, although in my view the person who had been caught breaking into the locker - Haussecorne - deserved at least some days in irons.

The quantity of wine taken from the barrel was not sufficient to make the whole crew drunk.

[22] The French text refers to "60 pots." In old measurements, 1 "pot" was the equivalent of 2 "pintes" (quarts), or approximately 1.86 litres.
[23] "J.f" in the French text has been taken as an abbreviation of "jean-foutre," and "C"as an abbreviation of "cons."

I believe the bosun when he told me that the crew had several times got drunk on wine mixed with eau-de-vie from our ship's provisions, stored in the orlop. This example of mischief-making led to my discovering others."

OBSERVATIONS

[116] [Table]

[117] 4-5 Nivôse Year 9 [25-26 December 1800]. Fine weather; a little rain at midnight.

18 [o'clock]: I moved us to windward of the *Naturaliste,* passing very close ahead of it. Course was signalled S45ºE.

"An eye infection, from which I have been suffering for three days, has prevented me from making any observations. The variation observations were done by the officers of the watch."

OBSERVATIONS

[118] [Table]

[119] 5-6 Nivôse Year 9 [26-27 December 1800]. The sky was often overcast, with heavy clouds, and some light squalls produced some fine rain without increasing the wind. The sea was very calm.

Yesterday the latitude as observed was 18º57', and based on that starting point there would only have been a difference of 2'45" south. As the difference in longitude can be considered as nil for the 48 hours, I believe that we have left behind the currents that were taking us west and south.

OBSERVATIONS

[120] [Table]

[121] 6-7 Nivôse Year 9 [27-28 December 1800]. Some squalls produced a little rain and wind. Kept to a southeasterly course when possible.

17h00: Sighted a large three-master bearing SW, distance approximately 9 miles, heading NW.

OBSERVATIONS

[122] [Table]

[123] 7-8 Nivôse Year 9 [28-29 December 1800]. Same weather as the previous day. The swell, running ESE, was heavier.

A squall obscured the sun just at noon, so we did not get a latitude reading.

"My eye infection is not clearing up and is preventing me from making my normal observations and requires me to take great care. I have never suffered from this illness before,

except once incidentally, on board the *Recherche*.

My colleagues asked me, as first lieutenant, to register a complaint with the Commander in their name against abusive practices in the mess, particularly the fraud whereby beer was being diluted by a half with water - a third of this being attributable to Le Bas and 1/6th to the steward. This trickery occurred again in respect of barrel that had just been transferred into demijohns, and from which Le Bas[24] had extracted 20 bottles of very pure beer, which he had put aside. The Commander did not believe me at first, but was convinced when the steward confessed the truth to him. See my notes at the end of this notebook."

OBSERVATIONS

[124] [Table]

[125] 8-9 Nivôse Year 9 [29-30 December 1800]. The sun was visible at its zenith. A long southwesterly swell began to form. Persistent light squalls. At about 21h00 the *Naturaliste* signalled damage to two sails. They were repaired before noon and we got under way again.

We were able to observe the sun very close to its zenith, but very few of the crew were able to obtain a fix on it as it passed the meridian.

OBSERVATIONS

[126] [Table]

[127] 9-10 Nivôse Year 9 [30-31 December 1800]. We crossed the Tropic of Capricorn. Light squalls produced only a little wind, but made it very variable from ENE-SSE - never stronger than a moderate breeze. Heavy swell still setting from SW-SSW. We made some changes in the hold that were marginally useful in helping us to make better way. We were a long way further ahead of the *Naturaliste* over these 24 hours than for a good many days.

9h48: We crossed the Tropic of Capricorn. Longitude by chronometer no. 31 was 26º1'30", while no. 38 produced 25º42'6" - a difference between the two of 0º19'24".

OBSERVATIONS

[128] [Table]

[129] 10-11 Nivôse Year 9 [31 December 1800-1 January 1801]. Still the same weather. The heavy swell that had been predominantly from SSW veered south.

[130] [Table]

[131] 11-12 Nivôse Year 9 [1-2 January 1801]. 1 January 1801. The swell subsided a lot and seemed to be coming from SSE. Wind very variable and the sky cloudy.

We hauled a seine over the side and caught a number of small jellyfish-like creatures and several Portuguese men-of-war. Citizen Depuch carried out an experiment to see what sort of

[24] Le Bas is not named at this point in the French text, being referred to only as "the former;" the name has been included in the translation for the sake of clarity.

gas was contained in the men-of-war, and determined that it was nitrogen.

OBSERVATIONS

[132] [Table]

[133] 12-13 Nivôse Year 9 [2-3 January 1801]. Fine weather, with the sea extraordinarily calm. Very light and fluky airs.

We hoisted out the stern dinghy in the afternoon so the ship's hull could be cleaned.

I noticed as soon as we began using the oscillometer that it has been placed on a forward incline of about 3º, and that consequently the instrument was unable to give a correct measurement of the ship's pitch. That could only occur once the degree of inclination was known, and in turn this can only be determined in a spot where the ship will not move and when the instrument is properly calibrated.

I should note that there are always significant differences in the reported levels in the barometer from one watch to another. This is due more to the way in which the readings are taken than to major changes in the levels themselves. To obtain an exact reading one should observe the instrument for at least five minutes and then record the mean oscillation; but not everyone does it.

"Mr Maugé hauled his seine over the side and caught a small lizard-shaped insect, dark blue with some silver markings, approximately an inch long.

Much of the orlop was unstowed while we searched for a cask of rice - which was not found."[#]

The ship's draught, measured externally, was 14 feet 4 inches aft and 12 feet 9 inches forward - a difference of 1 foot 7 inches, which I believe to be too much.

OBSERVATIONS

[134] [Table]

[135] 13-14 Nivôse Year 9 [3-4 January 1801]. A slight SSW swell was perceptible over these 24 hours, even though the sea remained calm. The sky remained very clear, with a light breeze, more northerly than over the preceding days.

In the afternoon, we restowed what had been unstowed in the morning.

OBSERVATIONS

NB. We are so short of fresh provisions that today, the 14th [Nivôse, 4 January 1801], the

[#] *[Translator's note: this footnote appears in the French text]* This happens every time we look for something - we never know where to find what we need. The stowage has been so badly done that the ship has always had a distinct list to port. Notwithstanding comments made by the officers, nothing has been done to try to fix the problem. This, plus the fact that the [illegible] is not at its proper water-line, explains why it does not steer well!! Mean variation of 8 azimuths and occ and ort amp. = 5º57'4"NW.

petty officers gave us a large handful of onions and offered us some potatoes. They also sold a handful of each to the midshipmen. What should we think about all of that? The petty officers only get 30 centimes[25] a day in salary, midshipmen get 15 centimes and we get 4 francs 50 centimes!!!

[136] [Table]

[137] 14-15 Nivôse Year 9 [4-5 January 1801]. "This afternoon I checked the same half-minute glass I had checked 30 or 40 days ago, when it had been found to be 2" short. Today I found it to be 3.5" short. This is the glass we have been using for heaving the log ever since leaving Tenerife: I had it changed."

The sky was cloudy and the sea very calm.

10h15: During a light squall we sighted a lunar rainbow. It lasted five minutes at most and its half-circumference - the extremities reaching down to the horizon - were sometimes ragged.

The *Naturaliste* sailed better than us during these 24 hours and today it was two leagues ahead even though, apart from studding sails, we had set the same sails [illegible].

21h00: The *Naturaliste* flew a signal that we could not make out.

The *Naturaliste's* position was 3 miles to our south at latitude 26º39'S, longitude 24º24'.

OBSERVATIONS

[138] [Table]

[139] 15-16 Nivôse Year 9 [5-6 January 1801]. Sky full of large white clouds, dispersed and following the prevailing wind. Squalls on several parts of the horizon until evening, then a brisk breeze. Perceptible southerly swell. The *Naturaliste* caused us to lose way by forcing us to fall off frequently to wait for it. Its signal at 21h00 had been to ask permission to crowd sail; I do not know the reason for this. My lunar distances for today are a little questionable, both because I was following Captain Baudin's [illegible] and because the ship's movement and very unclear horizon prevented me from observing the sun's height with any degree of precision. At noon the *Naturaliste's* position was 3 or 4 miles WNW of us, at latitude 26º6'S, longitude 22º54'W.

OBSERVATIONS

[140] [Table]

[141] 16-17 Nivôse Year 9 [6-7 January 1801]. Fluky winds, sky full of large clouds, slight swell running. At 18h00, with the wind having veered SE we wore ship on to the port tack. Once again, the *Naturaliste* made us lose a good deal of ground by constantly sailing off the wind. The weather was threatening, but cleared up after a squall at 20h00.

We struck down the three topgallant masts when the weather looked like worsening. The

[25] The French term used for the currency is "sous."

ahead sea produced some rough pitching.

OBSERVATIONS

[142] [Table]

[143] 17-18 Nivôse Year 9 [7-8 January 1801]. The sky occasionally darkened but the clouds did not stay long and the weather soon cleared up. The sea was calm and the breeze moderate.

During the morning, we unstowed the after section looking for a barrel of rice, which we did not find.

Despite my eye infection, which is not clearing up, I have been making lunar distance observations over the past days. The mean of the two sextuplets that I observed, alone, this morning was 21º35'45", which is a lot further east than by the chronometer, and a little further than my other observations.

Sighted many flying fish.

The Commander, who was on the quarterdeck wanting to make some lunar distance observations, commented very rudely that the astronomer, Citizen Bissy, was taking a long time with his own observations and that if the Commander were to wait until Citizen Bissy had finished he ran the risk of being unable to make any observations at all. Bissy was up to his 4th angle and was waiting for a cloud to cross the moon before continuing. He ceased his observation forthwith and the Commander then carried out a sextuplet observation. This is not how the honest, decent General D'Entrecasteaux went about getting his shipmates to do their work!!!

OBSERVATIONS

[144] [Table]

[145] 18-19 Nivôse Year 9 [8-9 January 1801]. "The weather was very fine during the day and cloudy at night, with a superb sea. The *Naturaliste* wasted time shivering its sails in an attempt to come closer on to the wind, which meant we lost a lot of ground waiting for it. We caulked under the port mizzen and main chain-wales, where the seams had lost their oakum. The planks had all been extremely poorly nailed using too few and too flimsy nails, especially at the butts, one of which - under the port mizzen chain-wales - had started. The planks on both after sides were renailed. The workers and Engineer Ronsard claim that when we get to Ile-de-France we will need to renail every plank in the upper works. This is what happens when work is done commercially! If the hull is as badly crafted as this part of the ship - and this is to be feared given the leakage that started even before we left Le Havre - then we are certainly not at the end of our troubles. Ever since leaving France we have been making ¾ of an inch of water every hour - and we have not run into any bad weather yet."

OBSERVATIONS

[146] [Table]

[147] 19-20 Nivôse Year 9 [10-11 January 1801]. Very fine weather, moderate breeze and very calm sea. The Commander ordered us to make more sail than usual, to get the lesson across to the *Naturaliste* that it needed to keep up - it had been behind all night.

23h00: "Several persons including Lieutenant Baudin, Freycinet and Capmartin were practising lunar distance observations on the poop when the Commander asked them somewhat testily whether they were joking or trying to be facetious in seeking to take lunars at this time, when the sun was close to the meridian. This question almost made them drop their instruments!!!! What should one make of all of that?"

OBSERVATIONS

[148] [Table]

[149] 20-21 Nivôse Year 9 [10-11 January 1801]. Fine weather again, with the ship hardly moving. At this speed, off the wind - and despite the fact that this is its best point of sail - the *Naturaliste* made us lose a lot of ground. This was compounded by the fact that we were obliged to wait for it, having got too far ahead yesterday.

OBSERVATIONS

[150] [Table]

[151] 21-22 Nivôse Year 9 [11-12 January 1801]. 30'[26]: Course was signalled and set SE¼E. It seems that the *Naturaliste* did not see the signal because, while it followed us all afternoon, during the night it steered south-easterly and at daybreak was far away to the west of us. It closed, and when it was within range we signalled the course - this time the signal was seen. The weather, while fine, was cloudier than on preceding days. Sea still calm.

In the afternoon Citizen Maugé's seine caught a parrotfish, about 4-5 inches long and a superb blue colour. Several others were caught next morning.

OBSERVATIONS

[152] [Table]

[153] 22-23 Nivôse Year 9 [12-13 January 1801]. Still fine weather and moderate breeze. A heavy swell began to run from the WSW.

18h45: Sighted a small ship to the NE, distance approximately 15 miles and on the other tack. It was a brig, and at noon it was hull-up, bearing N11°15'E. This morning the Commander was the first to see an albatross (commonly known as "Cape sheep"), which followed the ships for the rest of the day. This morning Milbert had a very long discussion with the Commander about the latter's unfavourable letter to the Minister, criticising the scientists. #

OBSERVATIONS

[26] Sic. A number appears to be missing.

As we were leaving Tenerife someone had read in Captain Baudin's journal a letter he was writing to the Minister for the Navy, critical of the scientists. This person informed us about it and everyone was to some extent distressed, believing that it was very malicious of the Commander to have written that "the scientists, whose science is not in proportion to their numbers, had suffered from seasickness." Milbert was the most deeply hurt; the only reason he had come on this journey was to help his family, which he loves dearly, and he fears that following this damning report the Minister might refuse to pay his wife part of his salary, as had been agreed. This worry soon got him into such a state that we feared for his life. The surgeon informed the Commander about his condition, and at that point the Commander sent for [illegible] Milbert and they had the following conversation, as reported to me by Milbert:

The Commander, having asked me how I was feeling after the previous night's illness and what might have caused it, seemed to wish to know to whom the description "villain" - which I had uttered during my sleep - referred. I could only reply that I had no recollection of it, that I was not responsible for what I might have said during my sleep and that my illness and debilitation resulted from my having been aware, for some time now, of a letter he had written from Tenerife complaining about all of the expedition's scientists and artists. That would certainly create an unfavourable impression and would prevent the payment to my family of the salary due to me. I added that this was enough to distress me since the main reason for my having undertaken the voyage was the assurance I had been given that my spouse …

OBSERVATIONS

[154] [Table]

[155] 23-24 Nivôse Year 9 [13-14 January 1801]. 4h00: Course was signalled and set ESE.

The WSW swell[27] has subsided a little. The weather was fine at first but became overcast during the morning as large clouds rolled in. My eye infection, which persists and does not seem to wish to clear up, means I need to be very careful and only carry out essential observations. I will not mention it again. Sighted two albatrosses this morning.

OBSERVATIONS

Continuation of the discussion between Milbert and Captain Baudin.

... that my spouse would receive my salary during my absence. I added that everyone attached to the expedition, be they officers or naturalists, had been scandalised by the matter and that he must be aware he was not looked upon favourably, even though people had taken consolation in the thought that their work would speak for itself. The Captain then said that he did not understand why he was not liked, that he had done nothing to anyone, that everything would be sorted out at Ile-de-France and that he did not believe he had written anything that could harm anyone. I suggested that he look to his journal, since that was where he probably kept copies of his correspondence. After having skimmed through several letters he came across the one containing the poorly drafted, unthinking sentence to the effect that "the scientists, whose science is not in proportion to their number, had been ill, etc." He ventured that this was perhaps the letter in question, but that he did not see in to anything to get angry about; this letter said absolutely nothing - it was a joke - and he was sorry people

[27] "Route," in the French text, has been taken as "Houle."

had taken it badly. He took my hand and sought to reassure me, saying he was not a malicious person. I replied that I did not think the joke had been necessary and that furthermore it was not trivial, coming from a leader. "Your expedition has sometimes been compared to those of Cook and La Pérouse," I said. "Consider how well these men spoke of the persons accompanying them! Yet don't you imagine they probably had reason to complain from time to time? In your case, you had not even had time to get to know anyone before you began criticising them all! Do you believe that we will be unable to make complaints against you? Do you think we have no friends? Or that people will instantly be persuaded that men about whom others have always spoken well have suddenly become incompetent? The Captain appeared very sorry for the grief he had caused us, and I was beginning to believe that he might be a good man when he disabused me and gave me a very odd idea of his character. I was lamenting the fate of my spouse, whom I had left behind in order to do what I considered was in her best interests, and I was saying how much I missed her. "What about me?" he said, "Don't you think that I have left a mistress behind?!" He then sought to find out who had told us he had written the letter. I said that we had learned about it in Tenerife, through the people whom he had tasked with despatching his letters. He was unable to discover more and that, I believe, was his greatest regret. As I was leaving he repeated that we would all be happy and that things would be resolved in Ile-de-France; I said I hoped that would be the case, but I did not believe it."

From the moment that letter was discovered, providing us with an idea of our leader's meanness of spirit and irresponsibility, everyone became cautious and began to prepare to defend their actions should they be accused - for we did not know whether his meanness would be limited to inspiring this single letter...

OBSERVATIONS

[156] [Table]

[157] 24-25 Nivôse Year 9 [14-15 January 1801]. 1h00: A small albatross was killed off the ship and was fetched by the stern dinghy. It had a wingspan was 9 feet 3 inches and measured 6 feet 10 inches from the tip of the beak to the end of the tail. Its stomach contained molluscs, jellyfish heads and cuttlefish. Citizen Ronsard, who had killed it, had aimed at the head and some of the shot had hit close to the left eye and in the beak. At 5h00 we headed towards several others but they were not as brazen as the first, flying off before we were in range.

1h00: As the *Naturaliste* was passing close by it hailed to say that at noon yesterday, the 23rd [Nivôse, 13 January 1801], its chronometers put the longitude at 15º53'W and that today at 2h00 it was 13º24'. This means it had covered 2º29' to the east, whereas I had only registered 1º44'. This requires checking.

Moderate breeze, steady in the NNW, with a slight WSW swell. The sky covered with small clouds, often high and wispy. Light mist in the morning, especially to the N-SW, but the sun cleared it away.

OBSERVATIONS

Continuation of remarks and reflections on Captain Baudin's letter:
… and the letter itself (plus the methods used!) gives us good reason to believe him capable of writing the most odious reports when they might be useful to him, since quite unnecessarily

- and without any grounds for doing so - he took pleasure in arousing suspicion about persons who will be working with him to ensure the success of an expedition for which he will take all the glory. It is difficult for us not to foresee unpleasant times ahead or to think depressing thoughts. The officers cannot ignore that, should unfortunate events befall them, their leader would be an accuser - and all the more dangerous for combining ignorance with a pettiness that would prevent him from seeking to have them declared innocent (indeed that would induce him to take advantage of their plight to do them harm). And yet nothing occurs more easily than an accident on board a ship such as the *Géographe* when there are only 31 men for each watch, 5 or 6 of them novice seamen or hen-keepers, and when we are sailing in waters where sudden wind shifts are common.

I am acting quite out of character in writing these things in my journal. My friends will be able to judge me appropriately, when they know the circumstances that have made this unfortunately necessary.

OBSERVATIONS

[158] [Table]

[159] 25-26 Nivôse Year 9 [15-16 January 1801]. The afternoon sky was alternately clear, cloudy and dull. Cloudy overnight; overcast at 18h00 and rainy at 20h30. For the remainder of the day it was cloudy in the west and overcast to the east. Very little swell.

Saw several birds of the petrel species. We served the albatross at table and found it tasty, although tough. The shortage of fresh food we are experiencing is making us less particular.

OBSERVATIONS

Old logbooks were being neglected and there was a risk they would be lost. I asked the Commander whether he was collecting them and he replied in the negative, saying they were too dirty. I reminded him of the need to submit them on return, as original working papers. We secured them.

[160] [Table]

[161] 26-27 Nivôse Year 9 [16-17 January 1801]. The sky more often filled with large clouds than clear. Breeze steady and fresh, with a southwesterly swell. At noon, the course had been signalled and set ESE.

The *Naturaliste*, making a great effort to keep up with us, was mostly under full sail.

OBSERVATIONS

[162] [Table]

[163] 27-28 Nivôse Year 9 [17-18 January 1801]. 1h00: course was signalled ESE, then at 2h00 SE¼E. We steered accordingly.

In the afternoon, sighted several clumps of seaweed passing alongside.

The sea was running a slight swell from SW-WSW. The sky cloudy then overcast. Wind very variable.

OBSERVATIONS

"NB. Some days ago, the Commander started drafting his correspondence. This morning he left his notebook or journal on his desk and someone who entered his cabin on official business saw a letter he is writing to the Minister complaining about the midshipmen and accusing the officers of being too familiar with these young gentlemen and of always finding reasons to excuse them." But the fact is that such reasons exist! For my part, I confess I consider that these young sailors behave very well and very decently in relation to the scientists and us. They apply themselves to their tasks and I have no doubt that 6 of the 7 on board will become outstanding representatives of the Navy. Their education, and the examinations they have sat, all point to this outcome. From what the Captain has said, it seems he would want to have such Navy cadets treated as and mix only with ordinary seamen. However, in my view a young man destined to become an officer should not mix with those people, and I would have no respect for a midshipman who made them his friends. I do not say that he should despise or mistreat them, but I want him to be respected and obeyed so that he can ensure that an officer's orders are carried out…. This meanness of spirit displeases me, the more so as the Commander has not issued any general written instructions for the midshipmen on the Expedition. This proves again that we were right to be alert and suspicious.

Very recently, the Captain told Citizen Péron that he was compromising himself by talking to Midshipman Bougainville; he said that, as part of the officer complement, Péron should not associate with the young gentlemen, who have no standing on board the ship.

How can this absurd description be reconciled with the fact that the Commander allows those two daubers and his scribe - who are only ranked as novice helmsmen - to come and annoy us constantly in the great cabin, and has no problem with the fact that the scientists and officers speak to them - indeed that even seems to give him pleasure. Their presence and conversation are equally unbearable to us; they are uneducated and dishonest and we have several times turned them out, although they keep coming back. None of this shows any sensitivity. I believe that the Commander became aware today that we all knew about his letter.

OBSERVATIONS

[164] [Table]

[165] 28-29 Nivôse Year 9 [18-19 January 1801]. The ship-issue shoes have cardboard soles. Sea a little rough, with a moderate west southwesterly swell. Sky cloudy in the afternoon, overcast at night and in the morning. Wind variable from moderate to fresh breeze, but not causing any concern. We took in a reef as a precaution and for the sake of our consort, which was a long way astern at daybreak.

5h00: We signalled to the *Naturaliste* to sail closer to the wind, because during the day it had kept full, putting itself a long way to leeward.

It is unfortunate that with the prevailing winds we are not further to the south, since even at 35º our progress east would have been excellent!! When I am given the honour of a

command, I shall ensure that in this season we make it as soon as possible down to 36º or even 37º. We passed through several tidal races. A dozen albatrosses were in sight at sunset.

18h00: "Several members of my division, to whom I had given ship-issue shoes some days ago, came and showed me that they were already worn out and that the outer sole was made of rough cardboard which, when wet, made the whole shoe fall apart.

This is the sort of material supplied to these unfortunates, normally costing them 4 francs 50 centimes. In Brest, I saw a supplier deliver reasonable quality shoes to the official warehouse for 45 centimes a pair, and the administrators then charged 4 francs 10 centimes.[28] I do not believe that the Government authorises such a profit, which amounts to a deplorable racket.

I advised the Commander of this fraud, but his reply was that he could [illegible] nothing and that since the shoes were on board they should be used."

OBSERVATIONS

[166] [Table]

[167] 29-30 Nivôse Year 9 [19-20 January 1801]. Noon: wore ship on to the port tack. Sailed clean full for an hour to rejoin the *Naturaliste* at 5h00. Course was signalled SE.

The weather was very overcast until 22h00, but then cleared up a little. Wind very fluky and variable, the sea calm. Sighted many birds in the afternoon, but few remained the next morning.

Mr Maugé's seine caught a sort of sea slater, silvery in colour; it had attached itself to a bird's feather.

OBSERVATIONS

[168] [Table]

[169] 30 Nivôse-1 Pluviôse Year 9 [20-21 January 1801]. Course was signalled SE¼E. Weather very overcast until daybreak, then cloudy all morning.

OBSERVATIONS

[170] [Table]

[171] 1-2 Pluviôse Year 9 [21-22 January 1801]. The sky predominantly overcast. Sea a little choppy, with winds variable in direction and strength.

21h00: "Hailed the *Naturaliste* and asked Citizen Hamelin to send us over a little rice. He promised to do so.

Today we caught some small, shelled creatures, very much like turtles. They were a light brown colour on the back and whitish underneath, and were about as big as a hazelnut or the

[28] In the French text the actual currency of this amount is shown as being unclear; the translation given is the one suggested by the context.

tip of the little finger. We named them small turtles.

Extract from the crew list: paid to the Commander, N Baudin, the sum of 21,330 francs for six months' rations, calculated at 4 francs 50 centimes for 19 persons."

OBSERVATIONS

[172] [Table]

[173] 2-3 Pluviôse Year 9 [22-23 January 1801]. 2h00: the *Naturaliste* sent over its dinghy with 25-30 pounds of rice. The afternoon was calm, with a clear sky, and we were able to perform some lunar observations. The arrival of the dinghy was a great distraction for the crew helping me, so my readings are a little suspect.

Towards evening a northeasterly breeze sprang up, freshening during the night; some light and variable squalls brought a little rain.

20h00: Course signalled and set ESE. Slight east northeasterly swell.

19h00: During my watch there was a sudden windshift from NNW to WSW,[29] bringing us aback. I ordered the helm put to starboard and repeated the command several times, raising my voice, because the helmsman was putting it to port. The master helmsman, watch leader and the Commander all jumped to the wheel to help, and all four of them persisted in putting the helm to port! At that point, I took the wheel and showed all four how to put it to starboard! There was no damage, since the sea was calm, and the ship continued on the starboard tack because I had trimmed the sails to maintain this tack. Nevertheless, the incident demonstrates how badly served we are by crew at all levels.

OBSERVATIONS

[174] [Table]

[175] 3-4 Pluviôse Year 9 [23-24 January 1801]. Passed the Paris prime meridian. Wind variable and fresh, sky overcast, sea calm although there were swells from several directions, the main one appearing to me to be a southwesterly.

In the evening we struck down the topgallant masts, took all three reefs in the topsails and took in the mizzen topsail - which was set again at daybreak.

21h00: Shook out two reefs, set all the staysails and struck down the top [illegible] since they served no purpose other than to add weight to our topsails and our weakened masts. I had requested this move for some time.

19 [o'clock]: Passed the Paris prime meridian, as indicated by chronometer no. 31 -, which I believe to be too far to the west according to my lunars. Henceforth the longitudes indicated on our noon positions will be east of Paris.

OBSERVATIONS

[29] The French text includes the initials "B.f" at this point, the meaning of which is unclear.

[176] [Table]

[177] 4-5 Pluviôse Year 9 [24-25 January 1801]. Overcast sky until noon, then clear. Breeze extremely variable and fluky.

The Commander showed us an extract from a letter he was writing to the Minister for the Navy and Colonies concerning the midshipmen's conduct. A copy can be found at the end of this journal.

OBSERVATIONS

NB. It was because the Commander knew we were aware of his letter that he showed us the extract. This event deeply saddened us all.

[178] [Table]

[179] 5-6 Pluviôse Year 9 [25-26 January 1801]. Slight swell from SSW. Sky cloudy, breeze moderate and variable.

OBSERVATIONS

[180] [Table]

[181] 6-7 Pluviôse Year 9 [26-27 January 1801]. At noon course was signalled and set SE¼E.

"Since the beginning of the month we have continued to catch small, shelled creatures resembling turtles."

This morning we finally located a small barrel of rice.

OBSERVATIONS

[182] [Table]

[183] 7-8 Pluviôse Year 9 [27-28 January 1801]. "In the afternoon Mr Maugé caught a new type of mollusc. The filaments or branches on its base are flesh-coloured, the body is light yellow and the head, or upper part, is pearl-coloured with a small crimson spot."

The sky cleared during the night and the morning was superb. There was very little breeze, obliging us to set the topgallants so we could keep up with the *Naturaliste* which at daybreak was 9 miles ahead of us; and even though we also set the starboard studding sails we had not caught up by noon.

When I said that the *Naturaliste* was 9 miles ahead of us at daybreak, I meant at 20h00. When I took over the watch, it had been ahead during the afternoon and by evening we had gained a little on it. I do not know whether it had shortened sail to wait for us! But if it had gained on us during the night I attribute this fact to the light winds, which suit it better than us, rather than to any negligence on the part of the officers on watch during the night. I

checked the half-minute glass and the log - the latter was too short by [illegible] so I had it remarked to be exact [illegible] and the glass was short by 0'0.3", which I considered as accurate because the slightest humidity can cause this amount of variation.

“Ten of the 25 pairs of boots supplied for the crew were today distributed to the masters, the purser’s steward, a helmsman’s mate and a helmsman passenger. This did not please some.”

OBSERVATIONS

[184] [Table]

[185] 8-9 Pluviôse Year 9 [28-29 January 1801]. Very fine weather, with light airs. A heavy southwesterly swell made us roll a little.

Soon after noon, the *Naturaliste* shortened sail to wait for us and at 6h30 we had closed. Citizen Hamelin requested permission from the Commander to remain ahead when the sailing conditions were favourable. He advised that he had changed his main-topgallant mast because it was rotten. We exchanged various requests. His crew were all well, and at 7h [illegible], we separated. We moved some three miles ahead during the night, the crosswinds suiting our ship better.

“In the morning we sighted a shark or similar fish alongside, estimated to be some 15 or 16 feet long.”

OBSERVATIONS

[186] [Table]

[187] 9-10 Pluviôse Year 9 [29-30 January 1801]. Very fine weather during the day, overcast at night. We again felt the heavy WSW swell.

I am going to substantiate what I have noted several times, namely that instead of the two apprentice gardeners who are paid 1,500 pounds a year and rations of 30 centimes a day, and who do absolutely nothing by way of duties at sea, we should have taken on two additional good seamen. We would have found people among the crew who were perfectly capable of assisting the gardener, since all he needs is someone to carry his baskets. This [illegible] can be seen from the following: the first apprentice gardener, whose name is Antoine Guichenot (known as The Wit), is nothing more than a basket-carrier. “We had been served rice cooked in water, and what was left was taken to the pantry; Guichenot found it tasteless and, in my presence, asked the steward for oil and vinegar to spice up this native's cereal that he had been served! “Which native cereal?” asked the steward? “The pygmy barley - the white stuff cooked in water.” “Idiot! It’s rice!” “Oh, I didn’t know”!!!! Yet it was easy to identify, because the grains had been cooked in the Indian style.

OBSERVATIONS

[188] [Table]

[189] 10-11 Pluviôse Year 9 [30-31 January 1801]. Fresh breeze, with a slight swell from SSW. Took two reefs in the 3 topsails during the night.

This weather put an end to the fishing for molluscs.

OBSERVATIONS

[190] [Table]

[191] 11-12 Pluviôse Year 9 [31 January-1 February 1801]. In the evening, the weather clouded over and remained that way for the remainder of the 24 hours. The wind was inconsistent but mostly fresh, with the sea running a slight swell. The *Naturaliste* still astern and carrying much more sail.

During the morning I once again reviewed my division. I noted with pleasure that they all continued to remain clean and - as I had recommended to them - were not wearing any dirty rags.

OBSERVATIONS

[192] [Table]

[193] 12-13 Pluviôse Year 9 [1-2 February 1801]. The sky was cloudy all afternoon. It covered over further in the evening and did not clear up until the moon rose, though clouds persisted for the remainder of the 24 hours. Light mist, or rather distinct fine rain, during the night. The swell, which had been heavy, subsided. The *Naturaliste* remained astern or on the port quarter, about a mile or a mile and a half away. I cannot imagine why it has struck down its topgallant masts each of these past two evenings; it was presumably because the barometer was low, although in this region it normally falls when there is a mist or when the winds haul west or north-west - but they are not strong before the end of May.

23h00: The sea has changed colour, to the deep green indicating that shoal water, or landfall, is not far away.

Our variations are also placing us further to the east than shown by the chronometers, and agree with the longitude given by the lunars.

OBSERVATIONS

[194] [Table]

[195] 13-14 Pluviôse Year 9 [2-3 February 1801]. Sighted the Cape of Good Hope. At noon, the sea gave off a strong tidal smell. Sighted several "Manches de Velours"[30] bobbing on the sea, and many other birds that do not travel far from land were also to be seen. At 3h00 we sighted a common seal and this, along with the change in sea colour and the extensive fish [illegible] we passed through, made some presume that we were getting closer to shoal water. In fact, I believe the sea to be very deep in this area,[31] especially as all the navigators who have passed through this area have noted this change. At 3h30, the Commander ordered us to take soundings at 110 fathoms while waiting for the *Naturaliste*, which was 2 miles astern.

[30] It has not been possible to identify this bird, which is referred to again later the journal - p. 320.
[31] It has been assumed that the repetition of "je Le Crois Dans ce parage a une Grande profondeur" in the French text is an error.

We had no ground. The sea was no longer quite the dark colour of several hours earlier and if shoal water was indeed present it would have been considerably deeper than at noon.

1h00: The *Naturaliste* had signalled a sail bearing NW, and we sighted it - a three-master sailing further to the east than we were. The misty horizon had prevented us from seeing it earlier, but now it was hull up. In the evening we hailed the *Naturaliste,* passing on a lot of information including that at 8h00 we would set a course to SSE.

12h10: As I was preparing to take a sounding, in accordance with the Commander's orders, the wind shifted suddenly from NNW to WSW, blowing strongly and making it necessary for me to have the mizzen topsail taken in, to take the third reef in the foretopsail and to put the main topsail on the cap.[32] The sea rose and it was not until after 20h00 that the weather cleared up and we were able to make more sail. Course since daybreak has been SE¼S. Struck down the topgallant masts at 14h00.

21h15: Sighted land bearing N45ºE, at a distance that I estimated to be 45 miles. It was a *[?]*[33] taken to be the Cape of Good Hope, but the bearing is doubtful. The land was so enveloped in mist that no other points could be made out. At 22h 00, the course was again set to SSE - although we were far enough in the offing and did not need to go out any further in order [illegible] to check our chronometers. On this day, when it was especially necessary for everyone who was capable of doing so to make observations, no-one took the trouble because the sky was overcast and the sea was rough. I was the only one to obtain an hour angle, at 22h05.

Noon: A headland, which I took to be Cabo Falso, was sighted bearing N41'E, distance approximately 45 miles, although this bearing is doubtful. The land was covered in thick mist, and the heavy sea made the compass oscillate. Our noon latitude, as observed and plotted on the map from the *Neptune Orientale,* placed us 46 miles off Cabo Falso and at longitude 16º17'30"E. In order to determine exactly our chronometer error we should have stood only 3 or 5 leagues off the Cape of Good Hope, as I had asked the Commander to do. See my notes at the end of the journal.

OBSERVATIONS

[196] [Table]

[197] 14-15 Pluviôse Year 9 [3-4 February 1801]. As from noon today I will follow the longitude determined from our recent fix. At noon each day I will plot longitude based on chronometer no. 31 using its Paris daily rate, which seems the most accurate, bearing in mind the time it was stopped in Tenerife and the error detected at Cabo Falso.

A little after noon the *Naturaliste* signalled its observed longitude as being 15º57', and we responded with 16º18'. Therefore, its chronometer most favouring the east is showing a difference east of 21'. The sky was cloudy, the horizon thick and foggy, with rain-bearing squalls and very variable winds. A strong swell setting west caused us to roll considerably when the wind was in the stern quarter.

16h30: Signalled and set a course SE. At 18h00, we shook out a reef in the topsails and set

[32] "Tou" in the French text has been taken as "ton."
[33] "Mondrain" in the French text is unclear.

the topgallants so as to catch up with the *Naturaliste,* which had got ahead. At 21h00 it was abeam of us.

"During the preceding night I was able to see for myself just how inadequate the starboard watch was, and after having trimmed the sails[34] I asked the master why this should be so. He told me that the port watch had three more men than the starboard! Furthermore I knew that all six petty officers were in the starboard watch, which effectively meant three topmen less because the masters do not go aloft, leaving that to the mates. I reported this to the Commander and arranged for two seamen and two mates to change from the port to the starboard watch, and for two masters to change from the starboard to the port watch.

Given this arrangement of watches - which had been in place since we left France - can it really be said that those whose responsibility it is to assign crew duties appropriately have the least knowledge of the relevant rules and regulations in this matter? No!"

A person worthy of trust told me he had seen a draft letter to the Navy Minister on the Commander's table, singing the praises of two young men named Petit and Lesueur who are embarked as gunners and who provide the Commander with drawings of the molluscs and insects caught over the side by Citizen Maugé. He also disparages the singular and recognised skill of the Expedition artists, saying that "these much-vaunted artists, brought on board at great cost by the Government, consider it beneath them to deal with such objects" and that they would never be able to do better than the young men he mentions, who are only paid 36 francs per month. In reality, he has never ordered the official artists to give their attention to these trivial things, so his letter is malicious. Oh, how I dislike malicious men! The Commander told me some days ago that in the narrative of his voyage these sketches of molluscs would give more pleasure than any landscapes it would contain - landscapes of a country that people would perhaps never visit! I replied that this might be so for a scientist but that for a simple man like me, who knows nothing about natural history and who likes to have a fine drawing, I am happy to see pictures of a beautiful countryside, a pleasant setting, etc.

OBSERVATIONS

[198] [Table]

[199] 15-16 Pluviôse Year 9 [4-5 February 1801]. Over these 24 hours we felt a strong swell, running WSW in the afternoon, SSW in the evening and SE in the morning - making us pitch considerably.

The sky remained cloudy for the most part and there were several squalls that [illegible]. Some lightning to the SSW, and we heard thunder. Citizens Bissy, Milbert and Lieutenant Baudin are unwell at present. They are not being offered a drop of broth even though there are still several chickens available, theoretically reserved for those on the sick-list.

Today's fishing produced a shellfish resembling a snail.

OBSERVATIONS

[34] « Après Etre orienté" in the French text is unclear, but has been assumed to refer to a sail trimming manoeuvre.

[200] [Table]

[201] 16-17 Pluviôse Year 9 [5–6 February 1801]. Cloudy sky in the afternoon, but the night was superb, with a clear sky. At daybreak it clouded over when the wind shifted suddenly to SW. The southeasterly swell dropped, and there was none to speak of even though the sea was a little rough, cut up by the wind - choppy, as it is termed.

22 [o'clock]: Took 2 reefs in the topsails. The first had been shaken out at 7h00.

OBSERVATIONS

[202] [Table]

[203] 17-18 Pluviôse Year 9 [6-7 February 1801]. Winds uncertain and gusty. The sea dropped a lot during the night and a southwesterly swell set in.

The sky was overcast, with occasional sunny periods.

At midnight course was signalled and set E¼SE. We steered accordingly when the wind permitted.

OBSERVATIONS

[204] [Table]

[205] 18-19 Pluviôse Year 9 [7-8 February 1801]. Irregular swell over the 24 hours. Overcast sky, with wind in fresh gusts.

5h15: We signalled to the *Naturaliste* that if the wind veered forward during the night and settled in the ESE they should change tack, and if it veered aft the course should be E¼SE.

9h15: Following these instructions, we went on the port tack and shortened sail to wait for the *Naturaliste*, which at nightfall had sustained damage to its main topsail and had been required to change it. At daybreak we were only a mile apart, continuing to tack south. The weather cleared up.

OBSERVATIONS

[206] [Table]

[207] 19-20 Pluviôse Year 9 [8-9 February 1801]. After 4h00, as the wind had increased we took the third reef in the topsails and took in the mizzen topsail. The sky was very overcast, without being in any way threatening; there were fresh gusts of wind, never strong. The swell was irregular but the sea was not rough.

20h00: the sky cleared up and under this easy sail the ship was behaving very well; the pitching and rolling was gentle, although we were making a lot of leeway - which is caused by the protruding hammock-nettings[35] surrounding the quarterdeck, forecastle and poop. I

[35] "Les Bastingages Exancés" in the French text is unclear.

have no doubt that when this ship is properly loaded and its upper parts are relieved of the enormous weight it is currently carrying, it will show superior sailing qualities.

OBSERVATIONS

[208] [Table]

[209] 20-21 Pluviôse Year 9 [9-10 February 1801]. The sky was cloudy in the afternoon and very overcast for the remainder of the 24 hours. Light drizzle fell towards morning.

The breeze was fresh and variable, but never strong. By midnight it had slackened enough to allow us to set the upper topsails, had we wished or needed to.

The sea was not rough; the surge was irregular but did not cause the ship to labour.

At daybreak we shook out some reefs and set the mainsail.

Transcription of the logbook for the middle morning watch.

Overcast and rainy weather, with some wind gusts. The Commander ordered various sail changes, passing the orders directly to the master - which, I believe, is contrary to service regulations stipulating that orders should follow hierarchical channels. Signed, Lt B.[in]

Captain Baudin entered the following into the logbook:

The reply to the comment made by Citizen Baudin can be found in my letter to him of today's date. Signed, Captain N. Baudin, Commander

Further grounds for irritation! Oh, how terrible it is [illegible] the beginning of a voyage such as ours!

OBSERVATIONS

[210] [Table]

[211] 21-22 Pluviôse Year 9 [10-11 February 1801]. Sky persistently overcast, and a little mist during the night produced a lot of dampness. Some lightning in the NW and WSW. The breeze was fresh and easy, and there was little swell.

6h00: Easterly course signalled and we steered accordingly when the wind permitted. The darkness obliged us to light a stern lantern from time to time to let our consort know our position. The sea washed in a medium-sized squid or cuttlefish. Sighted several large flying fish.

It can be seen from the observations that the difference in longitude, to the east, has been considerable over the past 48 hours. This can only be attributed to a strong current.

"This morning we obtained another small handful of onions from the petty officers. Our table is currently very meagre and we are living solely on ship's provisions."

OBSERVATIONS

[212] [Table]

[213] 22-23 Pluviôse Year 9 [11-12 February 1801]. Moderate breeze, calm sea; sky a little overcast and cloudy, never clear.

OBSERVATIONS

[214] [Table]

[215] 23-24 Pluviôse Year 9 [12-13 February 1801]. A number of small, rare fish about the length of a finger were caught in the seine.

During the afternoon and especially the evening the sky was a little misty, particularly on the windward horizon. It cleared up towards dawn and the morning weather was superb, with a very calm sea and light airs. Swayed up the topgallant masts and set full sail. Sailed close-hauled to catch up with the *Naturaliste,* which had overtaken us during the night. By noon we had made up a lot of ground.

"In the evening, during a discussion with the Commander I saw that his intention was to spend the winter in New Holland, in port or in the D'Entrecasteaux Channel. I observed that in that season it would be impossible to make any discoveries along the coast! He replied that if we did not discover anything by sea then we would do so by land. No doubt he meant natural history discoveries."

During the morning, Citizen Le Bas distributed tobacco to the crew on the quarterdeck without alerting me, as officer of the watch. This is not in accordance with the regulations, and since it was not the first time that events have occurred without the duty officer having been alerted I entered the following into the logbook: "I believe I noticed that tobacco was distributed to the crew during my watch." This led to a friendly discussion with Le Bas.[36]

OBSERVATIONS

[216] [Table]

[217] 24-25 Pluviôse Year 9 [13-14 February 1801]. The sky was alternately clear and cloudy, with very light and variable airs.

"Molluscs and other rare bagatelles continued to be caught over the side."

OBSERVATIONS

[218] [Table]

[219] 25-26 Pluviôse Year 9 [14-15 February 1801]. I am no longer following chronometer no. 38.

[36] "Ce Capitaine de frégate."

2h00: The Commander had a dinghy hoisted out and two marksmen embarked in it to shoot a grey albatross. It had a wingspan of 9 feet 10 inches and weighed only 11 pounds.

5h00: We manoeuvred to try to catch a nautilus, but it sank when we approached.

Wind very variable and gusty. Sky often overcast, and the sea calm.

Before nightfall, we had alerted the *Naturaliste* to the fact that at 8h00 we would go on the other tack, and we duly executed this manoeuvre. During the night the *Naturaliste* did not respond to the light I had lit at 13h30[37], and we became separated. At daybreak it was at least 6 miles distant, bearing N¼ NE. We immediately sailed to join up again.

Today I was obliged to cease following chronometer no. 38. An act of dishonesty done to me - which I did not deserve - is the sole cause of this situation.

OBSERVATIONS

[220] [Table]

[221] 26-27 Pluviôse Year 9 [15-16 February 1801]. Moderate swell first from NE and subsequently from ESE, but without making the sea rough. The wind was variable and uncertain, but never stronger than a moderate breeze. The sky was cloudy and it rained from 13h00 to 17h00.

21h00: The Commander asked the *Naturaliste* how many days' water remained on board: the reply was 55 days.

23h45: "We hove to so we could hoist out the dinghy, and two marksmen set off to shoot albatrosses resting on the water. Two of the birds were killed as they sat, and one in flight. The largest had a wingspan of 9 feet 10 inches, while the two others were slightly smaller. One bird was white and the others grey. Their stomachs all contained molluscs, jellyfish heads and cuttlefish or squid. They were skinned so they could be stuffed and dissected, and their meat was served at table. It was an excellent meal for us at this time. The dinghy was hoisted in again at noon.

OBSERVATIONS

[222] [Table]

[223] 27-28 Pluviôse Year 9 [16-17 February 1801]. There was a light mist during the night, producing a great deal of dampness. It was cloudy during the day, with a calm sea.

23h00: Hailed the *Naturaliste;* everyone was well except Citizen Bernier. So far during the crossing they have killed only a single petrel, and had not dared hoist out a dinghy to retrieve it without having obtained permission to do so from the Commander. We saw some whales and bonitoes.

OBSERVATIONS

[37] Sic. The time appears incorrect.

[224] [Table]

[225] 28-29 Pluviôse Year 9 [17-18 February 1801]. Unsettled weather, alternately cloudy and fine with the horizon alternately clear and hazy and the wind very uncertain and variable. Swell setting from SSE.

Some rain during the night, and a mist that was as damp as drizzle.

20h00: Went on the port tack.

OBSERVATIONS

[226] [Table]

[227] 29-30 Pluviôse Year 9 [18-19 February 1801]. Calm, with light and very variable airs which forced us to chapel ship and change tack several times. The sky was generally very clear, though with occasional clouds.

I made the following lunar observations in the afternoon in spite of my eye complaint, which continues and is causing great discomfort. The sky was cloudy and I was hampered on the poop, where I took the observations.

OBSERVATIONS

[228] [Table]

[229] 30 Pluviôse-1 Ventôse Year 9 [19-20 February 1801]. Very fine weather, with light and variable airs and a calm sea. Tacked and tried several different sails.

"This morning the seine caught another of those small, lizard-like creatures that we caught in the Atlantic, just below the equator. This one was a little larger, with more marked silver colouring.

OBSERVATIONS

[230] [Table]

[231] 1-2 Ventôse Year 9 [20-21 February 1801].

1h30: "The Commander assembled all officers and scientists in the great cabin and read to us the letter from the Minister that I have copied at the end of this journal, which formed part of his instructions."

In the afternoon, the wind veered aft and at about 10h00 it enabled us to set a course ESE. The breeze was mostly moderate, slackening at times, with the sky generally cloudy but the weather fine. The sea was very calm; we adjusted sail depending on how close we were to our consort.

OBSERVATIONS

[232] [Table]

[233] 2-3 Ventôse Year 9 [21-22 February 1801]. My lunars were providing different longitudes from the others - especially the chronometers - and were suspected of being incorrect due to a problem with my instrument although I considered it was in good condition and properly adjusted. To check my observations I took two sextuplets with Citizen Bissy's circle and they produced a longitude that was even further to the east than my own. I conclude from this (since I never have such a discrepancy!) that my own observations are no more than 30' from the true longitude. (Bissy's instrument was not properly adjusted.)

All of the observations made by various persons provide a mean longitude that is to the east of that shown by the chronometers.

Superb weather up to 15h00, with a clear sky and no wind. Then a light southwesterly breeze sprang up, gradually strengthening, and the sky covered over. A squall hit at 17h30 and the wind shifted suddenly to a fresh southerly, varying to SSE. Took two reefs in the topsails.

OBSERVATIONS

[234] [Table]

[235] 3-4 Ventôse Year 9 [22-23 February 1801]. Gusty and overcast weather up to 20h00, when it fined up and the wind slackened a little, remaining uncertain but never strong enough to be unmanageable. The sea was running a southerly swell, making us roll and pitch slightly. The *Naturaliste* made us lose a lot to windward - during every watch we had to sail off the wind for almost an hour and three quarters so it could keep up.

OBSERVATIONS

[236] [Table]

[237] 4-5 Ventôse Year 9 [23-24 February 1801].

5h00: Saw some algae pass alongside. The ship had been steering badly for some days, but over the past 24 hours it had been even worse than usual. With the after-sails set, and without the standing jib, the helm needed a full turn a-lee, and when the standing jib was set the helm was almost fully a-lee even though we were travelling at 3-5 knots. It would be a great catastrophe if the ship happened to be in this state when it was embayed.

The sea was choppy, with an irregular swell that appeared swept by winds from every quarter. This gave us a lot of trouble and caused us to make a lot of leeway. The sky was alternately overcast and cloudy. The wind was easy, and the *Naturaliste* kept its topgallants set.

OBSERVATIONS

[238] [Table]

[239] 5-6 Ventôse Year 9 [24-25 February 1801]. The sea fell considerably during the afternoon and remained reasonably calm over the remainder of the 24 hours. The wind was

steady from SSE- SE over the 24 hours, dashing any hopes we held of a change before Ile-de-France. We are about to enter the demarcation zone between prevailing winds, and if we are not lucky enough to encounter some small, baffling north-westerly or westerly breezes, as sometimes happens in this season off the two islands, then we may be in for a very long crossing. Yet it really is time for it to end - everyone is beginning to feel very tired.

OBSERVATIONS

[240] [Table]

[241] 6-7 Ventôse Year 9 [25-26 February 1801]. Sighted many gulls in the afternoon. The sea was calm.

6h00: The weather turned stormy, with frequent squalls up to 8h00. Two especially strong ones between 11h00 and 12h00 produced wind and rain. Over the remainder of the 24 hours the weather was cloudy, but reasonably fine.

12h30: The foretopsail sheet failed. We clewed up that sail and took the second reef in the others.

13h45: As the wind had shifted to E¼SE, we wore ship on to the port tack and signalled to our consort to do the same, which it did. At the time there was a slight southerly swell.

The *Naturaliste,* which yesterday appeared to have difficulty sailing close to the wind under full sail and which had been obliging us for some days to sail well off the wind for an hour each watch so it could keep up, remained almost constantly in our wake following the change of tack, without setting its topgallants. Consequently, it settled low into the water. I do not know why it did not set more sail.

OBSERVATIONS

[242] [Table]

[243] 7-8 Ventôse Year 9 [26-27 February 1801]. The *Naturaliste* continued to sail under its five main sails, sometimes in our wake and at other times well off the wind. I have no idea why, in this easy weather, it does not set all its sails - and I have even less idea why we do not dare send it a signal to make more sail! We are virtually drifting! Moreover, the current is getting the better of us, as our observations are demonstrating. The sky was cloudy, with squalls producing some rain, but the breeze was still moderate. The swell was also moderate, producing a little pitching - though not the sort to cause any concern for the masts.

At about two o'clock, some of the crew sighted a petrel on the sea ahead, so I bore away two points so that my no. 2, Ronsard, could have a shot at it. He was only able to hit one of its feet, which was not enough to prevent it from flying off and escaping. "This manoeuvre of bearing away and the act of suddenly taking a rifle and firing so frightened one person on board that I have never in my life seen a face express greater fear - it was quite unbelievable!!!!!! This person was Mr Baudin. It was on this day that I discovered our master helmsman's bad faith. Thus the mischief continues!

OBSERVATIONS

[244] [Table]

[245] 8-9 Ventôse Year 9 [27-28 February 1801]. With the sea head-on and a heavy swell, the ship pitched considerably but did not labour excessively; for the entire afternoon and part of the night we drifted under very light sail and with the mizzen topsail laid aback while we waited for the *Naturaliste*, which only caught up at about 9h00. The night was very rainy, with squalls and very variable winds. At 11h30 we again lost sight of the *Naturaliste*, which made us shorten sail and light a stern-lantern. At 14h00 we sent up two rockets, to which there was no response. At 17h30 we sighted it bearing SSE, distance 6 or 7 miles. I increased sail and at 20h00 it was close enough to make out our signals. We signalled course SE¼E and it responded and bore up, putting on sail - even setting its topgallants. At noon at was abeam, to leeward at two cables' length. The *Géographe* was still steering very badly.

OBSERVATIONS

[246] [Table]

[247] 9-10 Ventôse Year 9 [28 February-1 March 1801]. The ESE swell had fallen away considerably and the weather was very fine. In the morning, we shook a reef out of the topsails and the *Naturaliste* set full sail, including studdingsails.

OBSERVATIONS

[248] [Table]

[249] 10-11 Ventôse Year 9 [1-2 March 1801]. Cloudy sky and the atmosphere a little misty. Breeze moderate and variable from NE and NE¼E. A long swell setting from NNW.

OBSERVATIONS

[250] [Table]

[251] 11-12 Ventôse Year 9 [2-3 March 1801]. "Over the past few days our chronometers have been malfunctioning. I have not been fully aware of this since I no longer follow no. 38."

A light mist produced a great deal of dampness, especially during the night. Breeze was light and the sea calm, with a northerly swell.

1h30: Course was signalled E¼NE. ~~D~~

OBSERVATIONS

[252] [Table]

[253] 12-13 Ventôse Year 9 [3-4 March 1801]. A happy event. As 3h00, as we were preparing to send a dinghy over to the *Naturaliste*, the wind suddenly shifted to a strong south southwesterly. Instead of wearing ship to starboard, the Commander chose to tack at the first puff of wind, so that when it began to blow harder all the sails were laid aback and we were

obliged to strike them all in a hurry. The sea was still calm! Yet there was no way any mistake should have been made about the squall and the sky: they were threatening and bad weather was on the way. Course was set and signalled E¼SE. We shortened sail progressively and remained under close-reefed fore staysail, foresail and main topsail. At 5h00 the fore staysail sheet failed during a strong gust and the sail was blown out of its bolt-rope. A moment before that happened I has asked [illegible] its sheets and those of the foresail! I immediately gave the order to bend a new staysail and at 6h00 it was set, with double sheets - like the foresail which had been rigged this way when the staysail blew. During the night the *Naturaliste* was a good distance away; we made various convoy signals. The wind was very variable, but always strong and gusty, with steady rain. At 9h45 the fore topsail had been set, close-reefed, but its sheet failed at 18h00 so I had it taken in. The main staysail was also set for some time. At 19h50 the wind, having slightly abated, suddenly changed to ENE; we wore ship at 20h15. The sea was rough, and the wind increased again to its former strength. We clewed up the main topsail prior to taking it in, but it tore. We immediately unbent it and bent and set the main staysail.

21h00: "A young novice named Le Moine, who was helping to take in the main topsail on the windward side, fell into the main-shrouds about a third of the way up and from there tumbled on to the quarterdeck, landing amidst several persons. He sustained only light bruises to his right leg and he took his meal at 11h30 as if nothing had happened. This was one of those happy - and very rare - events.

The quartermaster Dural, who was in the leeward chain-wales, was very nearly washed overboard by some heavy sea. If these two men had gone overboard, we would have been unable to save them.

In France, we had not taken on board a single grain of sand for use in the ship, and today more than ever we felt the unfortunate consequences of this. It was impossible to walk about on deck and more than 30 persons fell over, some hurting themselves."

[254] [Table]

[255] 13-14 Ventôse Year 9 [4-5 March 1801]. Some very violent gusts of wind at noon. Because of their strength, the sea was not particularly rough. In the evening, the wind slackened as it shifted north and north-west, and after midnight it was quite easy.

6h15: The *Naturaliste* was quite distance away to the SW - we could only make it out from the mizzen-top. Course was signalled and set E¼SE. During the night we sent up rockets every hour, but our consort did not respond and at daybreak it was sighted in the distance, bearing W¼NW. From 13h30 until 14h00 there was a lot of lightning in the eastern quarter. From 21h00 until noon we sailed close to the wind under topsails half mast-up. The sky was overcast; there was a moderate breeze and only a slight swell. We bent a new main topsail.

"I think I have already spoken about the poor design of our after hatches, especially around the companion ladder. So much rain has fallen over the past two days that water has penetrated as far as the gunroom."

Today I adjusted Citizen Le Bas' instrument - a copper sextant. It was overstating the reading by 12'30" and ever since the first lunar observations were made after Tenerife I had [illegible] him of this error, which was simply related to the perpendicularity of the small mirror

(because the instrument, although heavy, seems fine to me). This is the instrument that, prior to its rectification, had been used for the lunars that formed the basis for suggesting - even accusing - that my own readings were wrong.

OBSERVATIONS

[256] [Table]

[257] 14-15 Ventôse Year 9 [5-6 March 1801]. During the afternoon we patched the holed sails. The *Naturaliste* joined us at 1h00, and we signalled and set a course ENE. Swayed up the topgallant masts. At 4h00 the *Naturaliste* told us that all of its sails had been torn, and indeed the only old sails we could see were its fore topgallant and mizzen topsail.

The sky was more often cloudy than clear. Very light airs slowly shifted to SSE - it would be good for us if they stayed there.

OBSERVATIONS

[258] [Table]

[259] 15-16 Ventôse Year 9 [6-7 March 1801]. Sea was very calm. Very light airs and cloudy sky. At this speed, we were a long way ahead of the *Naturaliste*. Caught some more lizards over the side.

The *Naturaliste's* bearing was latitude 29º39'S, longitude 54º30'E. We signalled our own longitude as 53º57'E, according to chronometer no. 38.

OBSERVATIONS

[260] [Table]

[261] 16-17 Ventôse Year 9 [7- 8 March 1801]. Course was signalled and set NE. In the evening the *Naturaliste* hailed us: its lunars put it beyond 55ºE. The sky was more often cloudy than clear and had a stormy appearance. The sea was calm, with a slight southeasterly swell. Sighted several tropicbirds. No fish: it seems to be written that we will arrive without having caught a single one.

OBSERVATIONS

[262] [Table]

[263] 17-18 Ventôse Year 9 [8-9 March 1801]. Weather again appearing quite stormy. Some changes in the morning, with light airs and some rain. We took our lunars between the squalls.

The sea was very calm and we sighted several whale calves.

It would appear that the *Naturaliste's* compasses are reading more to the north than ours, since the ship has constantly edged away from us in that direction.

OBSERVATIONS

[264] [Table]

[265] 18-19 Ventôse Year 9 [9-10 March 1801]. At noon, a fresh south southwesterly breeze sprang up, strengthening then shifting and mainly staying in the south. Calm sea over the remainder of the 24 hours, and a cloudy sky. In the evening we took in all of the [illegible] sails and remained under topsails and foresail in order to stay close to the *Naturaliste*, which was carrying much more sail.

Our position, as signalled to the *Naturaliste*, was longitude 56º9' (taken from chronometer no. 38), latitude 25º0'0"S (observed by the Commander). The *Naturaliste* was three cable lengths away and signalled longitude 56º24'E, latitude 25º6'0".

"I had a discussion with [blank]. He claimed and was estimating that the ship was making 8º of leeway. Given the prevailing winds and our course, I suggested that we should not take this into account, because as I showed by our wake the ship was not being affected. The noon fix proved that I was right.

OBSERVATIONS

[266] [Table]

[267] 19-20 Ventôse Year 9 [10-11 March 1801]. Crossed to the north of the Tropic of Capricorn.

0h10: Course was signalled and set NE¼N; at 2h00 we signalled a further change to NNE.

"At about 14h00 we crossed to the north of the Tropic of Capricorn. Longitude according to chronometer no. 31 was [blank] and according to the lunar observations…"

Very fine weather, with the wind gradually slackening. The sea was a little heavier than yesterday. Saw many tropicbirds flying around the two ships.

OBSERVATIONS

[268] [Table]

[269] 20-21 Ventôse Year 9 [11-12 March 1801]. In the evening the *Naturaliste* came over to hail us. Its variations were greater than ours.

Sky predominantly cloudy, with light airs and the sea running a slight swell.

OBSERVATIONS

[270] [Table]

[271] 21-22 Ventôse Year 9 [12-13 March 1801].

0h30: Signalled course N¼NE, and steered accordingly. Weather generally fine although

with some cloud. A long south southeasterly swell was making us roll a lot. The number of tropicbirds around the ships was increasing all the time.

18h00: Course was set and signalled NW. Passed very close to the *Naturaliste* at 21h30, but we did not hail each other.

"All of the preceding and following observations of variation have been done taking great care; it is astonishing to see such differences between the compasses from one moment to the next. The quantity of iron around is very largely responsible for this, and the only reason I feel my observations are accurate is that I make many of them, from [illegible] and [illegible] in the same places.

The mean of these variations indicates that we are to the east of Ile-de-France. When I consult the notebook where I recorded variations on my previous voyages, when we fixed the longitude by reference to Ferdinand Berthoud's marine chronometer No. 2, with its finely adjusted springs,[38] everything suggests we are east of what chronometers nos. 38 and 31 are suggesting.

My aim in taking the trouble to make all these observations is to establish an accurate and useful table.

At noon the longitude shown by chronometer no. 31 (and consequently already affected by what is probably a regular daily difference to the east), put us at 132 miles east of Round Island, at 22º30'S."

OBSERVATIONS

[272] [Table]

[273] 22-23 Ventôse Year 9 [13-14 March 1801]. "At 4h00, while dining, the Commander told me that his intention was to shorten and trim sail during the night so that the ship made only 3-3½ knots. Since I believed that my bearings were correct I proposed that he allow me to con the ships, saying that I staked my life on it - since that was the only fortune I possessed. I said I would proceed under full sail at night and that I knew Ile-de-France well enough to con the ships to their moorings should we arrive before dawn. He replied that he was not tempted by such a venture. I considered that I had done my duty in making the offer!

And yet it was using my observations, indeed even on the basis of a latitude observed during rainy and squally weather using altitudes taken at 10h30 and [illegible], that General Serçay, commanding a division of 4 frigates, arrived at Ile-de-France on the night of 27-28 Prairial Year 4 [15-16 June 1796]. I was on the *Régénérée*, which on the General's orders had been sailing ahead since 2h00 in the evening. At 15h00 we sighted land 2 leagues distant, in very dark weather and when we were making 9-10 knots. The only chronometer in the division was Ferdinand Berthoud's no. 2, which I had adjusted at [illegible] Island and at La Palma; in 84 days it showed a difference east of 11', and my latest lunars were suggesting a difference of 15'."

[38] The meaning of the French text "horloge Marine No.2, a Report de Ferdinand Berthoud bien réglées" is unclear. In this translation "Report" has been taken as "ressort," and the subsequent grammatical error has been overlooked.

Hailed the *Naturaliste* in the evening. The Commander advised that at 8h00 he would set his sails to proceed no faster than 4½ knots and that if the wind strengthened he would heave to. At 11h00 we sailed close-hauled on the starboard tack under close-reefed topsails. The night was dark, with a cloudy sky. At 17h00 we filled the sails and steered W5ºN, under full sail. There was a little rain. At noon there was still no land in sight and according to my latest lunars - increasingly affected by the chronometer error - I reckoned that we were at [blank] miles to the [blank] of Round Island.

OBSERVATIONS

[274] [Table]

[275] 23-24 Ventôse Year 9 [14-15 March 1801]. Sighted Ile-de-France. In the afternoon we made all possible sail, with the breeze moderate though uncertain, the sky cloudy and the horizon hazy. It was only when it cleared up, at 5h00, that we sighted land [illegible] the [illegible] of the middle of the island and the Savanne range. The closest land was at 33 miles, and at sunset we were at about 30 miles. Round Island bore W22ºN and the range taken for the Savanne was at W2ºS (I believe that in fact it was the Bamboo Range). It was very close to the bearing given by my lunars.[39]

8h30: The sky gradually covered over; we took in some reefs and sailed close-hauled on the starboard tack, under topsails and foresail. At 13h00 we went on the other tack and it was only at 17h00 that we stood in for the land. At daybreak we sighted land ahead and at 18h45 the "Coin de Mire" bore W27ºN, distance 24 or 27 miles. Hailed the *Naturaliste* to pass on some orders, and then signalled to it to prepare to drop one of the bowers. It continued to follow us very closely and we were only a little way ahead.

20h00: Serpent Island bore N24ºW. The southernmost visible extremity bore S50ºW, and the westernmost W15ºN.

Noon: We were 3 miles E22º30'S of the "Coin de Mire", with the middle of Round Island bearing N45ºE; this would put us at [blank] latitude south and [blank] longitude east. Dead reckoning since the Cape put us at [blank], so the difference was [blank] of [blank] and longitude on chronometer no. 31 since Tenerife, assuming its daily rate was as determined in Paris and having regard to the fact that it stopped in Tenerife [blank]. This is a difference of [blank] east. The mean longitude of my lunars observed over the last two lunar months, as given by chronometer no. 31 and therefore affected by its error, is [blank], which would give an error of [blank] of [blank].

[276] [Table]

[277] 24-25 Ventôse Year 9 [15-16 March 1801]. Arrival at Ile-de-France. We rounded the "Coin de Mire" standing off about half a mile, but when we were abeam a strong tidal surge suddenly took us a mile away. The breeze was moderate from ESE at the time. We steered for "Canonniers" Head.

0h30: On passing the "Coin de Mire" we noticed a large shipwrecked vessel[#] off the coast,

[39] "Le point de mer distancée" in the French text has been taken as "Le point des mes distances."

[#] *[Translator's note: this footnote appears in the French text].* The shipwrecked vessel is a prize, forced to strand by the enemy. #

near “Malheureux” Point. It appeared to be of American construction. It was lying head to the east, giving a small [illegible] towards the land. It was dismasted and appeared very much run ashore.

1h30: Hoisted our national colours and fired a gun. The fort on “Canonniers” Head responded with a gun and by hoisting the national colours. When we passed by, at about 2h00, it fired another round, powder only, and hoisted and lowered the colours several times. I remembered that at the time of the Serçay Division we responded to the fort with the same signal. I urged the Commander to do this, and we lowered and hoisted our flag three times. I considered we should fly the flag of truce since we were not flying reconnoitring signals. This did not happen and I am astonished, given the colony’s normal practice, that they did not fire on us using live shot.

3h00: A light south southwesterly breeze sprang up, but over the remainder of the afternoon it was very variable and obliged us to manoeuvre continually. It was only at 7h00 that it shifted back from south to east, still light. We sounded as we followed the coast down and had 25, 27, 36, 25 and 23 fathoms, sand mixed with coral. At 8h06, having 16 fathoms, we dropped one of the bowers over a coral bottom. At daybreak the port mountain bore S16ºW [illegible], S15º30'E and the “Coin de Mire” E40º30'N. Calm during the night.

17h30: Got under way with a light southeasterly breeze, under topsails, topgallants and staysails. At 19h30 Citizen Vrignault, the harbour-master and one of my friends, came on board. He had dropped off a pilot with the *Naturaliste* on the way, since that ship was closer in to port. At around 22h00 we entered the port under sail, behind the *Naturaliste*, and dropped anchor near the “Ile aux Tonneliers.”

A Commission from the Colonial Assembly came on board seeking information from us, and it was only after having completed considerable formalities that permission was given for us to communicate with the shore. Captain Baudin went ashore alone in the first place, with the members of the Commission. Prior to his departure he gave permission for the crew to go ashore, and did not order anyone to prepare themselves to accompany him on his official visits, as is normal! In light of this, I went straight away to see my friends.

It is with great pleasure that we all greet the end of this long and difficult crossing - probably the hardest leg of the entire voyage. We like to think that henceforth measures will be taken to feed us better, when possible, and that we will no longer have to rely on what fish we are able to catch over the side in order to eat well! My eye infection is still with me, and to cure it the doctor has ordered [278] proper food and drink, rest and quiet - and above all no observations. I will do all I can to follow these recommendations so I can be in a fit state to continue the voyage.

It will be surprising for some to learn, and I consider that it is necessary to record, that on this day of our arrival eight of our crew members still had nowhere on board to sling their hammocks.

26 Ventôse Year 9 [17 March 1801], in Port North-West *[Port Louis]*, near Cayenne.

OBSERVATIONS

When land was sighted the Commander said to me, “They can say what they like, but my

lunars were the best!" But just take a look at what is in my notebook!!! I wanted to wager him that my observation would be less than 15' off the true longitude, but he did not choose to accept the bet. This shows an enormous amount of pride on his part!!!!!

[279] [blank]

[280] [blank]

[281] Tenerife, Brumaire Year 9. Observations made during the stopover in Tenerife.

OBSERVATIONS

[282] OBSERVATIONS

[283] OBSERVATIONS

Today [19 Brumaire Year 9, 10 November 1800] the chronometers were taken ashore and both were wound up, in my presence, by Citizen Bissy. The various astronomical instruments were not taken ashore, because Commander Baudin had said as soon as we arrived that he would only stay five days in port. I had my Circle.

On the 14th [Brumaire, 5 November 1800] Mr Bissy noticed that chronometer no. 31 had stopped at 11h00. He assumed that he had not wound it enough, having finished at the thirteenth half-turn, as he thought was Mr Baudin's practice - for this chronometer was in his cabin and he alone wound it each day. It was rewound and started, reading one hour's difference from the time shown on chronometer no. 38. However the Commander, who had been informed of this, ordered it to be run out to full chain length so that it was back on Paris meridian time like no. 38. It was therefore stopped again and on the 16th [Brumaire, 7 November 1800], at around 4h00, it was started again to read some seconds after no. 38. That was not the way to ascertain its daily variations.

15 [Brumaire, 6 November 1800]. Citizens Bissy, Boulanger and I attempted to measure the height of Don Joseph Carta's belvedere. The only available place to take the reading was from the shore to the northeast of the mole. We used an artificial horizon. I took all of the angles with my Circle, and we had considerable trouble.

Our base between the two markers was 56 "toises"[40] 4 feet [284], 9 feet above the low-water mark.

OBSERVATIONS

[285] **OBSERVATIONS**

[286] **OBSERVATIONS**

[287] Fit-out and pre-departure Journal, containing notes and observations made during the first six months of operations on the corvette *Géographe*, by Lieutenant Pierre Guillaume Gicquel, embarked on this ship in the Year 9.

[40] Former unit of measure. One "toise" equalled approximately 2 metres.

On 12 Prairial Year 8 [6 June 1800] I received a letter from my friend Beaupré, an engineer-hydrographer and Assistant Conservator of the General Depository of Naval Maps and Charts. He invited me to participate in the voyage of discovery scheduled to take place under the command of Mr Baudin, promised me promotion in this officer's name and suggested that on all of this I see Citizen Commander Maingon, at the time captain of the *Fidèle* and chosen to command the second ship in the voyage of discovery. I contacted him and decided to undertake the expedition with him, provided he in fact was part of it. I informed Mr Beaupré of this.

Two days after my reply Citizen Maingon was ordered by a telegraphic despatch to relinquish command of the *Fidèle* and to assume another command. The [illegible] made it impossible to know more, but he assumed the new command was the *Naturaliste*, which was to be the consort of the *Géographe*, commanded by Nicolas Baudin, the expedition leader. Mr Maingon immediately asked me to call on him to discuss various aspects of the voyage, and I found myself committed to it.

Some days afterwards, Citizen Maingon fell dangerously ill with pleuropneumonia and bilious fever, presenting worrying symptoms. I informed Mr Beaupré of this and said I would consider myself relieved of my undertaking to serve should Mr Maingon be unable to take part in the voyage, since I had only committed to going with him, not with Mr Baudin whose reputation I did not much care for. He replied on 18 Messidor [12 July 1800], urging me to participate regardless of what happened and promising in the name of Mr Baudin that I would be promoted prior to departure and that in addition I would have a choice position as second-in-command of the *Naturaliste*. The promotion tempted me and I promised my friend that I would go to Le Havre. I asked that he arrange for the posting order to be sent to me as soon as possible so that I could spend some days with my family in Rennes and St-Malo. I also sought six months' salary so I could pay my debts. He replied by return post, received by me on 8 Thermidor [1 August 1800], informing me that I would soon receive the order to proceed to Le Havre and at the same time the authorisation to draw the salary due to me. He again assured me of a promotion prior to departure.

12 [Thermidor, 5 August 1800]. I received the order to disembark from the *Indivisible* and to report to the Navy Commander, for orders.

13 [6 August 1800]. I called on General Terrasson, who passed me a letter from the Navy Minister informing me that the First Consul had named Lieutenants Bony, Bastard, Gicquel, Boissy and Jourdasmet,[*] as well as Sub-Lieutenants [illegible], Henry Freycinet, Louis Freycinet, Capmartin and Herisson, to join the *Géographe* and the *Naturaliste* in Le Havre [288]. It also advised that the order had been given to pay our service and any monies owing for Year 8 up to and including 3 Messidor. In this way, the month of Fructidor of Year 7 remained unpaid. The order required me to proceed directly and immediately to Le Havre, and certainly did not include leave to stay for a few days with my family.

16 Thermidor [9 August 1800]. I went to stay in Guipava, where Citizen Maingon was convalescing, and spent that evening and part of the morning of the 17th [Thermidor, 10 August 1800] with him. Up until then I had hoped that he would still be able to make the voyage, but I was now convinced that he was by no means in [illegible]. His health was still

[*] *[Translator's note: this footnote appears in the French text].* [Year 8]

far from restored. I considered this as a very unfortunate sign for the expedition: this learned and amiable man, a fine sailor, was the only one who could guarantee its success! He could never be replaced. From that moment, I had serious doubts about whether there would be any happy outcome from this voyage, which was a fine one in principle but was being entrusted to a man with such a bad reputation.

17 [Thermidor, 10 August 1800]. At 08h00 I took the stage-coach for Rennes, arriving on the morning of the 20th [Thermidor, 13 August 1800]. I left again on the 23rd [Thermidor, 16 August 1800] at 04h00.

23 [Thermidor, 16 August 1800]. I arrived in St-Malo in the evening and stayed with my cousin, the widow Mme Le Febvre, whom I had not seen for 12 years. I had the pleasure of seeing her young son, aged 15, made midshipman 2nd class.

30 [Thermidor, 22 September[41] 1800]. I left St-Malo for Le Havre, arriving at noon on 3 Fructidor [26 August 1800]. I took a room at the Marine Hotel, where several officers from the voyage were already accommodated. I learned that a number of officers who, like us, had been assigned to the Expedition had succeeded in getting out of it.

The Minister's order, as conveyed to the headquarters here, stated that I was to go aboard the *Naturaliste*. Since I could not be no. 2 on that ship - there was already an officer senior to me on board - and especially since the ship did not appeal to me, I wrote to Mr Beaupré asking that he do his utmost to get me excused from this voyage, or at least to have me appointed to the *Géographe*. I did not go to collect my posting order.

My distaste for this voyage was heightened by the disarray I saw on board the ship. It seemed to me that nothing at all had been done to prepare for and ensure the success of an expedition of this nature. Here is what struck me the most: the *Géographe* is a fine corvette, 124 feet in length, 32 feet across the beam and 14½ feet in depth of hold. A ship of this size would normally carry 80-90 tons of ballast, whereas there are only 45-50 on the *Géographe*. There are no bulkheads in the hold except those for the cargo bays, and no cock for renewing the bilge water. There is only one cask tier, holding 250 casks of water, and only 14 casks of wine have been loaded. Four bower anchors have been stowed on the starboard and port pump-well timbers and *[?]*[42]. There is no bulkhead in the orlop. The gunroom space is to be occupied by the midshipmen and the apprentice scientists. The steward's and bosun's storerooms - each very full - are right forward, and behind them two small (five-foot) cargo bays are being constructed for the masters' [illegible] effects. There are 7 cabins on each side under the quarterdeck, but they are small, their fit-out defies common sense and the workmanship is very rough! They are not [illegible], the bed is too wide and a tiny [289] cupboard and a small desk are all there is by way of furniture.* Both the port and starboard desks are aft and there is little light for writing purposes. The ports are 8 inches wide, and could have been 12 without detracting from the ship's qualities. A bulkhead has been placed behind the mainmast, separating the gun deck from the quarterdeck and forming a second great cabin, with the others inside it. This is perhaps the best thing about the fit-out.

The galley, stove and forge are under the forecastle; this galley is approximately that of a [illegible], to which unfortunate changes have been made. The boats will be covered by

[41] Sic. August appears to have been intended.
[42] "Pomeau d'arrier" in the French text is unclear.
* *[Translator's note: this footnote appears in the French text].* [Le Havre, Year 8]

gratings.

The *[?]*[43] is very small and could have been from [illegible] to 10 feet longer without creating any problem; the only opening is a door forward, plus 4 small windows aft that are insufficient for providing either adequate light or fresh air in hot countries. It forms a single apartment that is to be occupied by Captain Baudin alone.

The ship's masts are very tall and not well stayed. There are only 6 shrouds, very close together, on the foremast and mainmast and only 4 on the mizzen mast; in order to make the masts more stable the chain-wales should be extended aft, an extra shroud should be added to each lower mast and a backstay should be added on each side of the three topmasts and topgallant masts. I pointed all of this out and was told that I was correct - but there are no signs that anything will be changed!

We are to embark six 6-pound guns for the gun deck and one field gun. I wonder what the purpose of the latter is. We have embarked 450 roundshot but no grapeshot! I pointed out that the requirement was rather for grape than for roundshot, and it was decided to take some on board.

Five half-tons of iron products have been embarked for use during exchanges. Only about a fifth is flat, with two-fifths round and another two-fifths square. These latter four-fifths will be of no use to the natives, who are unable to work them; it would have been far better only to have strip iron!

There are only 500 pounds of nails, almost all of them very large ones when in fact 80% should have been between one and three inches long.

We have 200 [illegible], when 100 would have been appropriate - or even 50, with the remainder in axes. The natives of the Friendly Isles have always preferred them to [illegible], even though they fit them into handles in the same way.

The *Géographe's* crew is to number 110 men, including 7 Navy officers, 8 midshipmen, 8 scientists, 8 apprentice naturalists, 5 novice helmsmen-artists, 9 helmsmen, 16 masters and master's mates, ordinary seamen of all sorts, 4 cooks and servants. Who then will handle the ship? Of the few crewmembers I have seen on board, half appear to be novices.

The sea compasses to be issued to us are very small and divided into half and half [illegible], which will not give sufficient precision in working out the courses that will provide the basis for the hydrographical charts we are to produce during the voyage. I duly explained all of this, but was not authorised to have any larger ones made. I asked Mr Le Bas to write to Mr Baudin about this matter.

The binnacle is poorly constructed and surrounded by iron! No precautions have been taken to facilitate the taking of fixes. The hammock-nettings have all been extended[44] by the addition of iron stanchions 15 inches long [290]; iron filings have been spread on the poop tarpaulin, mixed with the tar to make a ferruginous paste that is very detrimental to the compasses. I submitted to everyone who had some influence in the fit-out that all of these things needed to be changed, and they all agreed - but not a thing has been touched! Where

[43] "Tengue" in the French text is unclear.
[44] "Exancé" in the French text is unclear but has been taken as "élancé."

are we supposed to take our bearings from? I cannot see a single convenient place to do so anywhere in the ship.

It is said that the azimuth and variation compasses come from Paris. We are to take 10 anchors - 6 bowers, and 2 kedges of 700 and 2 of 300. I assume these latter are for the longboat. We are also planning to take 10 cables, each 5 fathoms long - for what purpose, I wonder?

We are to take 8 months' provisions and a year's worth of ship's biscuit. Half of it is in boxes for the cargo bay, and the other half is in dry casks and will be stowed.

This ship's biscuit has been made in Le Havre by a baker from [illegible], even though repeated trials have proved that this product does not keep as well as biscuit from [illegible]. The water used in their manufacture is the only reason for this.

It was following all of these remarks, which resulted in absolutely no changes that might have helped the expedition to succeed, and seeing that the people chosen for the trip were incapable of carrying out it since they did not try to obtain the essentials for success, that I looked for ways of pulling out of the voyage.

The *Naturaliste* is a store-ship like the *Naturaliste*[45] and the *Rhinocéros.* It has been a little more carefully loaded - by [illegible] - than the *Géographe* - by Le Bas S^{te} Croix. It seems that this poor chap does not know much about it - he certainly does not know how to speak in seaman's language!

I continued going aboard both ships every day, without actually reporting for duty as I was awaiting replies from Mr Beaupré and Captain Baudin. I noted with regret that insubordination was rife in the port amongst both seamen and workers, and one day I was so upset when a carpenter scoffed at and made fun of me when I criticised him that I hit him. He complained to the engineer, but since he was in the wrong it went no further. If every officer in Le Havre did the same, obedience would soon be restored.

Every day, spare cables were loaded and placed in the hold. We also took on crates of merchandise, quarts[46] of wheat and barley flour and 100 bundles of new casks intended for wine to be taken on board at Tenerife - we only took on 14 casks here. The hold was full to [illegible] from far aft right up to the pump-well. The panel was closed up on the 11th.

[*] Citizen Hamelin arrived on the 9th [Fructidor, 1 September 1800] to assume command of the *Naturaliste*. It was difficult to believe!

12 [Fructidor, 4 September 1800]. Citizen Le Bas received a reply from Mr Baudin, informing him that he had received an order from the Minister for me to go aboard his ship, and that he would bring it when he came to Le Havre. I reported for duty as from that day.

13 [5 September 1800]. I received a very flattering reply from Citizen Beaupré, again urging me to participate in the voyage and mentioning the benefits to come out of it. He would prefer me to insist on having the position of second-in-command on the *Naturaliste*, since this

[45] Sic.
[46] It is assumed that the reference is to the old measure for dry goods: 1 quart = approx. 1.37 litres.
[*] *[Translator's note: this footnote appears in the French text].* [Fructidor]

was the place reserved for me, and he asked me to get back to him quickly so he could look after my interests. I replied that I would still seek to withdraw if things did not improve and if I did not obtain my promised promotion prior to departure. I said that I was not keen on the position of second-in-command on the *Naturaliste* because it was taken [illegible] and the ship did not appeal to me - particularly Citizen Hamelin who, according to what I had been told, was a deceitful and nasty man [291] and just as incapable of command as Captain ~~[illegible]~~ Baudin. I like peace and quiet!

[*] 14 [6 September 1800]. The gunroom has been separated from the orlop by containers of ship's biscuit, quarts of barley flour, peas, bundles of sailcloth and caulker's oakum; several [illegible] have been made and the two spare sets of sails have been placed between the bars. Crates of so-called exchange objects, plus material for gardening and botanical studies have also been placed in the hold and orlop, along with various clinched cables. Many of the containers of ship's biscuits were placed on the second tier in the *Naturaliste's* hold - not the way to preserve them.

16 [Fructidor, 8 September 1800]. I was tasked with visiting the forge to check whether the cables being made for us were strong enough. I found that they were much too frail, and would only be appropriate for kedge anchors - the links are only eleven 3-strand lines thick. I discovered six cables in a corner of the forge, each 6 fathoms long and with links of between 15 and 16 lines diameter. I proposed these to the two commanders[47] as being more suitable for our anchors and more appropriate to the ships' weight. I submitted that for each ship three of these cables would be sufficient [illegible] but that each ship could also take two small ones of 10 fathoms for the kedge anchors. It was only after many comments and objections that what I had proposed was accepted, subject however to the approval of Mr Baudin who was still in Paris. He agreed. This means that the quantity of cable has been reduced by half, although this is still three[48] too many because this type does not last well. The cables we had on the *Recherche* and the *Espérance* all failed simultaneously one day, although the sea was not rough - luckily for us since otherwise we would have both run aground. This was in Port D'Entrecasteaux in New Holland.

17 [Fructidor, 9 September 1800]. It was discovered that only two bower anchors remained ashore, so we had to unstow the hold to retrieve one and then stow one of the 700-pound kedge anchors. That is the second disadvantage of having the spare anchors in the hold - the first being that they are likely to break casks stowed down there. Several persons have told me that Captain Baudin's so-called secretary was a Paris merchant named Petitain who was travelling to Ile-de-France in order to look after 100,000 francs' worth of miscellaneous items we had on board. I have read a letter addressed to Midshipman Rançonnet, from Paris, informing him that Citizen Petitain, a merchant, would embark on one of the ships with 100,000 francs' worth of material that he was taking to Ile-de-France. Indeed the number of crates embarked proved that assertion, although the talk in the town was that the officers had [illegible] to embark all of these goods. It is to be feared that this rumour will reach the enemy, and this would compromise the expedition. We proposed to speak to Captain Baudin about it and to have him categorically deny the rumours - if they are in fact lies. It has been said that the two captains would feed their officers and others in the same category and that for this purpose they had been allocated F4.50 per day as well as ship's rations for each of us.

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[*] *[Translator's note: this footnote appears in the French text].* [Le Havre, Fructidor Year 8.]

[47] Hamelin and Le Bas, who both had the rank of "Capitaine de frégate." Baudin was still in Paris.

[48] Sic. It is not clear in the French text what this figure relates to, and indeed the context suggests an error on Gicquel's part.

With such an allocation, we look like being supremely well fed!

19 [Fructidor, 11 September 1800]. Almost all fit-out, exchange and merchandise objects, plus materials belonging to the scientists, were on board and the ship was very cluttered although there were still 18 inches of main hold space left. This goes to show that the ship is not carrying enough ballast and that there is insufficient cargo below decks. It will not carry sail at all well and will roll a lot. This will take a toll on the masts, which are not well stayed.

21 and 22 [Fructidor, 13 and 14 September 1800]. Four cart drivers delivered a very large number of crates containing objects for which no invoices were available. We opened one crate to determine whether it contained some expected sheet metal, required for completion of the galleys. In fact it contained hardware, consisting almost entirely of small door and chest hinges. I have never seen these objects given to natives, but I am aware that they probably sell very well in Ile-de-France.

23 [Fructidor, 15 September 1800]. The sheet metal arrived with a cart driver who also delivered 12 other crates, 5 of which were sent over to the *Naturaliste*. As they were not specifically marked as being for that ship, Mr Hamelin was very reluctant to receive them, but he eventually [292] did so. They contained roof-shingle and other medium-sized nails.

25 [Fructidor, 17 September 1800]. The filters were brought on board and their inventor, Citizen Smith, demonstrated their use to various assembled notables [illegible], Navy administration, ladies, etc. He poured dirty water into the filters - water in which he had left a cow's lung and some vegetables to rot for a period of three days. After three minutes, the water came out clear and limpid like water from a spring. Over 100 persons, including ladies, drank it and found it good. A chemist took away several bottles for analysis and found that it had all of the qualities of spring water except for a little air, making it somewhat heavier than spring water. Citizen Smith showed how to restore its full qualities.

Here, finally, is something very useful for the Expedition! Hopefully the Government will provide two similar scuttle-butts for each ship undertaking a long voyage, because the water normally consumed is foul and harmful, and contributes significantly to crew loss.

It would also be doing a great service to humanity if such filtered scuttle-butts could be introduced into Batavia and other places on Java.

29 [Fructidor, 21 September 1800]. I was briefly in charge of stowing the crates of ship's biscuit in the hold. Since there were many false [illegible] among them, I asked for several crates of non-perishable[49] exchange objects to be opened so the contents could be stowed and the orlop cleared a little. Le Bas[50] pointed to several crates and then left the ship. As these were not enough to fill the available space I assumed that it would make no difference if some others were opened, so I immediately asked for one, measuring about 6 feet by 4 feet, to be opened. I saw that it contained a printing press! I could not stow it so I had another 2 opened. They contained glasses, carafes, small bottles, etc, and I was convinced that these objects - none of which was suitable for natives - were part of the often-mentioned merchandise.

2nd Complementary day [24 September 1800]. We filled the biscuit hold and included the

[49] The French term used, "invariable," is unclear.
[50] Described here as "le Capitaine de frégate provisoire."

contents of about ten opened crates of other goods and about 90 pieces of sail cloth. I had a lot of trouble getting agreement to this, but it was urgent to do so because we had run out of space to stow things.

Among the so-called exchange objects are 15 enormous trunks addressed to Captain Baudin. They were placed in the forward powder hold, along with more crates of ship's biscuit.

I received a letter from Citizen Capmartin telling me that I could not press my case to withdraw from the mission without running the risk of being struck off the Navy list; he said this was the reply given to him by Mr Beaupré. These threats have not yet convinced me to participate, and I still have not begun to prepare myself.

We transferred to the new dock and noticed that the ship was making water. After some searching, the leak was found to be under the port forward chain-wales, about four feet below the water line.

3 and 4 [Complementary days, 25 and 26 September 1800]. We unloaded the ship forward of the main hatch and pumped all the water from the port side so the ship would list to starboard.

5 [Complementary day, 27 September 1800]. We attached outriggers and heaved on the pontoon crane to reveal the leak, which we found by removing several pieces of copper sheathing. It was an [illegible] 18-20 inches long. The hull has been poorly worked: neither paper nor material has been inserted between the planking and the copper, although that should certainly have been done for a voyage of this type. By noon the ship was righted again, with work parties from the various barges giving us a hand with all this work. We took advantage of the circumstances to embark 20 tons of ballast, 10 of them being placed in the wings and 10 in the well. Then we restowed, a little better than before.

During this time, we added an extra backstay to all the topmasts and topgallant masts.

[293] [*] I have been busy over the past few days having a binnacle constructed to my [illegible] design. I have made it 5 feet long, with an area of 17 square inches on either side for the sea compasses and a space of 24 inches between the two for a gimballed binnacle lamp that I am also having made - the costs to be met by whoever wishes to pay. The [illegible] and side panes are 12 inches by ten. In addition to the ordinary [illegible], if one wishes to use them they can be lit from the rear and through a small door between them. Lamp oil is poured in through a small hole that closes by means of a sliding door. A small curved funnel, 8 inches long, inserts directly into the lamp. There are three drawers and three copper flues; the lamp is lead-covered lead. The compass shelf is raised 14 inches above the main bench and the overall height of the [illegible] is 3 feet 9 inches. Mr Baudin wrote to Mr Le Bas from Paris to have me search the shops for suitable compasses. I found none, so promptly ordered some for both ships: 6 sea compasses 9½ inches in diameter and 14 square inches in [illegible], with roses divided into degrees, 4 Magellan compasses of the same size and 4 ordinary compasses.

[*] 1 Vendémiaire [23 September 1800]. We worked on board until noon. The celebration was a sad affair even though it did not rain during the ceremony. Only the military and officials attended - almost all shops were open and the markets were operating.

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[*] *[Translator's note: this footnote appears in the French text].* [Le Havre, Complementary days, Year 8]
[*] *[Translator's note: this footnote appears in the French text].* [Year 9]

3 [Vendémiaire, 25 September 1800]. Capmartin arrived from Paris and told me he had been assured that the voyage would only cover New Holland. He also repeated what he had written to me.

Without making any serious preparations for the voyage, today I nevertheless began to refit the cabin assigned to me because of my seniority - it is cabin no. 1 on the port side. I am paying the worker, and all I am being given are some planks.

4 [Vendémiaire, 26 September 1800]. There was an official announcement of the acceptance of peace preliminaries with the Emperor. All the ships hoisted flags and bunting.

Our figurehead has been installed: it is a cluster of geographical [illegible] and astronomical symbols, topped by a sphere. It is not appropriate for a ship: a fine human form would have been better, and would have impressed the natives more.

6 [Vendémiaire, 28 September 1800]. Captain Baudin arrived in the evening and is also staying at the Marine Hotel. I went to greet him and to report on the state of the ships. He had thought things would be further advanced. He listened carefully to my comments on the ships' fit-out and gave orders that very evening to have things better organised to take account of the sort of voyage we are to undertake.

7 [Vendémiaire, 29 September 1800]. In the morning, I went to see Mr Baudin to discuss my own situation. He spoke about me in glowing terms - not deserved and above all not the sort of thing I like to hear from the mouth of a leader. He gave me his word of honour that he would present me with my Commander's commission on arrival in Ile-de-France, telling me that this promotion was not his decision to take since he already had the commission in his pocket, with orders to pass it to me on arrival in Ile-de-France. I thus relied on his word of honour, and told him that I would arrange to sail with the expedition.

I received a letter of friendship, consolation, advice and encouragement from my friend Beaupré, who told me that I would be struck off the Navy list if I did not sail and that, on the contrary, if I did sail I had a guaranteed promotion that I would receive in Ile-de-France at the latest. That corresponded with what Mr Baudin had said.

The Commander ordered Commander Le Bas to agree with me on disembarking persons considered unsuitable - there are about 40 of them. Currently we have 22 men and boys embarked as helmsmen - but only two know how to steer.

Several scientists arrived. Citizen Boulanger [illegible], a hydrographer on our ship was referred to me by Mr Beaupré, who wrote about him in very flattering terms.

[294][*] 8 [Vendémiaire, 30 September 1800]. In the morning, I accompanied Citizen Baudin to see the compass maker. He rejected all those usually supplied and ordered more of the large compasses that I had asked to be made. He appreciated my judgment in this regard.

The men chosen for disembarkation left and were replaced by competent seamen, pressed from various gunboats. The way to have men who wish to serve would be to go to Brest and

[*] *[Translator's note: this footnote appears in the French text].* [Le Havre, Vendémiaire Year 9]

choose some from the army.

9 [Vendémiaire, 1 October 1800]. Held a practice inspection on board.

10 [Vendémiaire, 2 October 1800]. We worked until noon. Embarked another four cartloads of crates, including the astronomical instruments. I received an order from the Minister requiring me to join the *Géographe* at my rank of Lieutenant.

11 [Vendémiaire, 3 October 1800]. There was talk that we would have moved out into the roads if the wind had been favourable, but it was fresh from WSW, with some squalls. However, even if it had been favourable I believe we would not have moved, because the ships were not yet in a state to put to sea.

12 [Vendémiaire, 4 October 1800]. We bent the sails. The joinery work was finished and a second coat of paint was being applied to the interior. The officers and crew received four months' salary advance, plus two months' back pay.

13 [Vendémiaire, 5 October 1800]. The two Captains began providing food for the officers.

14 [Vendémiaire, 6 October 1800]. We prepared as much as we could for moving out into the roads. In the morning, the wind was ESE-SE, but towards high tide at noon it veered south and then, after high tide, southwesterly. I do not know what would have been the purpose of moving out into the roads - there were still many things to load.

Cabins were allocated as follows:

1	Starboard	Citizen Le Bas	1	Port	Lt Gicquel
2	Starboard	Lt Baudin	2	Port	Ronsard.
3	Starboard	Freycinet	3	Port	Petitain
4	Starboard	Capmartin	4	Port	Bissy
5	Starboard	L'haridon	5	Port	Riedeler
6	Starboard	Maugé	6	Port	Boulanger
7	Starboard	Milbert	7	Port	Leschenault

As it has turned out, the Chief Mineralogist does not have a cabin, whereas the Captain's secretary and gardener do! Many [illegible] other arrangements have been cobbled together in similar fashion.

16 [Vendémiaire, 8 October 1800]. The crates of astronomical, scientific etc instruments were opened. I was given a Circle and a case of mathematical instruments for my own use.

I noted that there was neither a glass, nor mercury for the artificial horizon, nor a sighting mark for use by the engineer. I pointed this out up the line and a request was put to Mr Baudin, who replied that since these things had not been requested in Paris we would do without them; this is not a good argument in favour of his talents.

Having noticed Freycinet walking about the ship in his shirtsleeves, Mr Baudin said nothing but returned to his cabin and wrote a note to Freycinet saying that this was not how one should dress on board a ship and that in future he should present himself more decently. Why not simply have told him this? The Marines were also ordered to stand guard in full uniform.

[295] * Names of officers, scientists and midshipmen on board the corvette *Géographe*, commanded by Captain Nicolas Baudin.

St Croix Le Bas	Commander	
Pierre Guillaume Gicquel.	Lieutenant	Disembarked ill at Ile-de-France
François André Baudin.	Ditto	Ditto
Henri Freycinet Saulce	Sub-Lieutenant	
Jean Antoine Capmartin	Ditto	Ditto
François Michel Ronsard	Marine Engineer	
François Etienne L'haridon	Chief Medical Officer	
Louis Petitain	Captain's Secretary	Disembarked at Ile-de-France
Frédéric Bissy	Astronomer	Disembarked ill at Ile-de-France
Charles Pierre Boulanger	Engineer Geographer	
René Maugé	Zoologist	
François Péron	Ditto	
Stanislas Le Villain	Apprentice zoologist	
Jean Baptiste Claude Leschénault.	Botanist	
Charles Gérard Milbert	Painter	Disembarked ill at Ile-de-France
Pierre Louis Brun	Architect	Disembarked at Ile-de-France
Louis Depuch	Mineralogist	
Anselme Riédelé	Botanist-gardener	
Jacques Nicolas Peureux	Midshipman 1st Class	Disembarked ill at Ile-de-France
Louis Charles Bonnefoy	Ditto	
Pierre André Morin	Ditto	Ditto
François Désiré Breton	Ditto	
Pierre Bougainville	Midshipman 2nd Class	
Charles Baudin	Ditto	
Jacques Philippe Montgery	Ditto	Ditto
Hubert Jules Taillefer	2nd Medical Officer	

Names of officers, scientists and midshipmen on board the corvette *Naturaliste*, commanded by Commander Hamelin.

Bertrand Bonie	Lieutenant	Disembarked ill at Ile-de-France
Pierre Bernard Millius	Ditto	
Louis Claude Freycinet Saulce	Sub-lieutenant	
Jacques St Criq	Ditto	
François Antoine Hérisson	Ditto	
Antoine Picquet	Ditto	
Jérôme Bellefin	1st Medical Officer	
Pierre François Bernier	Astronomer	
Pierre Ange Faure	Engineer Geographer	
Jean Baptiste Bory St Vincent	Zoologist	Disembarked ill at Ile-de-France

* *[Translator's note: this footnote appears in the French text].* [Officers/staff]

Dumont	Apprentice zoologist	Ditto
André Michaux	Botanist	Disembarked at Ile-de-France
Jacques Delisse	Ditto	Ditto
Michel Garnier	Painter	Ditto
Joseph Charles Bailly	Mineralogist	
Asam	Chinese passenger	Ditto
Charles Moraux	Midshipman 1st Class	
J. Billard	Ditto	Disembarked ill at Ile-de-France
Etienne Giraux	Ditto	
Etienne Henry Duval Dailly	Midshipman 2nd Class	
Jean André Bottard	Ditto	Ditto
Jacques Joseph. Ransonnet	Ditto	
Ysabelle	Ditto	Disembarked at Ile-de-France
Colas	Pharmacist (midshipman)	

The total number of officers, scientists and midshipmen on the two ships was 43!!

[296] blank

[297] *12 [Vendémiaire, 4 October 1800]. An inspection was held. Six months' salary was distributed - two for Year 8 and four for Year 9.

26 [Vendémiaire, 18 October 1800]. The two ships left the dock, intending to proceed into the roads, but the wind veered to a moderate SSW breeze and obliged us to return.

27 [Vendémiaire, 19 October 1800]. With the breeze moderate from NE, veering easterly at 9h00 in the morning, the ships set off at 10h15 and rounded the jetties at 10h30. We hove to, port to windward, near the *Naturaliste.* The American corvette *Porsemouth [Portsmouth]*, headed for New England to bring news of the peace, also left the port and got under way. We could see an English frigate bearing NNW. At 11h00, after having embarked our powder and offloaded those not making the voyage, we steered NNW under all main sails, topgallants and jibs. At noon took the following bearings:
Headland at Dives
Cap de la Hève
Cap d'Antifer.

All of the bearings mentioned, and to be mentioned during the voyage, are [illegible] and uncorrected.

27-28 [Vendémiaire, 19-20 October 1800]. At 5h00 in the evening we chose for departure point Ile St [illegible], bearing S45ºW, distance 15 miles.

Latitude 49º43'40"N, longitude 3º22'0"W of Paris. Citizen Bissy, the astronomer, informed me of the daily rate of chronometer no. 38, by Louis Berthoud.

5 Vendémiaire [27 September 1800]. At noon according to the Paris observatory, the chronometer was ahead of observatory mean time by 0h0'18.10", and gains 0h0'1.21" every 24 hours. Between 19 Fructidor Year 8 [11 September 1800] and 5 Vendémiaire Year 9 [27

* *[Translator's note: this footnote appears in the French text].* [Vendémiaire Year 9. Chronometers no. 31and 38 were wound and set in motion.]

September 1800], the mean temperature was 15º, which sped up the chronometer by 0'8.0". Captain Baudin informed me of the daily rate of chronometer no. 31, also by Louis Berthoud.

5 Vendémiaire [27 September 1800]. At noon in Paris, it was ahead of the mean time at the Observatory by 0h0'42.30". Its daily gain is 0h0'2.63". There is no temperature compensation scale for this chronometer. I have copied the scale for no. 38 at the end of my astronomical observations notebook.

From the time we filled the sails we had, as has been seen, headed towards the English frigate, flying our national colours at the mizzen and mainmast and the flag of truce at the foremast. The frigate hove to and at 2h30 we were close; it then filled and hailed to us to heave to. As we were a little slow in doing so it threatened to fire on us if we did not heave to immediately. The guns were trained on us and we came to, port to windward instead of starboard as we had intended. The Commander went on board, taking his expedition papers, and stayed for half an hour. The English Captain, accompanied by a lieutenant, then examined our ship. I was rather annoyed that they should see it in this state, with everything topsy-turvy and no indication of proper organisation.

This frigate is one of the Dutch prizes taken in the [illegible] during the last betrayal. Its name is the *Prosélite*, and the Captain [illegible] had that morning *[?]*[51], travelling from Fécamp to Dieppe.

29 [Vendémiaire, 21 October 1800]. In the morning, I tried out the instrument invented by Captain Baudin for measuring roll and pitch, which we have named an oscillometer. It is a graduated semi-circle, fixed at the perpendicular to a foot 15 inches high, set into a slab. It has a [illegible], at the base of which is [298] welded a lead piece weighing 2 to 3 pounds. It moves very freely on its axis, such that it is always perpendicular to the horizon and registers the angle of movement on the semi-circle. It is set athwartships for measuring roll and fore-and-aft for measuring pitch - since it can only measure one type of movement at a time.

The heeling angle at the time was 7.3º and the pitch was 3.5º. On the same day, the 28th [29 Vendémiaire, 21 October 1800] at 10h3'31"4"', apparent time on board, I observed a quadruple hour angle that gave me a longitude west of the Paris meridian, according to chronometer no. 38, of 4º35'18". Dead reckoning put it at 4º57'21". This is a difference to the east of 22'3", which I attribute to the initial departure fix and to an incorrect course estimate on the part of men who have not yet had time to practise this particularly useful aspect of navigation. The following regulations were posted on board:

[*] Internal regulations to be observed on board the corvettes *Géographe* and *Naturaliste* during the voyage approved by the First Consul and the Minister for the Navy.

Article 1. No one shall perform his ablutions in the great cabin.

Article 2. Officers, and naturalists or other scientists deemed to be part of the officer complement, will share the usual comforts of life on board.

Article 3. Books belonging to the Government shall be available to officers and naturalists, but must not be taken to cabins without express permission from the Captain or, in his

[51] "avait amariné Le Matin un Bateau Sur Son Leste" in the French text is unclear.
[*] *[Translator's note: this footnote appears in the French text].* [Regulation]

absence, the Executive Officer.

Article 4. Midshipmen 1st and 2nd Class may use the above-mentioned books for their general education, but must not remove them from the great cabin.

Article 5. All naval officers, and particularly those whose duties place them in positions of greatest authority, are to provide, and ensure that the crew provides, all required assistance to the naturalists.

Article 6. The success of the mission we are to undertake depends entirely on the unity and friendship established between naval officers and naturalists. Members of each group are particularly urged to avoid any dispute that could become a cause for discontent or disrupt the harmony and good relations that should exist between us.

Article 7. Meal times at sea are set at 10h00 in the morning and 5h00 in the afternoon. No one shall present for a meal without being properly dressed.

Article 8. During a port call, any officer or other person who wishes to go ashore shall so inform the commanding officer who, should he refuse permission, shall note the reasons for this decision in the ship's journal.

Article 9. No one shall have a light in his cabin, and at 9h00 all lanterns, except those required for the ship's service, shall be extinguished.

Article 10. Officers are to pay the most particular attention to maintaining the ship in a state of constant cleanliness, and are to have especial regard for the crew's health.

Article 11. At sea and in port, the crew shall be divided into three watches.

[299] Article 12. Hammocks shall be piped up every morning before breakfast, weather permitting [illegible] in port and at sea, and a laundry inspection shall take place every ten days.

Article 13. In accordance with the orders of the First Consul and the Minister for the Navy, any person - officer, naturalist or any other person in the officer complement - who during the course of the voyage seeks to disturb the peace on board or is insubordinate shall be judged in accordance with the relevant decrees and shall be disembarked at the first port of call.

Done and posted on board the corvettes *Géographe* and *Naturaliste* in Le Havre, [blank] Vendémiaire Year 9 of the Republic. Signed, Baudin.

Observations concerning these regulations:

This suggestion about requesting permission to take books back to one's cabin is damaging as far as education is concerned. The librarian should be the only one to know who has a book, and should be the one to keep track of it.

As concerns Article 9, the nature of the voyage and the extraordinary [illegible] work to be done mean that this article cannot possibly be observed without damage to the outcome. Everyone should have a dark lantern in his cabin, and be obliged to extinguish it each time he

leaves the room.

[*] Upon close examination of the signals, and in light of their combinations and general structure, I could not help making some gloomy predictions about the future of the voyage.

"What struck me especially is that for this voyage of discovery there is no 'land ho!' signal.

It is possible to request a bearing, but no means are suggested of conveying it!

There are no signals to be made with a single flag!

The flags only measure 8 feet by 6 feet; the pennants are 5 feet by 3 and the [illegible] are 10 feet by 1!

The combination of colours is not good, and from a distance it must be difficult to distinguish between them.

I have copied them out both for my own convenience and also to show to experts."

Day signals at sea, prepared for the voyage of discovery to the South Seas under the command of Citizen Captain Baudin.

Article 1. Signal to crowd sail.
2 Signal to reduce sail.
3 Signal to tack.
4 Signal to wear.
5 Signal to go on the starboard tack.
6 Signal to go on the port tack.
7 Signal to sail close to the wind on the port tack.
8 Signal to sail close to the wind on the starboard tack.
9 Signal to sail large.
10 Signal to run before the wind.
11 Signal to indicate that the signal has not been made out.
12 Signal to regain station.
13 Signal to search ahead.
14 Signal for man overboard.
15 Signal to cancel previous signal.
16 Signal of course direction
17 Signal to disregard manoeuvre being carried out.
18 Signal to hoist out a dinghy.
19 Signal to hoist in the dinghy that has been hoisted out.
20 Signal to send over a dinghy.
[300] 21 Signal to pass astern.
22 Signal to open the packages containing confidential orders.
23 Signal to take a reef in the topsails.
24 Signal to take two reefs in the topsails.
25 Signal to take three reefs in the topsails.
26 Signal to shake out all the reefs.

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[*] *[Translator's note: this footnote appears in the French text].* [Signals]

27 Signal to take in the fore topsail, or to fill it if taken in.
28 Signal to take in the main topsail, or to fill it if taken in.
29 Signal to take in the mainsail, or to fill it if taken in.
30 Signal to take in the foresail, or to fill it if taken in.
31 Signal to strike down the topgallant masts, or to sway them up if they are struck down.
32 Signal to assume course, on the starboard tack[52], using sail best suited to conditions.
33 Signal to assume course, on the starboard tack, using sail best suited to conditions.
34 Signal to heave to, backing the main topsail.
35 Signal to heave to, backing the fore topsail.
36 Signal to fill the sails.
37 Signal to bear up.
38 Signal to continue on the same course.
39 Signal to sail alongshore, standing in as close as possible.
40 Signal to stand off.
41 Signal to warn that it is dangerous to approach the land.
42 Signal that tacking is not possible.
43 Signal that a reef is in sight to windward.
44 Signal that a reef is in sight to leeward.
45 Signal that a ship is in sight.
46 Signal that several ships are in sight.
47 Signal of a problem on board, requiring immediate assistance.
48 Signal of a fire on board.
49 Signal that the fire has been extinguished.
50 Signal of damage to body of the ship.
51 Signal of leakage.
52 Signal that the source of leakage has been located.
53 Signal that the leakage has been stopped.
54 Signal of damage to rudder.
55 Signal that damage has been repaired.
56 Signal of damage to mainmast.
57 Signal of damage to foremast.
58 Signal of damage to bowsprit.
59 Signal of damage to mizzenmast.
60 Signal of damage to one of the topmasts.
61 Signal of damage to topgallant masts.
62 Signal of damage to lower yards.
63 Signal of damage to topsail yards.
64 Signal of damage to rigging, requiring immediate repair.
65 Signal of damage to sails, requiring them to be changed.
66 Signal of damage to provisions.
67 Signal that the ship has run aground.
68 Signal that the ship has been refloated.
69 Signal that the ship is in a dangerous position.
70 Signal that the ship is no longer in a dangerous position.
71 Signal that the ship has suffered severely from bad weather.
72 Signal that the ship is making a lot of water.
73 Signal that the ship is no longer seaworthy.
[301] 74 Signal that there is danger ahead on the course being followed.

[52] Sic. Note that the list contained Baudin's own account (*Mon voyage aux terres australes*, p. 104) has this signal relating to the port tack.

75 Signal to alter course immediately.
76 Signal that damage the ship has sustained cannot be repaired at sea.
77 Signal that damage can be repaired.
78 Signal that the ship will put into the closest port.
79 Signal that the ship will lay a course to seek shelter to leeward of the first available headland.
80 Signal to sound.
81 Signal that the lead has had ground.
82 Signal that the lead has not had ground.
83 Signal that there are ill persons aboard.
84 Signal that the illness is not dangerous.
85 Signal that the illness is dangerous.
86 Signal that officers are ill.
87 Signal that some of the naturalists are ill.
88 Signal that the ill persons are convalescing.
89 Signal that a crewmember has died.
90 Signal that an officer has died.
91 Signal that a naturalist has died.
92 ~~Signal~~ Request observed latitude.
93 ~~Signal~~ Request latitude by dead reckoning.
94 Request observed longitude.
95 Request longitude by dead reckoning.
96 Signal to proceed to sight land.
97 Signal to hoist out a boat.
98 Signal to have the boats proceed forward.
99 Signal to bend the cables to the anchor.
100 Signal to proceed to anchorage.
101 Signal to anchor using a kedge.
102 Signal to anchor using a bower.
103 Signal for clearing away for washing below.
104 Signal for double rations.
105 Signal for correction.
106 Signal to request to hail.
107 Signal to decrease water rations.
108 Signal to decrease bread rations.
109 Signal to decrease wine rations.
110 Signal that there are insufficient stores for the sick-berth.
111 Signal to decrease wood rations.
112 Signal to reserve fresh food for the sick-berth.
113 Signal for recognition in case of separation.
114 Signal that the man overboard has been saved.

NB. As these signals are intended for use during the voyage to be undertaken by the corvettes *Géographe* and *Naturaliste*, Citizen Hamelin is requested to make copies of the one I have given him, in case it should be lost.

Each time one of the two ships makes a signal, the addressee ship is to acknowledge that it has understood by hoisting a red flag on the most visible part of the ship.

The series consisted of 24 flags, 4 pennants and 6 streamers. [Signed] P.G.

[302] * Day signals: compass points for course adoption.

When it is desired to indicate a compass point between north and south by the west, the flag is to be above the pennant. When it is desired to indicate a compass point between north and south by the east, the pennant is to be above the flag.

SIGNALS TABLE

List of day signals, at sea.

TABLE

[303] Signals to indicate water depth in fathoms and the nature of the bottom.

TABLE

There is nothing to differentiate the combination of these flags from those of the list of general signals at sea. [Signed] P.G.!!

When it is desired to signal a depth greater than the values given in the table, they should be shown by a pennant between the flags. Each pennant is to have the following values:

TABLE

Day signals at anchor, to be observed by the corvettes *Géographe* and *Naturaliste*.

1 Order to moor with a large anchor.
2 Order to moor with a small anchor.
3 Order to back the small bower anchor.
4 Order to back both anchors.
5 Drop anchors considered to be appropriate.
6 Order to drop a kedge anchor.
7 Order to moor head and stern.
8 Order to moor broadside on.
9 Order to send a boat ashore.
10 Order to reconnoitre a landing spot.
11 Order to sound the coast at the current position.
12 Order to disembark if possible and safe.
13 Advise if the coast is inhabited.
14 Advise if the coast is not inhabited.
15 Advise if the indigenous people are armed.
16 Advise if the indigenous people are not armed.
17 Advise that it has not been possible to meet the indigenous people.
18 Order to disembark tents and instruments.
19 Order to disembark ship's guns and equipment.
20 Order to disembark half of the Marine Corps.
21 Order to disembark all of the Marine Corps.

* *[Translator's note: this footnote appears in the French text].* [Signals]

[304] 22 Order to send supplies ashore for the detachment.
23 Orders to send longboats and other boats to collect wood.
24 Orders to send longboats and other boats to collect water.
25 Order to stop a canoe or other boat.
26 Order to unbend the sails.
27 Order to strike down the topgallant masts and to sway them up.
28 Order to dry and air the sails.
29 Order to disembark the ill.
30 Order to strike down the masts.
31 Advise that the ship's boats are drifting or in danger.
32 Advise that the ship is dragging its anchors.
33 Order to hoist out the boats.
34 Advise that the boats have not found an anchorage.
35 Advise that the boats have run aground.
36 Assent to a request or say yes.
37 Refuse a request or say no.
38 Advise that the signal has not been understood.
39 Pay attention to the signal that is about to be made.
40 Send over a dinghy.
41 Order all dinghies ashore to return to the ship.
42 Order to embark all equipment that is ashore.
43 Order to cease communication with the land.
44 Order to prepare for departure.
45 Order to de unback the anchors.
46 Order to sway up the topmasts and topgallant masts.
47 Order to unmoor.
48 Advise that the anchors cannot be weighed.
49 Order to hoist in the longboat.
50 Order to remain on a kedge anchor.
51 Order to *[?]*[53].
52 Order to get under way as soon as possible.
53 Order to search for deserters.
54 Advise that everyone is on board.
55 Advise that one is speaking with the indigenous people.
56 Order to send out a fishing party.
57 Order to make sail and proceed to a different anchorage.
58 Order to warp out of the port.
59 Order to proceed out of the port under tow.
60 Advise that some crew or passengers are missing.
61 Advise that the ship has found a good anchorage.
61 [62] Request a longboat and crew.
63 Advise that some crewmembers have deserted.

List of signals at anchor. These signals are extraordinary: there is eccentricity right down to the flag colours and numerical order! [Signed] P.G.

TABLE

[53] "Mettre Les voiles Sur Les fils de Carets" is not clear in this context.

[305] Signals for fog and night, at sea. When signals are to be made by two series of gunfire, a flare[54] or rocket is to be sent up between the last gun of the first series and the first gun of the second.

(This first paragraph relates to signals at anchor.) Before and after the signal, and between the two series, flares and rockets are not to be used, but care is to be taken to place the lanterns relating to the first series above those of the second, and in a very visible position. Enough space is to be left between each lantern relating to the same series to avoid confusion.

When signals are made by gunfire, a period of one minute is to be left between the last gun of the first series of signals and the first gun of the second series.

The addressee ship of a fog and night signal at sea is to acknowledge that it has understood by firing two guns in close succession.

TABLE

Either the great guns or the swivels can be used for making signals, depending on how far apart the ships are at the time.

Night signals for compass points.

TABLE

[306] Compass points between north and south, by the east, are to be signalled by flares and rockets fired from the ship to a point where they are most visible. Compass points between north and south, by the west, are to be signalled by flares above lanterns. When it is necessary to signal a compass point between north and south, by the east, at night while at anchor, the signal is to be preceded by a flare before being made. When a compass point between north and south, by the west, is to be signalled at night while at anchor, the signal is to be preceded by two flares before being made. If there is fog, the lantern and flares are to be replaced by rounds from the guns.

Signals for fog and night, at anchor.

When signals are to be made by two series of gunfire, a flare or rocket is to be fired between the last gun of the first round and the first gun of the second series.

The addressee ship of a fog and night signal at anchor is to acknowledge that it has understood by firing one gun.

TABLE

All of these signals are common to the two ships; that is to say that when the Captain of the *Naturaliste* wishes to communicate something he is to do so using the same method I will employ when sending a signal to him. Signed, N. Baudin.

NB The inadequacy of these signals was recognised during the initial crossing to Tenerife and

[54] "Lance" in the French text is not clear in this context, but has been assumed to refer to a flare.

consequently we adopted those from *La Tactique navale*[55]. Luckily I had one copy and Captain Hamelin had another. We increased the size of the flags to 12 feet by nine feet and made the streamers and pennants half as large again. We also reduced the series to 20 flags, with no. 22 becoming no. 16.

Not all of the signals were appropriate to our mission. I had intended to make some for urgent cases, but I only gave to Captain Baudin [illegible] a single flag, as will be seen later. He adopted them.

[307][*] The bad weather experienced on the 29th [Vendémiaire, 21 October 1800] confirmed my poor opinion of our crew. I could see only ten among them who were reliable. The others, apart from some of the masters, are not currently worth the rations they are consuming. It could never - never! - have been imagined that there could be 21 helmsmen in a ship 124 feet in length, 30 feet across the beam, with a crew of 117 - and that among those 21 only the 3 masters and 2 others know how to steer!!!

30 [Vendémiaire, 22 October 1800]. The weather cleared up and for the remainder of the crossing it was fine.

During the first few days after departure, the food served to us was of very poor quality. This was attributed to the bad weather, but when it fined up we had further reason to grumble about what was being served. The response was that the 21,330 francs advanced for 6 months' rations had all been spent, but that was impossible given what we were being served. I wanted the check for myself and managed to obtain a note setting out all of the food brought on board. As I was afraid of losing it, I have copied it into my journal - it can be clearly seen that the following list did not cost 21,333f:

[*] 6 barrels of beef in brine (weighing about 40-50 [pounds symbol] at the most at 30 [illegible] a pound).
5 barrels of daube beef, which went rotten.
6 barrels of another sort of daube beef, one of which was rotten.
3 barrels of sausages (50).
4 barrels of tongues (50).
4 barrels of tripe (30 to 40 pounds).
2 barrels and some pots of butter, all-up weight 200 pounds. 8 [pounds symbol] were given to the masters.
4 barrels of sweet [illegible], all-up weight 200 pounds. / 5 [pounds symbol] of the same.
3 small barrels of rock samphire (which were not touched).
10 small barrels of sorrel (1 was given to the masters).
2 cheeses of the gruyere type. (15 [pounds symbol] were given to the masters and a similar amount to the [illegible].
3 small barrels of oysters in brine.
7 barrels of pigs' feet (partly rotten. One barrel was missing).
100 sausages in boxes (rotten).
50 dried sausages (half were rotten).
50 dried tongues (half were rotten).
25 small hams (several were spoiled).

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[55] See earlier note relating to *La Tactique navale*.
[*] *[Translator's note: this footnote appears in the French text].* [Vendémiaire Year 9]
[*] *[Translator's note: this footnote appears in the French text].* [Food provisions]

4 pots of anchovies.
12 pots of gherkins.
6 of sea fennel (none was consumed, 1 pot was broken).
6 pots of onions (only a part were eaten).
12 pots of sorrel (all spoiled).
2 small barrels of grapes.
12 small baskets of plums (rotten).
4 barrels of lentils.
4 small barrels of string beans in brine (inedible).
2 small barrels of sugar lumps (weight unknown).
1 small barrel containing 80 [pounds symbol] of brown sugar (60 pounds were consumed).
100 pounds of almonds (partly consumed).
8 very small crates of [illegible] (2 were consumed).
1 small barrel of eschalots.
Some small pots of jam.
400 poultry (a quarter of them died due to lack of care).
Minimum quantity of crockery, in Rouen earthenware.
21 demi-[illegible]. (Captain B. commandeered these, like the rest).
[308] * 2000 Corks (none was used)
Coarse linen for the table and galley only (small quantity).
3 dozen pewter spoons and iron forks.
24 coffee cups.
24 pewter coffee spoons.
6 pewter soup/stew spoons.
18 bottles of [illegible] of red cabbage (consumed in part).
12 pigs of various sizes and 6 sheep.
100 pounds of tea (none was used), solely for the steward and the masters.
100 pounds of chocolate (consumed by the masters - with some pounds also for Commander Le Bas).
No good quality wine was embarked for the officers' table. The wine that we drank, [illegible] and [illegible], was actually intended for the sick-berth.

It was the practice to give meat to the masters and midshipmen each time an animal was slaughtered.

Several large handfuls of potatoes, onions and beet were left out on the poop, and anyone who wished to do so could serve themselves.

Even by exaggerating the price of these stores, I estimate the total cost to be 5,500 francs. And I know what I am speaking about because for a long time I served as mess officer. The Citizen Minister for the Navy should ask to see these mess accounts, because they probably will not be resubmitted to us, and are likely to cause problems if I am to judge by what is currently being said.

The stores were supplied by Citizen Le Grix, a merchant-caterer who runs the Marine Hotel in Le Havre. There was expenditure of 7-800 francs on cheese, almonds, Italian pasta and small gherkins bought from a merchant in Paris.

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* *[Translator's note: this footnote appears in the French text].* [Food provisions, contd. Vendémiaire and Brumaire Year 9.]

We were in a precarious situation as concerns water, and were on the verge of rationing it because it was difficult to reach among the large quantity of crates obstructing the hold.

I noted with regret that we had a poor baker, who with very good flour produced heavy and [illegible] bread. The ration was set at 12 ounces, although we had as much ship's biscuit as we wished.

9 [Brumaire, 31 October 1800]. At sunset, when we hove to for the second time to await the cutter that was chasing us, we hoisted out [illegible] the dinghy, ready to send it over. The cutter's uncertain and inexpert handling did not make a very favourable impression on us. It took fright and hauled its wind, while we kept on our course. It observed[56] us from a respectful distance (about 4-5 miles) all night and up to 11h00 in the morning of the 10th [Brumaire, 1 November 1800]. We counted 14 guns, and judging by its uncertain manoeuvring we took it to be a Barbary Pirate - causing us to load the guns on both ships.

11 [Brumaire, 2 November 1800]. At 10h00 in the morning we dropped anchor in Santa Cruz harbour. The Commander informed the *Naturaliste* that the officers would pay an official call on the Governor-General of the Canary Islands. Captain Hamelin and 4 officers came aboard and dined with us. We made an extra effort with the food, and yet these 5 persons thought we were very badly fed. And they were not mistaken - I know about this. In his narrative of the D'Entrecasteaux expedition, Citizen La Billardière says that we were so short of space that up to Tenerife the crew of the *Recherche* could not all be accommodated. He is a little mistaken in this regard: the men were not very comfortably housed but at least they had a spot to sling their hammocks between decks [309] * and to take shelter during bad weather. I wonder what he would have said had he been aboard the *Géographe*, where half the crew do not have a place to go and are obliged to sleep on the gratings, amidst a jumble of things that could not be stowed elsewhere. He would have protested, and he would have been right to do so! It would be easy to stow everything we have on board and still have ample room for the crew, but it would require a knowledgeable man to set about restowing everything in the ship.

At 5h00 we paid an official call on His Excellency the Governor-General of the Canaries, Don [blank]. He was the only person to whom the Commander presented us. We then separated and I went to call on my old acquaintances.

On this voyage I made very few observations of variation because our azimuth compass is in very bad repair - it does not even have a double base, and the variation dial moved about extraordinarily. I propose to try to adjust it during my stay here.

12 [Brumaire, 3 November 1800]. In the morning at 9h57'41"40"' and at 10h19'59"36"', apparent time on board, I observed the longitude using the two chronometers. No. 31 gave a mean longitude west of Paris of 18º29'28"9"', and no. 38 gave 18º58'43"52"'. According to the tables our anchorage is at 18º35'39"0"'. Accordingly, no. 31 is showing a variation of 6'11"0"'W, and no. 38 a variation of 23'5"E.

We do not have a temperature compensation scale for no. 31. I am assuming that, provided its mechanism has been corrected for temperature effects, the error will be nil.

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[56] « Onsevé » has been taken as « observé. »

* *[Translator's note: this footnote appears in the French text]* [Tenerife, Brumaire Year 9. Chronometer error observed at Tenerife, and verification.]

Although no. 38 showed an error of 23'5" in 37 days, I do not conclude that it is a poor timepiece. My only observation is that both chronometers were transported by carriage from Paris to Le Havre, and this might have affected their mechanisms.

13 [Brumaire, 4 November 1800]. The naturalists began their activities, establishing the observatory on the belvedere of Don José Carta's house. Only the chronometers, Reflecting Circles and variation compasses were taken ashore: the Commander's plan to stay at the island for just a few days meant that other astronomical instruments required for proper observations on land were not disembarked.

Changes were made to the galleys because they could be used neither for frying nor for roasting, and gave off much more smoke than normal galleys.

We also sought to put some order into our very strange rig. I think that henceforth it will be less bad.

The poor quality of our boats - about which I was so vociferous in France - was finally recognised. It is to be hoped that many similar comments I have made will help to bring about changes, which are essential if the voyage is to be a success.

The Commander had assigned me temporarily to astronomical work. On the 14th [Brumaire, 5 November 1800] I accompanied the engineer, Boulanger, and the astronomer, Bissy on an assignment to measure the height of the belvedere on the Carta house. We took a base of 56 "toises"[57] 4 feet on the beach, and I measured the required angles with my Reflecting Circle (no. 84). The height angles were taken using an artificial horizon. It was very uncomfortable and I was hindered by beached boats, which may have prevented us from obtaining a perfectly accurate elevation. My approximate result was 113 feet 90 for the elevation of the windvane above point A, 113 feet 215 for the elevation of the windvane above marker B, 96 feet 439 for the elevation de corner of the observatory above A. The tide was out and there was approximately 9 feet perpendicular difference between the markers [310] and the sea. This would give an approximate elevation of 105 feet 439. At noon on this day, the 14th [Brumaire, 5 November 1800] Citizen Bissy noticed that chronometer no. 31 had been stopped for over an hour. He found the cause, namely that the Commander, who usually kept the chronometer in his cabin, normally only wound it thirteen half-turns, which was not enough to fully raise the chain. This chronometer is much more difficult to wind than no. 38, which was kept in Citizen Bissy's cabin, and when he was up to the sixteenth half-turn, he met more resistance than usual and consequently thought that it was fully wound, which was not the case since it only ran for 23 hours. I am sure he wound it on the 13th [Brumaire, 4 November 1800], because I was present.

Citizen Bernier, the astronomer on board the *Naturaliste*, disembarked his chronometers. The *Reina Louisa*, which had been in my convoy from India to here in Thermidor [illegible] Year 6, when I was on the *Régénérée*, was now sailing under a flag of truce. In the evening, it embarked 107 prisoners whom it was to convey to Gibraltar, and we took this opportunity to send off a number of supernumerary crewmembers, including Marçon and Martin, novice helmsmen and supposedly illustrators. We should have got rid of a dozen or so more in the same category. The *Naturaliste* offloaded 10 and it still had a number who were suffering from the pox. From our anchorage the extremity of the mole bore S59º30'W, distance half a

[57] Refer to earlier note for an explanation of "toises."

mile, with the middle of the spire of the main church at W30º11'S, St Juan headland at 47º31'S, the steeple of St Francis at W6º35'S, the new fort on the hill at N21º27'E, the eastern part of the fort at N24º31'E and Naga Point at E13º33'N.

The starboard anchor was in 23-fathom water, muddy grey sand, and the port anchor was in 16 fathoms, same bottom. We were moored NE-SW.

15 [Brumaire, 6 November 1800]. The truce ship got under way but the French Consul, Boursonnet, had forgotten to place on board a crate of insects addressed to the Minister for the Interior, so he asked for one of our dinghies and at 1h00 I sent it off ~~[illegible]~~ his secretary. The truce ship was by then approximately two leagues to the SSE but it came about and stood back into shore. The dinghy managed the rendezvous, returning at about 4h00.

At 7h30 in the evening we tested our rockets: only one out of seven produced a proper star-burst.

16 [Brumaire, 7 November 1800]. Embarked twenty casks of ration beer.

17 [Brumaire, 8 November 1800]. Embarked 10 casks of local wine, each containing approximately 55 "veltes."[58] It apparently cost 80 piastres a cask and was all that was available. It is, however, insufficient for a voyage of this length since only a few casks of French wine remained - only 14 had been embarked in Le Havre. Yet wine was hardly so scarce in Tenerife that we needed to be restricted to such a small amount. One of my friends could have supplied 100 casks at 65 piastres each. Perhaps it was a lack of space that prevented our taking on more - but then why load beer rather than wine?

We worked at restowing everything that had been unstowed.

In the following days we worked at repairing the shrouds. The longboat and large dinghy were hoisted in.

19 [Brumaire, 10 November 1800]. The Governor hosted a dinner, inviting the two Captains along with four officers. I attended together with Le Bas, Bissy, Bonie and S^{t} Cricq: Hamelin did not attend. [311] We learned that the prisoners had taken over the truce ship and were sailing it to Barbados. They had landed some Spaniards and French citizens at Gran Canaria.

20 [Brumaire, 11 November 1800]. The Marquis of Nava made a gift to the two officer corps of 136 large cabbages and some fruit. I was told that he had also given some wine and liqueurs, but I saw none of that.

At this time, we were only waiting for a boat to bring us some supplies from Gran Canaria.

The astronomical instruments and chronometers were returned on board. The ladies from the Boursonnet household visited the ships.

In the evening Citizen Reideler, the botanist-gardener, was carried aboard. In an attempt to climb a rock to reach a new variety of plant he had slipped and fallen about 25 feet. He had

[58] One "velte" (an old measure of volume) was the equivalent of approximately 7.6 litres.

injuries to his legs and hands[59] and in falling had collided with his assistant, dislodging a sliver of rock that had split the boy's head. Their lives are not in danger from the incident.

21 [12 November 1800]. An English brig arrived in port. It had been taken as a prize by the privateer *Mouche,* had travelled from Canada and was loaded with flour, grains and [illegible]. It made a false manoeuvre and fouled our cable with its anchor. Despite our quick work in clearing it, we noticed that a strand of the port cable had been cut about 7 fathoms from the clinch. There was also chafing, caused by the bottom, about 7 fathoms from the clinch. We discovered the damage as we were unmooring.

[*] 22 [Brumaire, 13 November 1800]. In the morning, we weighed the port anchor with assistance from a Spanish longboat. The boat from Gran Canaria arrived towards noon, bringing 2 steers, 100 squash and 40 hens. They were the only fresh supplies embarked, and during our stopover we had eaten what we had brought with us from France - except on the 12th, 13th, 14th and 15th [Brumaire, 3, 4, 5 and 6 November 1800] when we went to the market to buy provisions for those days only.

20 [Brumaire, 11 November 1800]. Le Bas[60] ordered me, in the name of the Commander, to take charge of getting the ship under way on the day of our departure, and to choose any officer I wished to be my no. 2 for the operation! In accordance with this extraordinary order, I chose Citizen Capmartin and at 3h00 I got the ship under way in the presence of Captain Baudin, who was on the quarterdeck. Le Bas was below, with the cables. I admit that this order seems very strange to me.

[*] Results of my observations.

Because of lack of time, combined with an almost constantly cloudy sky and unclear horizon, I was unable to make observations that were either unquestionable or sufficient to draw conclusions about the accuracy of the marine chronometers. Moreover the accident to no. 31 - having twice run out to the full length of its chain and stopped - would have made setting it accurately impossible. (On the first occasion, Citizen Bissy had set it as close as possible to the mean time in Tenerife but the Commander had required him to reset it to Paris time; this required it to run out a second time.) So it was only by following the difference we had observed while at anchor in Santa Cruz that I ventured to conclude, on 11 Brumaire at 21h52'35"11'" mean time on board, that no. 31 had gained on mean time at the Paris meridian by 0h1'12.61" in 36 days and 23 hours, thus by 0h0'1.964" per 24 hours. This is what I propose to use during the next leg.

[312] I also concluded that for mean time on board of 23h6'57.78" and mean time in Paris, no. 38 had gained (after correction) 0h2'17.04" in 36 days and 23.7h, or 0h0'3.70" per 24 hours. By relating this and the reading from no. 31 to earlier observations, the longitude of our anchorage would be 18º35'40". The astronomical tables put it at 18º35'39". I noted, in the comparison between no. 31 and no. 38 during the crossing, that between 26 Vendémiaire [18 October 1800] and 10 Brumaire [1 November 1800], no.38 gained 3.3" over no. 31, plus the effect of temperature, which gives very nearly the difference found via the rectification noted above. On the 11th, 12th and 13th [Brumaire, 2, 3 and 4 November 1800], there was a

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[59] "Rains" in the French text has taken to be "mains" rather than "reins."

[*] *[Translator's note: this footnote appears in the French text]* [Departure from Tenerife.]

[60] « Le Capitaine de frégate"

[*] *[Translator's note: this footnote appears in the French text]* [Nautical observation.]

small retrograde difference suggesting that no. 38 had slowed. And indeed I found that from 11 Brumaire [2 November 1800], at 21h52'35.13" mean time, to the 18th [Brumaire, 9 November 1800] at 21h28'38.63", according to reliable observations taken on board the ship, which is 1h 14'22.60" to the west of Paris, no. 38 had lost 0h0'18.02", or a daily loss of 0h0'2.58". The mean temperature for these seven days was 18.7º, which gives a correction for loss of 0h0'1.12", so the clock's real loss would have been 1.46". It was brought on board again on the 20th [Brumaire, 11 November 1800], and on the 21st [Brumaire, 12 November 1800] I [illegible] observed a reasonable hour angle on board, at 21h49'48.75", which following that of the 18th gave me a loss of 0h0'3.35", or 0h0'1.113" per 24 hours. The mean temperature was still 18.7º (a loss correction of 0h0'1.120") and consequently a nil daily rate.

Was it the ship's movement that caused this change, or a problem with the observations?

I believe however that it will retain this daily rate, or will lose time, because today, the 26th [Brumaire, 17 November 1800], as I update the entry, it had lost (after corrections) 5.04" compared with no. 31. So is it no. 31 that is fast, or no. 38 that is slow? I still tend to think that it is the latter, because as the temperature was [illegible] only at noon I am only counting the correction at noon and it is almost always greater in the evening than at noon - which would increase the correction and bring the two chronometers closer together.[61]

The observations made ashore were faulty, and I determined the daily rates I am giving to the chronometers on the basis of the observations made on board on 18 Brumaire [9 November 1800] at 21h28'.63"mean time, or 18 Brumaire at 22h43'1.23" in Paris.

No. 31 was gaining on the latter meridian by 0h2'42.60" and no.38 by 0h2'35.12". I will take the daily gain to be 0h0'1.964" for no. 31 and 0' 0" 0"' for no. 38. I will only take temperature effects into account.

When we are near landfalls at sea I propose to refer to the daily rates determined above, so as to be on the alert and avoid any incidents. I will certainly refer to them if I come across any major difference between my observations and the chronometer readings.

12 Brumaire [3 November 1800]. Based on two quadruple hour angles taken near the meridian I determined the meridian angle to be 46º14'5" and 46º 13' 58". As the depression was 22 feet I determined the latitude of the anchorage to be 28º28'34"N. On the 22nd I took another quadruple angle and 3 more doubles, again near the meridian, giving me meridian angles of 43º18'34.5", 43º18'30.7", 43º19'2.3" and 43º18'29.7". As the depression was 13 feet this gave a latitude of 28º28'43.4", or (taken together with the earlier determination) an average of 28º28'38.7"N.

[313] Based on the meridian correction tables, and by estimating the *Géographe's* distance from the mole, I would have obtained a position of 28º28'52". Had I measured this distance, and if the horizon had been perfectly clear, my observations would have been more accurate, and certainly more in line with this last-mentioned latitude.

Observations of variation taken on board, on the poop.

13 [Brumaire, 4 November 1800]. In the morning a quintuplet azimuth reading produced a

[61] "Reprocher" has been taken as "rapprocher."

bearing [illegible] NW of 14º29'20". On the 15th [Brumaire, 6 November 1800] a sextuplet reading produced 20º4'56"; then on the 16th [Brumaire, 7 November 1800] an octuplet gave 19º9'36" and on the 19th [Brumaire, 10 November 1800] a sextuplet produced 20[º]55[']16["]. The average of these 4 observations was 18º39'47". The substantial difference between the extremes (6º26'56") can only be attributed to the large amount of iron present on the poop, and to the iron filings used in the waterproof sealant on the [illegible] tarpaulin. Before we left Le Havre I had commented that this would have a noticeable effect on the compasses and I advised that the tarpaulin be removed immediately. No attention was paid to my comments, but these latest observations prove that I was right. I made other comments at the time, just as pertinent as the ones mentioned, but I was preaching in the desert! The person in charge of all of this was an ass in terms of the profession! When I observed the variation on the 13th [Brumaire, 4 November 1800] the weather was reasonably fine and the horizon clear enough for carrying out this operation; the sea was calm and the ship was not moving. The compass remained constantly between 38º0' and 38º50', and then at the 6th observation it suddenly jumped to 41º. I only counted the first five, which were from east to south. On the 15th [Brumaire, 6 November 1800], when the weather was again suitable, the compass was steady but there was a very large difference between these readings and those of the 13th. On the 16th [Brumaire, 7 November 1800] I had taken an azimuth reading prior to the one I calculated, with the compass showing a retrograde sun movement from East 55º40' South to East 53º South; I rejected this observation. The following one, when the compass was reasonably steady, produced a variation of 19º9'36" NW. On the 19th [Brumaire, 10 November 1800] the weather was once again suitable and yet the compass, after having shown 58º10' and 55º45,' retrograded to the East 55º South. What else could be to blame for this recurrent phenomenon, other than to the large amount of iron present all around the ship, especially on the poop and the quarterdeck? Some people commented that the variation was local! I would be happy to agree, but I note that it should not be large enough to produce a variation of 6º26' for a change of 10 fathoms, which was the most that the ship was swinging at anchor. On the *Recherche*, in October 1791, we had an average of 18º7'7" NW, while in Messidor and Fructidor of Year 6 on the *Régénérée* I had 12 sextuplet azimuth readings with 6 [illegible] where the extremes differed by only 0º45' and the mean variation was 17º36'10" NW.

Even though our azimuth and variation compasses are not very good, I resolved that during the crossing I would make a large number of observations for insertion into the table that I began on the *Recherche*. I also decided only to observe latitude by means of altitudes taken very close to the meridian. This is a sure means of always having correct latitude, and is a method I have used consistently since the voyage on the *Recherche;* moreover it is the one best suited to the Reflecting Circle.

* Remarks

Several people have told me that the volcano had been dormant for about 18 months. Given the way it erupted one would never have believed it would [314] stop after so short a time.

Since my departure from Tenerife 26 months ago, the Spanish Government had sent 4,000 smartly turned-out, disciplined troops to the Canaries. They have been useful in containing those Gran Canaria inhabitants who had wanted to throw off the yoke, become independent and thereby escape a situation which had seen greedy priests and some nobles take control of the island's produce, selling it back to the less fortunate at exorbitant cost. Tenerife was

* *[Translator's note: this footnote appears in the French text]* [Remarks]

feeling the effects of this deplorable racket, but the Governor-General, Don [blank], a man of integrity and honour, has been able to put a stop to it. Produce from Gran Canaria was beginning to return to Tenerife, although it remained very expensive, including food. I also noted with pleasure that the General was setting about beautifying the town of Santa Cruz; restoration work was in train everywhere and a good deal had already been completed - much to the benefit of pedestrians because roads now have solid stone footpaths, some 5 feet wide, on each side. About a fortnight ago, some Spanish peasants found the very well preserved body of a [illegible] king in a cave. Since foreigners have started to buy these mummies the Spaniards no longer mutilate them, whereas 15 or 20 years ago they happily smashed and insulted the remains of these unfortunates, justifying this as sacred work because the people were heretics.

Several of our scientists have obtained various extremities from these [illegible] - an arm here, a leg there, or a head, all of them very well preserved. In France, if a charlatan had possessed such a body part even 10 years ago he could no doubt have made a fortune by making all our fanatics believe that they were the remains of a great saint.

Moral standards in these islands are very lax, especially since a large number of troops have been present. We warned our crews of this and several members had occasion to regret not having heeded our wise advice. A bright historian would have a good deal of material should he wish to study and describe the morals and customs of the inhabitants of the various islands in this archipelago, since their discovery. Suffice it to say that I am told the inhabitants of Lanzarote are the laziest in all of Spain (and consequently the laziest on earth)! The men constantly sit around smoking or playing, and the women do all the work both inside and out.

The inhabitants of the other islands also have national and quite distinct characters.

[*] 2 [Frimaire, 23 November 1800]. At 7h00 in the morning it was very calm. We sent half a slaughtered steer over to the *Naturaliste.* The younger Freycinet was in the dinghy when it returned, and as he was not appropriately dressed he did not dare call on the Commander straight away but went to his brother's cabin to tidy up a little. Half an hour after arriving he went to pay his respects, but the Commander replied that there was no Commander on board for him! The Commander gave the coxswain a letter to deliver to Citizen Hamelin, ordering him to confine Freycinet to his cabin for two days!

The Commander wrote and signed the following note.

Captain Hamelin returned my dinghy at the request of Citizen Sub-lieutenant Freycinet and this officer, who presumably is very new to the service, had no sooner come aboard than he disappeared and I would not have had the pleasure of seeing him had it not been explained to him that it was extremely rude to come aboard a ship at sea without presenting oneself to its Captain. [315] To ensure that he does not commit a similar act of rudeness or absent-mindedness in the future, I wrote to Mr Hamelin to order the officer confined to his quarters for two days. The letter describing the facts and this officer's behaviour can be found in my journal. Signed, Captain N. Baudin, Commander.

This is an example of the spiteful acts that distressed everyone, demonstrating that the Commander knows nothing about the nature of brotherly love. Anyone who knows the two

[*] *[Translator's note: this footnote appears in the French text]* [Frimaire Year 9. Event]

Freycinet brothers know they are incapable of impoliteness or dishonesty.

3 [Frimaire, 24 November 1800]. I have had proof that no one on board knows how to take altitudes or even how to use their instruments.

[*] Over the following days, I created some signals that were appropriate to the mission's objectives and could be made with a single flag at sea. I presented them to Captain Baudin, who accepted them and said he would use them after leaving Ile-de-France.

1 Man overboard.
2 The man overboard has been rescued.
3 Agree to a request, or confirm that the request or order can be met.
4 Deny a request, or confirm that the request or order cannot be met.
5 Signals unable to be made out, or cannot be understood; repetition requested.
6 Signals seen and understood.
7 Warn of danger ahead.
8 Danger sighted to starboard.
9 Danger sighted to port.
10 Have been hit; prompt assistance requested.
11 Order to change tack as quickly as possible and in the most convenient way.
12 Order to bear into the wake of and follow the leading ship closely and to conform to its manoeuvres when entering a fairway.
13 Order to pass ahead in order to navigate through a known danger.
14 Order to boats that have been sent ashore to return immediately to their respective ships.
15 Order to send immediate help to a boat that is in danger or being attacked by natives.
16 Bottom is good and there is sufficient depth of water for the ships. NB The boats will use this signal when they are sounding ahead of the ship.
17 Bottom is unsatisfactory or there is insufficient depth of water for the ships. NB The boats will also use this signal when they are ahead of the ship.
18 Stand off at an appropriate distance. During calm or storm, this will be one mile; during easy weather it will be two or three cable lengths; and if it is for the purpose of taking joint bearings, the distance from the coast will determine the distance required between the ships for fixing the various points.
19 Close up without fail.

In doing this, my intention was to adapt for our particular use the signals made by a single flag, at anchor, as well as the first 67 general signals. The Commander told me that he would see to it, and this gave me pleasure.

[316] [*] It can be seen from the log that the winds, calm and currents have considerably impeded our progress during the crossing - as almost always occurs during this season.

14 Pluviôse [3 February 1801]. Towards 09h 15 in the morning, the sky was overcast. We sighted land, thought to be somewhere near the Cape of Good Hope, although no point was very clear - there was cloud cover everywhere and the wind was fresh. At noon it was thought that Cabo Falso was sighted, bearing 41ºNE, distance approximately 15-16 leagues. I doubt very much that it was this particular cape. The mist blanketing the land prevented any

[*] *[Translator's note: this footnote appears in the French text]* [Signals.]
[*] *[Translator's note: this footnote appears in the French text]* [Frimaire, Nivôse and Pluviôse, Year 9: from Tenerife to sighting of Cape of Good Hope.]

other point from being seen. I observed the latitude by means of altitudes taken very close to the meridian and the average of a quadruplet angle gave me 35º8'41". When that is matched on the plotting chart with the bearing of Cabo Falso (about which I still have doubts) at N15ºE, we would have been 46 miles offshore and at 16º17'30" longitude east of the Paris meridian. By referring to the longitudes observed today at noon, chronometer no. 31 would give [illegible], taking account of its average daily rate from Paris to Tenerife (and bearing in mind that it had stopped in Tenerife) a longitude of 15º0'17"E. Thus, it would have registered a difference east of 1º17'13". However, taking account of the daily rate determined in Paris and the difference found in Tenerife (and the fact of its having been stopped) the longitude would be 15º14'27" and the difference east would only be 1º3'3". For its part, and according to the daily rate presumed at Tenerife, chronometer no. 38 gave a noon longitude of 15º47'1"E - a difference east of 0º30'29". But according to the daily rate determined in Paris and taking into account only the difference determined in Tenerife, the noon longitude would be 16º17'18" - a difference east of only 0º0'12". And according to the average daily rate from Paris to Tenerife the longitude would be [blank]E - thus a difference of [blank] of [blank].

This verification remains doubtful because we are not certain of the headland that we sighted. We were too far from the coast - we should have stood in to a distance of three leagues; I had often mentioned this to the Commander.

I followed very closely the temperature compensation scale for chronometer no. 38. It is unfortunate that we do not have such a table for no. 31. I believe it to be equally as good as no. 38, but when comparing them - as I do every day at noon - and being careful about noting the temperature, I believe that men more learned than I am could easily relate the variations of this excellent time-piece to the real longitudes of the places we are to visit. I also believe that we could have a very accurate daily rate if we were to stay 30 or 40 days at Ile-de-France.

The estimated longitude at noon on the 14th [Pluviôse, 3 February 1801], calculated from Tenerife, was 30º28'20", which gives a difference west of 14º10'50". This difference is enormous, but I have several good reasons for minimising it somewhat. In the first place the hourglass used after departure from Tenerife and up to 14 Nivôse [4 January 1801] was short by 0'3", which is one-tenth of 30." Since the difference in longitude was to the west by about 10 º at that time, I believe I can safely deduct one degree, which is the [illegible] and would reduce the difference found at landfall to 13º10'. Secondly, I have consistently noted that when we were sailing close-hauled, insufficient allowance was made for leeway. I have made an arbitrary correction of 1º for this error, reducing the difference found at landfall to 12º10', which I consider to be within a degree or so of the real difference experienced. This is still very considerable, and I attribute it largely to the strong [317] currents caused by outflows from rivers on the African coast, where the rainy [illegible] only finishes in November. Even though Captain Hamelin claimed that he had no dead reckoning error at landfall at the Cape, some of his officers told me they had 10º. We are not the first ships to have experienced this.

Some people on board had results showing somewhat less difference than mine. However, as I had no reason to alter my reckoning, I have always marked it down as it appeared. Since 14 Nivôse [4 January 1801] I have been careful to check the log at least every ten days, and also to make frequent checks of the hourglasses.

[*] During this crossing we have only gained one day on the long voyage we made in the

[* *] *[Translator's note: this footnote appears in the French text]* [Remarks]

Recherche and the *Espérance* when, having left Tenerife on 23 October 1791, we were within sight of the Cape on 15 January 1792. We have not encountered any strong wind or rough sea since leaving the Channel, and while we have recently taken some reefs in the sails, this has mainly been to prevent the *Naturaliste* from labouring, or simply as a precaution.

The *Naturaliste's* poor sailing qualities, compared with ours, have contributed significantly to increasing the time taken for the crossing. This is despite the fact that it set as much sail as possible in its efforts to keep up - often to the point where we feared for its masts.

There is no doubt that the ships will make better headway once we have offloaded the great quantity of crates and trunks destined for Ile-de-France, which are an enormous impediment! They take up so much room that there is not enough remaining space in the orlop and under the gangways to accommodate everyone. Some seamen have to sling their hammocks under the forecastle, where they are just above the pigpens and exposed to all their foul odours. When we were within sight of the Cape, at least ten of them had no place at all - they slept on the hatch gratings when it was fine.

Some crew have been on the sick list and it is surprising that we have not had more, because cleanliness has been ignored both inside and out. There are five dogs, which continually foul the quarterdeck - especially the coils of rope. The gun deck is always dirty and damp; everyone disposes of their rubbish there and it is only cleaned in the mornings, as are the galleys and pigpens.

The [illegible] is in the middle of the gun deck alongside the walkway pillars. This is very inconvenient, and at Tenerife it meant we had unbelievable trouble winning our anchors. We could not secure the nippers and the cable constantly slipped on the messenger. One main reason why the gun deck remains damp is that the scuppers evacuating water from the quarterdeck and forecastle pass through it. In addition, the manger from the head empties inwards instead of outwards and this water, in which all manner of rubbish is washed, constantly runs over the forecastle and walkways and from there into the gun deck. If this is not fixed, I fear the consequences for the crew, especially when provisions start to deteriorate.

The trip has seemed very long to all of us - especially to me - and the shortage of fresh food has contributed to this. From the time we left France only salted meat and dried vegetables were served at the morning meal, and a month after departure from Tenerife the only thing served at the evening meal was a single piece of poultry - not a lot for 19 persons! This is except for the [illegible] and the ten-day period during which we were served a reasonable meal and [318] four bottles of good wine (which I was assured was wine intended for the sick-berth - and this is probable since none was embarked for the table and only 42 cartons for the two ships; I think that the *Naturaliste* only obtained 14). I swear on my honour that we were not this badly off when we served in men-of-war, when we received no extra rations and were obliged to contribute our own supplies if we were to live reasonably! Since the First Consul had granted us extra rations of 4 francs 50 centimes per day each, and had advanced the sum of 21,330 francs for six months, it is certain he did not mean us to be treated badly, especially not at the beginning of the voyage.

Had it been properly managed, the small amount of fresh food on board could have lasted a lot longer. However, the responsible officer knew nothing at all about it; Le Bas sought to be generous, but it was much to our detriment. He let everything go to waste - some 20 [illegible] of potatoes, onions and beet belonging to the midshipmen and us were left

unsupervised on the poop, where anyone could simply serve themselves. The same happened with the cabbages and 100 large squash we had obtained in Tenerife. Consequently after 40 days none of this remained; the masters, who had eaten ours, gave us two [illegible] of onions and potatoes, and when we were in sight of the Cape they gave us a quarter of squash! Is that not incongruous? If these vegetables had been stored they would have lasted for a long time. But there was no space for them! The crates took up all of the available [illegible] room.

(Nineteen persons in the officer complement need to be fed, and the only person available to serve us is a - rather dirty - novice. Yet there are several people on board who are far less useful than 3 or 4 good servants, who would have been included if some thought had been given to what was practical.)

Five days after leaving Tenerife, we began to be served coffee after dinner. Accordingly, a 90-pound barrel of sugar was opened but a month later it was empty and the only sugar remaining in the mess was 14 loaves from another barrel. At that point Le Bas, who was charge of stores management, commandeered the stock and decided that there was insufficient sugar to last as far as Ile-de-France and that we could only have it every second day - even though coffee would still be served every day (so those who wished to could have sugar on the odd days)! Is not this a regal way to treat men who are paid 4f50c per day? Moreover, this same man used this same sugar for his own purposes - every morning he invited 3 or 4 persons (not from the mess - they were helmsmen!) to have tea with him in his cabin. He came and offered me some sugar, as if it were his to distribute. I refused to accept it - as I did the syrup nominally for crew on the sick list, which he also offered me.

Since this journal is for my personal use only and is not to be submitted to members of the Government except in a case of dire need, I am including notes for the purpose of memory-jogging, not for disclosure to anyone. It is with this in mind that they have been written - especially the next one.

On departure from Tenerife, each of us received a bottle of beer in our daily ration. We found it good on the first few days, but very weak after 10 days or so. This lasted for about 20 days, with the beer getting progressively worse. Several of us looked into this and discovered that the holdsmen had been authorised to dilute the beer with one-third its volume of water and that the steward put in about another $1/6^{th}$ on his own account, which meant it was about half water. Armed with this information and with proof, [319] my messmates asked me - as the most senior - to make representations in their name to the Commander. Initially he seemed to doubt the truth of my report, but when presented with my proof he called Le Bas, who was abject enough to reply to the Commander that he had done this because he feared the men would become drunk! I was not present when he gave this reply but the Commander relayed it to me, adding that he had sorted out this distribution problem because he was perfectly sure that no officer was capable of getting drunk, especially with a single bottle of beer. I let the matter drop, but it seems to me that the Commander was completely unaware (at least I believe so) that the crew had never had more than a quart and a half of beer, rather than the half bottle due to them according to the regulations. On one occasion the second master - to my acute embarrassment - asked me about this. My fear of subsequent grumbling made me reply that I was not completely familiar with the regulation but I thought that when the beer was very strong only a quart and a half was to be distributed. He was not taken in by my reply, since he responded that they had often had a half-bottle of the best beer; and indeed, when the Government makes regulations it does not do so with poor quality stores in mind, but on the contrary it provides for the highest-quality produce.

This vile and despicable dealing yielded up savings of three casks, which have been hidden and reserved for consumption by Le Bas, because he does not drink wine (though he does drink liqueurs). Two other casks are in the storeroom, reserved for sick list; apparently these are the last two on board!

At table we have always had 12 ounces of fresh bread, and - like all of the crew - unlimited supplies of ship's biscuits. The midshipmen and first and second masters had half a pound every two days, and the crew twice every ten days. I was unable to discover how the masters obtained more, but was told they ate bread with every meal. This would not be very surprising, however, because the storeroom remained open all day - the key was never collected after rations distribution, as is normal on voyages of this nature, where the smallest amount of waste can have disastrous consequences. Five hulking storeroom rascals were continually hanging around, and these men are known to have creatures with whom they cook up various schemes, often at everyone else's expense.

The supplies intended for the sick-berth are no better cared for than the *[?]*[62] for the table - a good deal was spoiled. Of 200 bottles of syrups of all kinds, 50 fermented and were lost while the rest were put into general circulation. They were not placed under the doctor's supervision, and most people served themselves! The jams, also supposedly for the sick-berth, suffered the same fate; a large crate of jam was stored upside down for two months, so that when it was opened the contents had all dried out and much had been lost - whatever could be rescued was served at table.

All of the plants were still in good condition when we reached the Cape; 50 walnut and horse chestnut trees that had been planted on leaving France were doing very well.

During the crossing people did what they could to pass the time. However, no one was able to do any serious or scientific work, because although time was set aside for recreation there was such a din with comings and goings in the great cabin and under the quarterdeck that it was impossible to concentrate on any intellectual work. Le Bas had nominally put himself in charge of discipline, but either through weakness or laxness he was unable to impose himself.

[320] Astronomical work was in no way encouraged. The Commander was the first to make fun of the young gentlemen who wished to practise making observations. Accordingly, they felt discouraged.

As we left France the Commander appropriated the various accounts of expeditions intended for the libraries, and locked them in his cabin. No one dared approach him for permission to read them. The only things remaining in the library were some [illegible] books and the old edition of the *Encyclopedia*. These were available for everyone to take as they pleased - the key was always there, with no one in charge of it!

During periods of calm and light airs, Citizen Maugé passed the time by hauling a seine over the side, netting a variety of molluscs, jellyfish, Portuguese men-of-war and other rare and curious small fish. The Commander's people sketched them all and by 14 Pluviôse [3 February 1801] some 110-112 drawings had been completed. A few days before this, the Commander had told me one evening that in the narrative of his voyage he would far rather

[62] "Adaubayes" in the French text is unclear.

see a sketch of a mollusc than a landscape of some unknown island. This statement startled me!

Between parallels 34 and 35 south, from longitude 2º30'W to 5º40'E, we caught large quantities of small shelled creatures, about the size of a little finger and shaped like a turtle. The shell is thin, transparent, brownish-coloured and very fragile.

13 Pluviôse [2 February 1801]. At noon, when we were at approximately latitude 34º4' and longitude 13º54'E, we found the sea extraordinarily changed, apparently indicating the presence of shoal water. This had begun at about 11h00 and from that moment we were aware of a disagreeable tidal smell. There were layers of fish spawn around, which perhaps explained the smell, and many birds - particularly "manches de velours"[63] - had set down on the water. We saw algae and towards 2h00 we sighted a common seal. All of this [illegible] either shoal water or proximity to land. All the seamen I have known who have passed through this area have told me that they saw this colour of the sea and these various indicators. At 3h30 the Commander ordered us to sound at 110 fathoms, but we had no ground. By then the sea no longer had the green-black colour it had at noon, and I believe that had we sounded at that time we would have had ground, probably quite deep.

Harmony and good relationships continually reigned between the officers and scientists. Each person was very correct in doing his duty.

[*] The Commander had begun his correspondence prior to our arrival off the Cape. It was known that he had written disparagingly from Tenerife about the scientists, and the person who had discovered that wanted to see whether on this occasion he was writing in unfavourable terms about anyone else. This person came across the following letter and informed us about it. Discussions ensued and these became known to Captain Baudin who - in order to prove, as he said, that he was not criticising us - sent Le Bas[64] to us on 4 Pluviôse [24 January 1801] with an extract from the letter he is writing to the Minister. Le Bas read it to us in his cabin and then read it to the midshipmen, leaving the copy with them. We all inserted it into our journals, and since we all stand accused everyone made their own comments.

Copy of a letter from Captain Baudin to the Minister for the Navy and Colonies, as provided by the author to his officers and midshipmen.

Observations	Minister for the Navy and Colonies
(1) The conduct of these officers must be known to the Minister from the reports of Captains under whom they sailed previously. They have a distinguished reputation in the Navy, and two of them previously commanded corvettes. The Government's views on the midshipmen [321] do not seem to me to be [illegible].	After having acquainted you with the officers on my staff whose conduct and personal merit are beyond reproach, I leave it until a later date to report [321] on those whom I have not yet mentioned. But the same will not apply in respect of the midshipmen, in whom the Government had placed high hopes. The task, which you

[63] See earlier note relating to this bird.

[*] [*] *[Translator's note: this footnote appears in the French text]* [Copy of a letter from Captain Baudin to the Minister for the Navy.]

[64] The original text reads "son capitaine de frégate."

The remainder of the expedition [illegible] will be able to prove this.

Before despatching a report that is unfavourable and harmful to everyone, the proper thing to have done would be to promulgate a routine order setting out how the Commander wished duties to be performed; failure to follow these orders could then have been punished. But Captain Baudin said nothing, and the midshipmen performed on board the *Géographe* exactly the duties they would have performed on board any naval vessel.

(2) With Mr D'Entrecasteaux the midshipmen dined with the officers, and those on the *Géographe*, who are by no means as well treated, have given no reason to be excluded from taking turns dining with us. The practice gave pleasure to all concerned. When I asked, on leaving France, why there were no midshipmen at table I was told it was because the table was too small. However, I thought I detected at the time that it was actually because we had very few supplies. Even then, we were only being served ship's rations for breakfast. What followed proved that I was correct, since a month after leaving Tenerife fresh provisions for the evening meal consisted of a single chicken for 19 persons.

(3) The Citizen Minister is not unaware that these young gentlemen are educated, since he made them undergo testing by the Examiner-General in St- Malo, and it was only after having passed that examination that they received their sailing orders. During the voyage their watch officers made them go aloft to take in reefs and to strike down the topgallant masts. That was what was expected of them - nothing more was prescribed - and if the Commander expressed any dissatisfaction at all, it was to tell an officer on one occasion that he should not compromise himself by speaking to a midshipman. The measures he intends to take to bring them back into line (although they were never out of line) consist of

have required of me, of providing you with an exact and impartial account of their progress in navigation and of their conduct on board dictates that I must tell you things as they are, and while it is not pleasant for me to have nothing agreeable to report, I retain the hope that the desire for promotion will engender in them the desire to learn. (1)

Prior to departure from Le Havre I had begun the practice of inviting two midshipmen to dine with me each day, and it was my intention to continue doing so. But after having discovered that I had begun far too early I suspended the practice, and that remains the situation at the time of writing.(2)

None of those who joined the ship lack knowledge, and they are even quite well-disposed. However very few have applied themselves during this part of the voyage to the business of learning the practical side of working and rigging ships, because most of the officers supervising them are too young to appreciate the usefulness of such knowledge. The dissatisfaction I have expressed on several occasions has been to no avail, and if the new measures that I intend to implement are not more successful, they alone will be responsible for the lack of progress [illegible] made during the voyage. (3)

Furthermore, several factors inevitably contribute to a situation in which young gentlemen wishing to join the Navy will turn out to be mediocre officers. These factors should be addressed by the Government, and the more I consider the organisation relating to Navy midshipmen, as well as the responsibilities of sub-lieutenants and lieutenants in respect of these young gentlemen, the more I am convinced of the need for regulations setting out precisely what the Navy's expectation is in each case. The draft regulations that I am forwarding may perhaps seem too severe to you, but if you consult persons who have learned by experience and who have the

sending them all over to the *Naturaliste*, in return for all those on that ship: he told me so himself!

(4) This is what the Commander is really driving at - being critical of the Navy as a whole. How can he go so far as to propose a set of regulations, when he knows none of the existing ones [~~illegible] or any~~ or any of the decrees? He even seems to doubt that current officers have all passed the entrance examination and have been subjected to questioning, by competent people, on all aspects of Navy service. He even questions the Minister's own wisdom and knowledge by suggesting that he is not capable of judging his own work. This is offensive!

(5) Every service has students of the same age or even older than higher- ranking officers. It cannot be otherwise, and closeness of age naturally leads to conduct that is more familiar. However, such familiarity is respectful and in no way harmful to the service! Never in the former Navy was there as much distance between the higher ranks and others as today. Duties [322] were not carried out any less well, and were less painful than today. It is true that duties have never been carried out as meticulously as today.

If it is a crime for an officer to have taken a midshipman by the arm, [illegible] of the Commander, why did the Commander not reprimand this officer? There was weakness in failing to do so.

All of our conversations with midshipmen on watch were about riggings and ship manoeuvres. But the Commander thought otherwise by reading lips (this is his own expression). He says that we were only talking about insignificant matters. Proof that this so-called familiarity (which did not exist!) in no way interfered with duties is provided by the fact that, notwithstanding the *Géographe's* unbelievably bad fit out, the ship sustained not the slightest damage. The officer whose moral principles he has glory of nature and the prosperity of the Navy at heart, you will think otherwise. (4)

As they are too close in age to the sub-lieutenants and even the lieutenants in the current Navy, today's midshipmen soon establish with these officers the sort of close links [322] that prevent the proper performance of duty and are detrimental to the learning process. As they are friends right from the first meeting because they have similar leisure interests, familiarity grows to the point where more than once I have seen midshipmen take the arm of their watch officer and wander about together, even in my presence on the quarterdeck. Others only ever drew apart from a more senior (but equally indulgent) officer with much regret, and even with some anger, when I interrupted their habitual conversations - on subjects that clearly evoked some shared pleasures. (5)

In fact, behaviour on board the *Géographe* has been reasonably correct since our departure from Le Havre, and my only complaint relates to the manner in which the young gentlemen are asked to perform their sea duties. When they are on duty, the officer of the watch uses his relationships to keep them close to him, and should it occasionally be necessary for them to separate it is never for long and the watch is spent either in useless conversation or in walking around in the desire to see it finish. (6)

In former times, student officers were required to visit the upper rigging, and often those who wished to learn did not consider it beneath themselves to give a hand. But today, when one can become an officer without practical knowledge of the rigging, midshipmen regard this detail as useless - since the officer who has preceded him had no practice in it. (7)

Their off-duty time is better organised, but remains at the discretion of the officers - the officer of the watch is also the recreation

the baseness to question is Lieutenant Baudin, who is of outstanding merit and who does whatever he can to pass on his skills to his student, Bougainville. Those who know him require no further explanation. (6) I reiterate that since the Commander had not prescribed any other duties for the midshipmen, they were made to perform the duties stipulated in the decree. When manoeuvres are carried out, where should the midshipman go if not nearby his officer? Especially when we were a league or two ahead of the *Naturaliste*! Do not walks on the quarterdeck lend themselves to supervising manoeuvres? And who does not welcome the end of his watch, especially if it has been difficult and tiring? (7) I have never seen a student officer haul on the rigging, and I am astonished that such a knowledgeable man should consider that an officer's education consists of knowing how to haul a rope! They did often help with stowing, but Mr Baudin does not speak of that - perhaps he fears that the stowing of his *Géographe* might be quoted back at him! (8) This time was not supervised by the Commander but rather it was on the advice of the officers that the young gentlemen used their time as described. I was the one who set them to [illegible] calculating azimuths and lunar distances, since I was the only one at first to do so, and in ... [#]	officer. All of them have journals, which are quite well kept and initialled by me each month. They are beginning to be familiar with the calculations of azimuths and distances, and in fact I would be happy if only they applied themselves - or rather were made to apply themselves - to learning ship [illegible] and manoeuvring. (8) Certified true copy of the original extract. Signed, N. Baudin.

[#] [323] Throughout the crossing I personally took some 7/8 of the observations. The young gentlemen did the calculations; they applied themselves to that, but very little to taking the actual observations because the Commander had several times made fun of anyone attempting to do so and this had discouraged them.

During our watches, we spent our time talking about manoeuvres, evolutions and rigging, thereby - though without realising it - conforming to the views of the Minister for the Navy. If the Commander's taciturn and disagreeable nature had allowed him to question us on the conduct and capacities of his midshipmen, or had he actually questioned them himself, he would not have needed to write this trivial letter, which in the end can do harm to everyone - even to himself. (8)

From the time this letter began to circulate on the ship there was incredible disgust and

unhappiness. Mr Baudin was henceforth seen as a spiteful person, making pre-emptive accusations against others in case he should fail or seeking to take all of the merit should the voyage succeed. This was not at all how General D'Entrecasteaux went about things! His actions were unfailingly good and paternal towards everyone.

Beyond the Cape of Good Hope

The voyage was progressing, but without any word about the essential changes required to on-board arrangements at Ile-de-France. These changes that were necessary if we were to be able to continue this interesting voyage with some chance of success. I often mentioned my suggestions to the Commander and made a written summary, which he allowed me to submit to him on 28 Pluviôse [17 February 1801]. It was as transcribed below:

[*] Draft on-board arrangements for the corvette *Géographe*.

As the mission's objective is both to collect natural history specimens and to carry out geographical observations, it is required to venture into unknown or at least seldom-visited waters. This implies a need for constant vigilance and a state of preparedness to cope with the frequent and unforeseen events that can occur during a voyage of this nature. I had experience of this during the voyage of the *Recherche*, under the command of General D'Entrecasteaux.

For the corvette *Géographe* [illegible] in a state to venture into unknown parts without risking either the ship itself or the safety of the individuals in its crew, many changes are required to current on-board arrangements. I have recorded those I consider essential, and propose to submit them to the Commander.

Exterior of the ship

The crossing from France to Ile-de-France has provided sufficient opportunity for us to assess the weakness of our crew and the imperative need to strengthen it with good seamen. Prudence dictates that we should dismiss the men who are useless or close to it, because they consume supplies that need to be very carefully managed. There should be 100 working crewmembers, which means that, with officers, scientists and servants, the total on board should be 125, or at most 130.

It is also considered necessary to fix an extra shroud to the lower masts, especially on the mainmast, and to lengthen the chain-wales. All of our cables and anchors are under-strength in relation to the ship's size. Our largest anchor weighs only 2,600-2,700 whereas it should weigh 3,000, and my view is that our sheet anchor should be 3,200-3,300, with a 16-inch cable so that if we need to drop it we can be sure of being solidly anchored and thus of being able to avoid danger. It would not be any more difficult to weigh than a slightly lighter one, but if weighing were a concern then it would be possible to supplement the main capstan by turning the anchor buoy rope around the small capstan. No anchor, irrespective of its weight, could resist such force.

Geographical work requires the constant use of compasses, especially of the heavily magnetised type. This makes proximity to iron a significant problem - even at some distance,

[*] *[Translator's note: this footnote appears in the French text]* [Draft rearrangement]

since it has been noted that these instruments have an active [324] * range up to 14 feet, and commonly of 8 feet. The slightest inaccuracy in their use for obtaining navigational fixes can cause large errors in the production of charts and consequently in the placement of landmasses. It is therefore imperative to remove anything that can restrict and even prevent their effectiveness wherever they are used in the vessel. To this end the poop tarpaulin, which is impregnated with iron filings, must be removed. * # All the poop and quarterdeck stanchions should also be removed - removing the latter would have the dual advantage of making it easy to [illegible] and to see over the rails. #

Iron gratings should also be removed. Wooden hatch gratings serve the same purpose, since both need to be covered by a tarpaulin when it rains.

The exhaust cowl stanchions could also be replaced by red wood stanchions obtained from Ile-de-France. This wood is very strong and would scarcely be less solid than iron.

It could be objected that some people might fall overboard if there is no railing around the poop! My response is that in frigates, where they also feature, the poops cover the gunwale and are enclosed only by simple 8-inch stanchions, roped together so that anyone who slips can be prevented from going overboard. Furthermore, the *Géographe's* poop has the advantage of being *[?]*[65] in a waist 10 inches high, which is sufficient to allay any fears that might be held by seamen working the mizzen or spanker. Anyone else who might have fears about venturing on to the poop is either not a seaman or not someone who needs to go there; he should therefore avoid doing so because he would only be getting in the way of the work for which the poop was designed. However, the two removable stanchions on the counter-rails could remain, because if bad weather were to occur during work a rope could be attached to them from the mizzen stern shroud, making a good guardrail. Or else a 4-6 inch batten could be nailed to the gunwale, or inside a plank that would [illegible] the waist by this amount along its full length to form a height of 12-14 inches - more than enough.

Since use of the poop needs to be maximised, it would be possible to run the main-brace to the side and to construct simple hencoops, 12-14 inches high, running the full length of the poop. This would not hinder any work being performed there. Bearing in mind the need always to be [illegible] for any event, thought should be given to the working of the capstan. It needs to be free from clutter so it is readily available for both heaving in the anchor (the messenger should always be fitted) and housing the topmasts (the top ropes should always be rove through it). I therefore propose to place the scuttle-butts and filter forward of the stern bulkhead, on the middle grating - it does not open and these things would not be in the way. The scuttle-butts could also be reduced in size: they are much too large for the ship and if they were smaller they would also be easier to move if the need arose.

The fire pump could be placed aft of the forward bulkhead. The midshipmen's large crockery locker could be put in the gunroom, which would be more convenient for them.

If it is necessary to have plants outside all the time, the two tubs could be placed against the poop bulkhead; if they were enclosed in wood it would be easy to ensure they did not suffer from the sun or from work going on.

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* *[Translator's note: this footnote appears in the French text]* [Proposed rearrangement]
* *[Translator's note: this footnote appears in the French text]* [Carried out #]
[65] "Encoffré" in the French text is unclear.

If the skiffs were placed in the mizzen chain-wales, the large gratings would be freed up and it would be easier to work the ship.

I consider that our boats are too small and too heavy; it is desirable to obtain bigger and - especially - lighter ones. A whaler's dinghy [325] * would be very good astern and another good dinghy could replace one of the skiffs. It is essential to have a good sailing dinghy when coastlines need to be reconnoitred several leagues away from the ship: this enables difficult situations to be handled and native canoes to be outrun if need be: it is a question of crew safety. Our current boats have no [illegible] good quality [illegible].

Gun deck

The gun deck needs to be clear so the cables can be handled easily. For maximum ease, I would find it very useful to have two small gallows constructed, each 3-4 feet high, one placed near the forecastle and the other in place of the [illegible] at the foot of the mainmast. The ship's largest extra spars could be placed here, and around the longboat. The gallows' forward extremities would be just aft of the galleys and they would be longer than the quarterdeck bulkhead, obstructing part of the present door. However, since that is a double door it would be a simple matter to use the wing that is currently closed off. Communication with the gun deck would similarly be free, and the space in the bulkhead around the spare spars could easily be filled so that light is kept out.

I believe this arrangement to be the most suitable, because it would not adversely affect the ship's stability and it would be possible to pass underneath the spars to the bulkheads, even with the largest barrels. Furthermore, the height would enable many tubs of plants or other material to be placed underneath.

The lower capstan needs always to be ready, just like the upper one. Therefore, the tubs currently situated under the quarterdeck need to be moved out of the way of the capstan bars, and the tables should be dismantled as soon as we reach unknown waters. Otherwise, hands would be needed to either move or dismantle them - whereas everyone is needed to work the ship in an emergency, when great activity is required. Consequently, the officers should dine in the great cabin and the midshipmen in the gun room, as happens in all frigates.

To avoid the need to dismantle the pigpens, and to ensure they do not impede working the cables, they could be made 2½-3 feet wide and placed along the sides, from a position forward of their current location down to 1 foot forward of the second gun-port. This would be enough space for a great number of them.

The masters could have their station on the starboard side, forward of the cabins, and the three young gentlemen whom the Commander employs, together with the two apprentice gardeners, could have a table there. However, they should on no account have their lockers or trunks down there, because the gun deck needs to be able to be carefully cleaned and (especially) easily dried as soon as it has been washed - it has been demonstrated that dampness is especially dangerous for seamen. In order to restrict dampness as much as possible, the scupper used to take water from the head via the interior needs to be closed off forthwith. I cannot imagine how anyone had the idea of constructing a scupper from the head in such a way as to run this water, in which the foulest things have been washed, through the

* *[Translator's note: this footnote appears in the French text]* [Draft ship's refit.]

interior of the ship. The water is always dirty, foul smelling and dangerous! It would be very easy to cut another scupper on the outside, or to do away with that part of the waist forming a drip-pan.

Our large capstan is not very easy to use, due largely to its cylindrical shape. It could be reduced by some inches at the top (the bottom would not have to be altered), and this more conical shape would allow it to give slack virtually by itself, or at least very easily. This work, like the rest, could be done on the spot by the ship's own workers and thus would not be costly.

Interior

I would like to see the gunroom reduced[66] from its current length, and for it to sleep only the seven midshipmen and three or four scientists who do not have cabins. If it housed fewer people, the stairway [326] to the gunroom would not be constantly clogged with comings and goings, the noise of which, more than anything else, prevents those under the quarterdeck from working even if they are in their cabins. Everyone would have his own place! It seems certain that when the serious work begins there will be a great need for such peace and quiet.

Two cargo bays would be constructed forward of the gunroom, stretching right across the beam and separated by bulkheads from each other and from the gunroom and orlop. The furthest aft would be about 6 feet long and would contain only food supplies; the second would be 12-15 feet long and would be for light crates of exchange goods and for all spare sails, if possible. The exit would be via the orlop, whereas the exit from the first cargo bay would be through the gunroom. There would be a door between the two, for use as required.

[*] The two anchor cables and two hawsers would be flaked down forward of this bulkhead; the sheet anchor cable and the others would be in the hold. All the light [illegible] and sweeps currently kept by the railings would be placed in the starboard and port wings. Any that were too long to be brought in through the hatches could be passed through the gunroom gunports and via the previously-mentioned doors [illegible] in the in stowage bay bulkheads.

The surgeon's post would be maintained, and since there would be enough space to swing all the hammocks each crewmember would have his numbered space and his own hammock. Lockers and a smaller number of trunks would be at hand and in fixed places.

The hold

The anchors cannot be better placed or be any more at hand than standing up in the hatches.

There is a need for a bulkhead separating the spirit and water storage rooms. The spirit room would be forward, near the main storeroom, and would only need to be big enough to hold the spirit supplies (probably mainly eau-de-vie), which would not take up much space. However, it should also be used for vegetables, rice in barrels, oil and butter, whose usage could balance what is used from further aft in the ship, keeping the ship at about its optimum sailing trim.

Access to the hold would be possible via all of the hatchways.

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[66] « Diminuée d'un barreau » in the French text is unclear.
[*] [Les [illisible] ont Etés placés ainsi.]

The consumption of fresh stores needs to be managed differently from what has been done to date - especially in relation to various precautions on which I could elaborate in due course.

The assignment of duties, discipline and cleanliness all require measures different from those implemented up to now. However, this can all be sorted out when we leave Ile-de-France. [Signed] P. Gicquel

NB Light consumable items could also be kept in the small forward stowage bay, to be replaced by natural history specimens as they are used.

I did not wish to enter into other, smaller, details that I had often mentioned to the Commander. In particular, he promised to have work done on our sea compasses, to do what he could to obtain others and to take on 20 tons of ballast.

I consistently shared my observations and remarks with my friend Ronsard, who like me saw the need for substantial changes in the ship's set-up.

In light of a few minor incidents amongst some of us in the wake of his unfortunate letter to the Minister, the Commander assembled us in the great cabin on 1 Ventôse [26 February 1801] and read out a letter from the Minister for the Navy, forming part of his orders. He directed that the letter be incorporated into the logbook, and we all made copies. He said that his orders were to inform us of the letter's contents only after we had reached Ile-de-France, but that in his opinion the circumstances required him to let us see it now, since it was a means of restoring peace.

[327] * Paris, the seventh day of Vendémiaire Year 9 [29 September 1800]

The Minister for the Navy and Colonies[67] to Citizen Captain Baudin, Commander in Chief of the corvettes *Géographe* and *Naturaliste*.

I have already sent to you the document providing your special orders. I urge you to adhere closely to it, since it complements other documents you have received dealing with the various matters to which you should pay particular attention during the voyage you are about to undertake.

Citizen, the Government has spared nothing in order to provide you with the means for successfully carrying out the interesting mission with which you have been entrusted, and it is now your responsibility to implement, by your prudence and care, what the Government has prepared.

The country is entrusting to you the lives of a great number of your compatriots; you are to be both a leader and a father to them. On a number of occasions you will appear as the representative of the Government, and thus [illegible] numerous obligations will be imposed upon you.

The First Consul holds the view that the sole means of ensuring the complete success of your

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* *[Translator's note: this footnote appears in the French text]* [Copy of letter from the Minister to Captain Baudin.]

[67] The French text reads "calomnies" (slander); it has been assumed that this is an error and that Gicquel was not indulging in irony.

glorious expedition is to require you to follow Navy laws and regulations only to the extent that they are required by the circumstances in which you find yourself. He thus leaves you free to establish on board the ships under your command whatever duties, regulations and discipline you consider appropriate for maintaining good order and diligence in the performance of the duties that each person accompanying you has to fulfil. I urge upon you the greatest resoluteness in all of these points. You should constantly ensure that cleanliness and harmony prevail on board the two corvettes, and you should not neglect anything that serves to protect the crew's health.

I firmly believe that the officers under your command will be of the same mind as you and will strive to avoid the slightest criticism on your part. However, you should nevertheless alert them to their duties and urge them never to stray, in their dealings with each other, from the respect and [illegible] that fosters unity and good relationships. They should above all avoid any habits and excesses that would be all the more blameworthy in that the bad example they would thereby set would undermine the authority with which you will have invested them.

I also expect, Citizen, that you will see to it that the midshipmen embarked aboard the *Géographe* and the *Naturaliste* carefully study all elements of the naval arts and are practised in the various ship manoeuvres. Great voyages are the only ones suitable for training good officers, and you will achieve that objective by getting them properly used to work and to exertion. Should they merely waste their time in a voyage such as yours, this would be [illegible] and the Government's hopes would be dashed.

The young gentlemen accompanying you seem to have promising attitudes, and they will need to justify that promise through positive rivalry in zeal and application. The astronomers and officers should be happy to educate them - the former in making astronomical observations and the latter in ship rigging and manoeuvring.

During the crossing from Europe to Ile-de-France you will have ample time to get to know and to be able to judge your officers. If, unexpectedly, you assess that an officer does not merit your confidence or if he acts in a way that threatens harmony and good relationships, without which your voyage cannot be successful, you are authorised to replace him, either by choosing the most capable among the midshipmen or in any other way that you judge appropriate.

I have nothing to say to you concerning your behaviour towards the persons who, on the recommendation of the Commissioners of the National Institute, have been specially tasked, under your orders, with performing astronomical and natural history research. However, such behaviour, and the regard to be paid to men who are not accustomed to the sea, should not lead to any [328] condescension which could give rise to expectations or be prejudicial to general discipline. You should firmly uphold such discipline, and before leaving Ile-de-France you should notify these persons, as well as the officers and midshipmen, on my behalf, that the Government expects that everyone will perform his duty. You should inform them that it is expressly forbidden to communicate to anyone at all the journals they will have compiled, or to put together any collection of a personal nature. The Republic is meeting all of the expedition's costs and it is the Republic alone that should reap its rewards. Accordingly, you should make it known that anyone who transgresses these fair rules will be severely dealt with. If, when you have made the Government's intentions known, anyone should decline to act accordingly, he should be left ashore and the Administration should be

informed. You should make it known that no-one should - either as a result of meetings at sea or during port calls - send back to Europe reports that could deprive the Government of its ownership of the expedition outcomes. Accordingly, I hereby formally instruct you to recover, on arrival in Ile-de-France on the return leg, all journals, registers and notes kept on board, as well as collections of any kind that may have been made. No one shall be permitted to disembark until you have been assured that each person has done his duty in this regard, and you will require from all of your subordinates their word of honour that they have scrupulously obeyed.

You will be aware that it has always been expressly forbidden for naval officers to engage in any type of commercial speculation and to bring aboard a vessel belonging to the State, under any pretext whatsoever, merchandise or other goods for exchange in a personal capacity. This provision, included in all Navy regulations, has been strictly maintained up to the present time and must in particular be observed on board the ships entrusted to your command. You will appreciate that it would be both dangerous for the success of the expedition and detrimental to the honour of the national flag if any officers or other citizens under your command sought to take advantage of the protection afforded to this expedition by foreign powers in order to engage in illegal trafficking. The consequence of such action could be that your voyage could be interrupted if enemy ships, during a search, discovered prohibited merchandise on board. The expedition's objectives would thereby be absolutely compromised!!!

To obviate this risk you are to satisfy yourself, prior to departure from Ile-de-France,[*] [#] that no merchandise of any kind has been embarked on board either the *Géographe* or the *Naturaliste*. You should inform the officers and crews of each ship that if any of them were to be found guilty of breaching the regulations promulgated to this effect, and the private order that I am hereby conveying to you, they would suffer the most severe punishment that no special consideration would be able to attenuate.

Citizen, I shall not enlarge further on matters that as it were relate only to your own conduct. You have no doubt already reflected on how you should conduct yourself with regard to any agents of foreign powers that you may meet. As you will be sailing under a flag of truce, and as all of your work relates solely to the furtherance of science, you must observe strict neutrality and allow no doubt whatsoever to arise concerning your scrupulousness in observing the aims of the mission as defined in the passports obtained for you. In your relations with foreigners, you should be guided by the glorious success of our armed forces, the Government's strength and wisdom, the First Consul's broad and generous views regarding the pacification of Europe and the calm he has restored within France. These should all help provide you with the means of allowing foreign peoples to appreciate fully the current state of the Republic and the ~~[illegible]~~ prosperity that it must certainly enjoy.

[329] [*] Consequently, when you pay official calls on representatives of foreign powers you should require from those chosen to accompany you the decorum and reserve appropriate to the nature of the role entrusted to you. You should ensure that religious practices, political institutions and indeed any local prejudices are respected not only by your officers but also by all those under your command. During your port calls, you should never allow your officers or those accompanying you to engage in those frivolous or dissolute activities that can only be

[*] *[Translator's note: this footnote appears in the French text]* [[#]I have been told that the original read simply "prior to departure."]

[*] *[Translator's note: this footnote appears in the French text]* [End of the letter from the Minister to Captain Baudin.]

enjoyed at the expense of good health. By engaging them in active duties, you will be meeting the Government's wishes and will avoid the always-unfortunate consequences flowing from idleness. Finally, you should ensure that the name of France is honoured in all of the countries you visit. Above all, make it esteemed by uncivilised peoples, to whom you will be bringing benefits - since, while the main objective of your relationships with them is to enrich France with products from their countries, you should also encourage them to adopt French products, whose usefulness you are asked to demonstrate. Nevertheless, I urge you not to be inspired by too ardent philanthropy. You should bear constantly in mind the deplorable examples of circumnavigators who fell at the hands of the South Sea islanders, and when you order excursions to take place you should not neglect any precaution to protect your companions from surprise and danger.

Before closing, I again urge you to maintain order and discipline in the methods you adopt in the performance of your duties. The slightest negligence in this area could have the direst consequences. You should be severe if the circumstances warrant it, but you should also be fair, and you should not let prejudice dictate any demonstrations of your authority. If - although this is not anticipated - you need to take action against someone, it should only be after you have satisfied yourself that it is important for the success of your expedition to do so.

It is unnecessary to enjoin you to use all means in your power to facilitate the work of those whom the Government has seen fit to have sail with you. Nevertheless, your stopovers - even in places that promise a precious natural or physical history harvest - should last only as long as is consistent with the pursuit of the remainder of the voyage. You will be aware that the monsoons prevail, and that even a few days too many spent at a stopover can result in enforced idleness for a period of six months.

You should know that my best wishes will accompany you throughout your voyage, and that I will be very pleased to be able to give the First Consul an account of the successive stages of your enterprise. I ask you to take advantage of every secure opportunity that arises to send me details of the circumstances surrounding your voyage. Such details will be received with all the interest inevitably associated with an expedition whose objective is to enlarge the field of science, to add, if possible, to what nature has provided for peoples living in another hemisphere and to train men destined one day to supplement the list of celebrated seamen and naturalists. You should also know that it will be with great pleasure that I will recommend to the First Consul any favourable reports you may send to me on your colleagues, and everyone should rest assured as to his fair-mindedness. However, it is to you above all that I appeal to be fair and impartial to all; it would be an abuse of the remarkable confidence placed in you by the First Consul if you promoted or solicited favours for anyone who had not merited it. Signed, Forfait; signed as certified true copy, N. Baudin, Expedition Commander.

As he finished reading this letter, the Captain cried out "Amen, in the name of the Father, the Son and the Holy Spirit." Everyone was astonished by this exclamation and there was silence for some time. Eventually one of us spoke up about why he thought we were all gathered together; we all expressed *mea culpa* and talked in accommodating terms. Lieutenant Baudin asked the Commander to omit from his letter to the Minister the paragraph in which - without being named - he is indecently dealt with; the same applies to everyone. The Commander replied that he would do as he pleased, that it appeared that an officer was wishing to dictate to his Captain what he should write; "Are you joking?" We left it there.

[330] * During this meeting Citizen Bissy criticised me for having the unfortunate limitation of always wanting everything to be good! If it is indeed a limitation then I confess I have it to a fault. I fail to understand and, indeed, it is beyond my comprehension why people choose to do evil when the alternative of doing good exists! The idea is repugnant to me.

The Commander ended up by praising the smooth running and cleanliness of his ship. He must have thought he was speaking to a group of mountain peasants. For my part, and speaking as a naval officer, I ask those who know about these things (and will accept their judgment) if a ship can be called clean when five large dogs constantly defecate in the rope coils on the quarterdeck and when one is constantly obliged to lift one's trousers and frock coats so as not to ruin them on the gun deck, etc, etc?

* 22 [Ventôse, 13 March 1801]. At noon, the longitude given by my 42 sextuplet lunars taken over the last two lunar months, and which I considered very accurate, put us 132 miles ESE (corrected) of Round Island. As we were dining the Commander told me that his intention was to proceed at only 3 knots from sunset to midnight, and that he would then sail close-hauled until morning, because the chronometers put him some two degrees further east than indicated by the lunars. My observations have never failed me, and I considered that my fix was correct! Consequently, I proposed to the Commander, in the presence of all officers, that I take charge of the two ships and maintain sail throughout the night; if land were sighted I would con the ships to their anchorage. I said that I would stake my head - my only fortune - on it! He replied that he was not tempted by such a wager. At 11h00 we sailed close-hauled on the starboard tack, and went about at 4h00 in the morning. On the 23rd [Ventôse, 14 March 1801], at 5h00 in the morning, we stood on our course. We made good way all day and only sighted land at 5h00 in the evening, bearing W-WNW, distance about 10 leagues. We stayed on course until 8h30, then took some reefs and spent the night standing off and on. We then stood in for the land; at daybreak on the 24th [Ventôse, 15 March 1801] it was only visible from the maintop. My lunars, related to chronometer no. 31, gave me a fix to an accuracy of 5'. We closed the land during the day and at 8h00 in the evening we anchored near "Tombeau" Bay, a short distance from the wreck of the *Preneuse*. We spent the night there and at 6h00 in the morning got under way for the port. The *Naturaliste* was a lot closer in. At 7h30 on the morning of the 25th [Ventôse, 16 March 1801] Citizen Vrignoult, the harbourmaster, came aboard and at 10h00 we entered port under sail and moored near the "Cayenne."

The log shows the extent to which we had suffered from contrary winds during the crossing from the Cape of Good Hope. Everyone was starting to be very tired.

26 [Ventôse, 17 March 1801]. At 4h41'28"52"' apparent time, 4h50'6"59"' mean time, chronometer no. 31 showed an eastern longitude - according to the daily rate from Paris to Tenerife and taking into account [illegible] the error attributed [illegible] Cape of Good Hope - of 52º22'12". According to the daily rate determined at Paris and taking into account the same errors the longitude was 52º29'11". By relating my lunars to this chronometer, I obtained 54º22'44" whereas the actual longitude of the location is 55º8'15". The lunar distances were thus out to the west by 45'31" at this time. But on the 28th [Ventôse, 19 March 1801] at 2h58'13"48"' apparent time and 3h6'17"35"' mean time on board, no. 31 gave longitudes (for the same daily rates and taking account of the same errors mentioned above) respectively of 52º14'52" and 52[º]22[']5["]. The longitude of the anchorage by the lunars,

* *[Translator's note: this footnote appears in the French text]* [observations]
* *[Translator's note: this footnote appears in the French text]* [Ventôse Year 9: reaching land]

related to the chronometers, was 54º15'26" and that of Ile-de-France 55[º]8'15["] - an error of 52' 49["]. Therefore, in 46h16' this daily rate produced a difference of 7'18" - or 4'18" for 24 hours. Multiplied by 8 (the interval between the 18th and the 26th), this gives 34'24". Therefore, the difference over my lunar distances would be 11' 7". However, based on the 22 distances, reduced to 18, I would have only 5'58". [331] * Not taking into account the error supposed at the Cape, chronometer no. 31 would have produced a longitude east, on 28 Ventôse [19 March 1801] and according to its daily rate from Paris to Tenerife of 50º57'39", which produces a difference east (per 24h, 1'56.55") of 4º10'36". Going by its daily rate determined in Paris this would be 51º19'2" - still a difference east of 3º49'13" over 129 days, or 0º1'46" over 24 hours. I will use this average error to correct my table of variations observed during the crossing.

On this day, the 22nd [Ventôse, 13 March 1801], the chronometers were sent ashore along with the astronomical instruments. On the 30th [Ventôse, 21 March 1801] the observatory was set up in the tower on the small island.* On the 1st [Germinal, 22 March 1801], since the Commander had not taken us to make any official calls and did not seem inclined to do so, I went alone to pay my respects to General Magallon, the Governor-General. I had had the honour of making his acquaintance when he was our passenger on board the *Bergère*, from Brest to Rochefort, in the month of Frimaire, Year 4.

Ophthalmia was causing me considerable problems. The doctor ordered me to rest and above all not to make any astronomical observations until I was better.

The crew was given one meal of fresh produce every second day.

* On the 2nd [Germinal, 23 March 1801] the following items were offloaded and sent to the rope storeroom kept by Citizen Le Loutre. I was on duty and these goods were transported by a port longboat, towed by ours:

1	Crate	Number	9	Marked	A.C./.P.2.3.5.
1	Ditto	Ditto		Ditto	0.0.0.0.
1	Ditto	Ditto	10	Ditto	Gardening
1	Ditto	Ditto	35	Ditto	Exchange
1	Ditto	Ditto	7	Ditto	D.B. Blue pearl
2	Ditto	Ditto		Ditto	P.M.
1	Ditto	Ditto	11	Ditto	Gardening
1	Ditto	Ditto		Ditto	0.0.0.0
1	Ditto	Ditto	42	Ditto	Exchange
2	Ditto	Ditto	34	Ditto	Exchange
1	Ditto	Ditto	36	Ditto	P
2	Ditto	Ditto		Ditto	0.0.0.0. B
1	Ditto	Nº	38	Ditto	Exchange
1	Ditto	Sheathing copper marked 3. Nº, 517 ½ (broken)			
1	Ditto			Ditto	A.D.[2] ‡. B 570. N 517
1	Ditto	N	512	Marked	AD[4] ‡ B 572
1	Ditto	Ditto	518 1/2	Ditto	A.D[1] ‡ B 584

* *[Translator's note: this footnote appears in the French text]* [Observations, Ventôse Year 9, Port North-West, Ile-de-France.]
* *[Translator's note: this footnote appears in the French text]* [Germinal]
* *[Translator's note: this footnote appears in the French text]* [Offloading of crates]

1	Crate	Number		Marked	N.B. = DF
1	Ditto	Ditto		Ditto	N.B. DM
1	Ditto	Ditto		Ditto	T.A.
1	Ditto	Ditto		Ditto	N.B. + T.j
1	Ditto	Ditto		Ditto	N.B. + D.j.
1	Ditto	Ditto		Ditto	D.P.
1	Ditto	Ditto		Ditto	T.P. N.B.
1	Ditto	Ditto		Ditto	T.M. N.B.
1	Ditto	Ditto		Ditto	Etched charts
1	Ditto	Ditto		Ditto	G.M. N.B.
1	Ditto	Ditto		Ditto	G.L. N.B.
1	Ditto	Ditto		Ditto	R.X. N.B.
1	Ditto	Ditto	42	Ditto	Paper.
1	Ditto	Ditto		Ditto	E.C.
1	Ditto	Ditto		Ditto	Petitain
[332] 1	Crate		Marked	D.L. N.B.	No.
1	Ditto		Ditto		Ditto 20
1	Ditto		Ditto	D.N. N.B.	
1	Ditto		Ditto	D.B. N.B.	
1	Ditto		Ditto		~~K.B~~ K.B. NB
1	Ditto		Ditto		For Citizen Petitain
1	Ditto		Ditto	T.G. N.B.	
1	Ditto		Ditto	D.A. N.B.	
			Ditto	D.B.	
2	Bundles			Chemistry	
1	Ditto		Ditto		For Citizen Petitain
1	Barrel		Ditto		White pearl no. 2
2	Ditto	No marking			

Carried out various tasks. Dismantled the poop and quarterdeck netting crutches for offloading, and those from the walkway to be reforged.

Worked on the rigging of our topmasts, which were *[?]*[68]. Continued caulking inside the ship, as begun yesterday.

3 [Germinal, 24 March 1801], Citizen Ronsard's watch.

The port provided 29 black caulkers, who began work on the exterior of the ship. At 8h00 in the morning, a Danish ship dropped anchor at the port entrance. At 10h00 the longboat set off with the port longboat in tow - the latter transporting the following goods for storage in the same storehouse as those offloaded previously:

one	Crate	Marked	E.I.
1	Ditto	Ditto	D.C. N.B.
1	Ditto	Ditto	D.G. N.B.
1	Ditto	Ditto	D.K. N.B.
1	Ditto	Ditto	D.O. N.B.
2	Ditto	Ditto	D.L.P.

[68] "Collés et mis Sur Le Pont" in the French text is unclear in this context.

1 Ditto Ditto T.D. N.B.
11 [illegible] of tar[69]
Two trunks for Citizen Petitain
4 Barrels, numbers erased.

1	Ditto	Marked	No. 2	T. 34	No. 223.
1	Ditto	Ditto	No. 36	T 33	No. 220.
1	Ditto	Ditto	No. 16	T.	O.R.CR.
1	Ditto	Ditto	No. 39	T 30.	No. 211.
1	Ditto	Ditto	No. 83	T 41.	No. 236.
1	Ditto	Ditto	No. 70	T 34.	No. 231.
1	Ditto	Ditto	No. 29	T 26.	No. 233.
1	Ditto	Ditto	No. 12	T 36.	No. 225.
1	Ditto	Ditto	No. 60	T 32.	No. 231.
1	Ditto	Ditto	No. 80.	T 35.	No. 214.
1	Ditto	Ditto	No. 21.	T 40.	No. 219.
1	Ditto	Ditto	No. 20.	T 39	No. 216.
1	Ditto	Ditto	No. 19	T. 36	No. 233.
1	Ditto	Ditto	No. 64	T. 32	No. 221.
1	Ditto	Ditto	No. 90	T 39	No. 212.
1	Ditto	Ditto	No. 57	T 36	No. 224.
1	Ditto	Ditto	No. 9	T 36	No. 223.
1	Ditto	Ditto	No. 66	T. 29	No. 231.
1	Ditto	Ditto	No. 86	T 37	No. 214.
1	Ditto	Ditto	No. 6	T 36	No. 221.
1	Ditto	Ditto	No. 59	T 36	No. 227.
1	Ditto	Ditto	No. 47	T 41	No. 228

3 Barrels of tallow (for masters and caulkers)
[333] One dry cask of ship's biscuit
3 barrels of painting and lamp oil
5 large barrels
10 barrels, ditto
2 empty equipment casks and 1 empty barrel
3 empty barrels
Five empty wine casks and one empty eau-de-vie cask.

All these goods were received at the store by Citizen Petitain. At 10h30 the coast station signalled the presence of two three-masters. At 2h30, 19 black day labourers came aboard. Some were put to work in the hold, while the others began scraping the quarterdeck.

The ships that had been signalled were prizes.

At 4h00 the Governor made a visit to the new fortifications, by dinghy. We saluted him with 3 shouts of "Long live the Republic."

We filled several casks in the hold using a ship's tank, which was then sent off to be refilled.

Throughout the 24 hours the breeze was a light south south-westerly. Signed, Ronsard.

[69] "Goédron" in the French text has been taken as "goudron."

By this time, several of our seamen had already deserted and no effort was being made to retrieve them. They were not even reported to the officer in charge of the seamen's register.

4 [Germinal, 25 March 1801]. Continuation of the account of Citizen Ronsard's watch.

The black labourers arrived early in the morning to continue their work. At 7h30 a large ship loaded with construction timber taken from the English by the privateer *Gloire* dropped anchor at the "Pavillons."

The lookouts signalled the presence of several vessels, and at 1h00 a ship from Hamburg dropped anchor in the roads. It was carrying food.

At 4h00 the port longboat, towed by our own, transferred the following goods to the previously- mentioned store:

one	Trunk	Marked	S.D.	S.D
1	Ditto	Ditto	S.F.	S.F
1	Ditto	Ditto	VB.G.	
1	Ditto	Ditto	NB.F.	P. 206.
1	Ditto	Ditto	S.E.	S.E.
1	Ditto	Ditto	S.C.	S.C.
1	Ditto	Ditto	NB.A.	P.220 to Capt. Baudin, Commander
1	Ditto	Ditto	NB.C.	T 85 Ditto
1	Ditto	Ditto	S.A.	S.A
1	Ditto	Ditto	S.B.	S.B.
1	Crate	Marked	No. 32	P162.
1	Ditto	Ditto	T.N.	N.B.
1	Ditto	Ditto	G.L.	Mod[illegible].
4	[illegible] of tar			
5	[illegible] of pitch			
8	Barrels [illegible]		M.T.	Lamp oil
1	Ditto	Ditto	O.G.	No. 6.
1	Ditto	Ditto	O.R.G.	.5. 27.
1	Ditto	Ditto	Oil for master helmsman	
11	Ditto	Ditto	Of vinegar	
22	Large barrels			
5	Empty equipment barrels			
1	Barrel	Marked	C.K.	To Captain Baudin
1	Ditto	Ditto	KD	
1	Ditto	Ditto	Flour	
1	Ditto	Dried beans	2R3	P 249.
1	Ditto	Ditto	2R2	P. 238.
1	Ditto	Ditto	1R1	P 243.

[334] Continuation of 4th.

one	Barrel	Salted meat		
1	Ditto	Green peas	2 R 3	237
1	Ditto	Ditto		
1	Basket	To Citizen Chaulin		

one Helm
2 Pieces of bowsprit-boom
15 Pieces of timber

Moderate south southwesterly breeze. Several crewmembers were missing, and several were confined to quarters.

5 [Germinal, 26 March 1801]. Citizen Capmartin's watch.

Work continued on the rigging and on caulking. The following effects were despatched to the store:

one	Crate	Marked	No. 7	Gardening.
1	Ditto	Ditto	No. 33	I.E.E.
1	Ditto	Ditto	G.N.	
1	Ditto	Ditto	D.E	
1	Ditto	Ditto	T.B.	N.B.
1	Ditto	Ditto	RY.	N.B.
1	Ditto	Ditto	Z.I.	N.B.
1	Ditto	Ditto	R.D.	N.B.
1	Ditto	Ditto	T.E.	N.B.
1	Ditto	Ditto	T.I.	N.B.

11 Barrels of pitch
1 Barrel of green peas, No. 236. [illegible] 23.
1 Ditto Ditto Ditto 237 T. 22
1 Barrels of lamp oil Nº 62.
2 Barrels of tallow
3 Ditto of salt.
1 Ditto of cheese.
3 Ditto of vinegar.
3 Ditto empty.
23 Large dry casks
3 Large barrels
1 Carriage from field gun
1 Standing jib
1 Fore staysail
2 Main and fore topgallant sails
2 Topmast studding sails.
1 Ditto Bower.
1 Poop awning.
10 Hammocks.
3 Packets of furs.
2 Grindstone channels.
Off-cuts from planks and pieces from poultry cages.

During the night the weather was squally, with rain.

6 [Germinal, 27 March 1801]. Continuation of Capmartin's watch.

At 7h00 in the morning the port longboat[70] loaded 34 large casks and 680 iron hoops, with orders to take to the cooperage the empty casks that had been [illegible] in the store.

At 4h00 in the evening our longboat was despatched, towing the port longboat which transported to the store (still the same one - the rope store near the hospital) the following objects:

[335]

one	Trunk	Marked	B.C.	To Captain Baudin
1	Ditto	Ditto	D.U.	To Captain Baudin
1	Ditto	Ditto	D.V.	To Captain Baudin
1	Ditto	Ditto	I.S.	To Captain Baudin
1	Ditto	Ditto	S.H.	To Captain Baudin
1	Ditto	Ditto	S.J.	To Captain Baudin
1	Ditto	Ditto	D.R.	To Captain Baudin
1	Ditto	Ditto	S.K.	To Captain Baudin
1	Ditto	Ditto	S.L.	To Captain Baudin
1	Ditto	Ditto	S.G.	To Captain Baudin
1	Ditto	Ditto	S.O.	To Captain Baudin
1	Ditto	Ditto	N.S.	To Captain Baudin
1	Ditto	Ditto	D.S.	To Captain Baudin
1	Ditto	Ditto	D.T.	To Captain Baudin
1	Ditto	Ditto	DX	To Captain Baudin
2	Ditto	Ditto	KA	Ditto
one	Crate	Marked	N.B.	
1	Ditto	Ditto	T.N.	N.B.
1	Ditto	Ditto	D.K.	N.B.
1	Ditto	Ditto	T.K.	N.B.
1	Ditto	Ditto	P #	400
1	Ditto	Ditto	D.Q.	B.N. 00.
1	Ditto	Ditto	P #	100.
1	Ditto	Ditto	N.B.	D.H.
1	Ditto	Ditto	E.B.	E.B.
1	Ditto	Ditto	CK	N.B.
1	Ditto	Ditto	CL	
1	Ditto	Ditto	N.B.	BX
1	Ditto	Ditto	TF	N.B.
1	Barrel	Ditto	O.R.G.	12. g.
1	Crate	Ditto	CH	N.B.
1	Ditto	Ditto	GC	NB
1	Ditto	Ditto	N.B.	C.J.
1	Ditto	Ditto	No. 33.	
1	Ditto	Ditto	No markings	
1	Barrel	Ditto	K.D to Captain Baudin.	
8	Large dry casks			
1	Barrel of vinegar		[illegible]	
3	False gun-ports.			

[70] From the context it appears that the original French text, “chaloupe du bord,” may be in error for “chaloupe du port.”

25 Sails
One poop awning and 2 curtains.
2 Rail tarpaulins and a bulwark. [illegible]
2 Parts of a still
4 Boilers with their lids

5 Crates of nails, loaded on to the *Naturaliste* in Le Havre, were taken to the store.

7 [Germinal, 28 March 1801]. Citizen Freycinet's watch.

Cloudy sky, gusty winds from ESE. Continued the same work. Rain during the night.

Several of our people have fallen ill since we arrived.

I was upset that, in this port, the crew had access to unlimited quantities of ship's biscuit. The native day-workers never fail to steal it when they come across the baskets. On the 3rd [Germinal, 24 March 1801] the Commander informed us indirectly, via the steward, that after the 9th [Germinal, 30 March 1801] he would no longer provide food for the officers. I was officer of the watch on that day, the 9th. I was served at dinner, but on the 10th [Germinal, 31 March 1801] all I received was dry bread from the storeroom. The steward did not even come on board and the duty seaman - our only servant - told me [336] that the Commander had forbidden anything remaining in the mess to be served. In fact very little remained.

11 [Germinal, 1 April 1801]. I went to see the Captain when I came off watch. He told me that he no longer wished to feed the officers and, since no one wanted to give him any money in this colony, he would not pay any rations and we would have to do the best we could to lay in our own supplies. He tried to suggest that he had contributed from his own pocket to feeding us over the previous six months, but since I had a very good idea of what stores we had on departure from France, and of their value (which I estimated at 5,500 francs), I replied that if he had paid 21,330 francs for the stores we had, then he had been robbed to the tune of 15-16,000 francs. (That same day a cask of Tenerife wine was delivered to him.)

Neither did he wish to feed Commander Le Bas, who arranged to dine separately with Midshipman Bougainville. The Commander also decided that the two young gentlemen who had embarked as gunners, and who did sketching for him, would dine with the officers (the midshipmen had not wanted them), and that his secretary, embarked as a helmsman, would dine with him.

6-11 [Germinal, 27 March-1 April 1801]. Work continued on the rigging, and the caulking of the ship was completed. During this time various goods stored in the gunroom, and marked as follows, were disembarked:

2	Enormous trunks	Marked	S.C.	
2	Ditto	Ditto	S.E.	
1	Ditto	Ditto	N.B.A.	The *Géographe*.
1	Ditto	Ditto	N.D.G.	The *Géographe*.
1	Ditto	Ditto	N.B.C.	Ditto
1	Ditto	Ditto	N.B.H.	Ditto
5	Ditto	Addressed to Captain Baudin.		
2	Ditto	Addressed to Citizen Brothers Le Bas, merchants in Rouen.		

2 Other trunks to Le Bas.

Ever since we arrived there had been constant desertions [illegible] [illegible] assured that two deserters had left on the Danish ship *Kingt,* which sailed for Europe on 29 Ventôse [20 March 1801].

12 [Germinal, 2 April 1801]. My eye problem had not improved and was causing me much suffering. I was advised to seek some fresh air in onshore accommodation, so I asked the Commander for several days' leave, which was granted. I set off on the 13th [Germinal, 3 April 1801] for Citizen Le Clos's home, near the main port. However, my illness deteriorated there and I had to keep to my room for two days and was obliged to seek treatment from Citizen Margeot, the former State Naval Surgeon, who lived in the area. I returned on the 19th [Germinal, 9 April 1801] and on the 20th [Germinal, 10 April 1801] I asked for Dr L'haridon (in my onshore accommodation). He was only able to see me on the morning of the 22nd [Germinal, 12 April 1801], and he sent me to the hospital.

During my absence, the re-rigging had been completed and there remained very little to be done to make the ships fully ready to put to sea.

On the 12th [Germinal, 2 April 1801], 58 barrels of beer were laid in.
On the 13th [Germinal, 3 April 1801] the following was loaded on to the *Géographe*:

12	Casks of arrack		
6	Barrels of the same liquor		
1	Ditto	of	rum
20	Ditto	of	wine

On the 15th [Germinal, 5 April 1801] the following was loaded on to the *Géographe*:

Seven	Barrels	of	vinegar		
2	Casks	Ditto			
1	Barrel	of	brine		
1	Ditto	of	salt		
	Ditto	of	dried		
1			beans	T 23.	P. 24g.
1	Ditto	Ditto		T 22.	P 238.
3	Ditto	of barley			
[337] 8	Barrels	of	rice		
1	Barrels	Green peas		T 23.	P. 239.
1	Barrels	Ditto		T 22	P. 237.
1	Barrels	Ditto		T 24	P. 230.
1	Barrels	Ditto		T 23	P. 236.
1	Barrels	of flour		T 40	P. 223.
1	Barrels	Marked		T 38.	P 360.
1	Barrels	Ditto		P.X.	
1	Bag of sugar weighing 22 pounds.				

[*]On the 16th Germinal [6 April 1801] the following was unloaded from the *Géographe*:

[*] *[Translator's note: this footnote appears in the French text]* [Unloaded]

A small crate marked TL.
6 bundles of paper.

[*] On the 17th, the following was loaded on to the *Géographe*:

11 bags of peas, all up weight approximately 1,250 pounds.
5 bags of yellow sugar[71], all-up weight approximately 1,040 pounds
6 bales of coffee
5 bags of Indian rice.

In the afternoon, we laid in the following:

Six	Barrels	of	flour
1	Ditto	of	cheese
1	Ditto	Ditto	salt
2	Barrels	of	vinegar
5	[illegible]	of	tar
7	Ditto	of	pitch

On the 18th [Germinal, 8 April 1801], we laid in the following:
63 bags of wheat.
This wheat is from Bengal and is not of good quality.

On the 19th [Germinal, 9 April 1801], we laid in the following:

35	Bags	of	Wheat
36	Ditto	of	Rice
5	Ditto	of	Peas
3	Barrels	of	Vinegar
1	Barrel	of	Pitch
1	Ditto	of	Tallow
1	Ditto	of	Pearl
1	Ditto	of	Salt
2	Ditto	of	Flour
15	Barrels of lamp oil		

On the 21st, we laid in the following:

one	Barrel	of	Vinegar		
1	Ditto	of	Salt		
18	Barrels	of	Flour		
1	Ditto	of	Beans		
1	Ditto	of	Peas	T 23.	P. 237.
1	Ditto	of	Cabbages		
9	[illegible]	of	Tar		
1	Barrel	of	Tallow		
4	Barrels	of arrack			
4	Crates	Marked		[design in the shape of a bottle]	
1	Ditto	Ditto		N 7.	Gardening
1	Ditto	Ditto		N 32.	Exchange

[*] *[Translator's note: this footnote appears in the French text]* [Loaded]
[71] "Caponade" in the French text has been taken as "cassonade."

1	Ditto	Ditto	N 33.	Ditto
2	Ditto	Ditto	N 34.	Ditto
1	Ditto	Ditto	N 35.	Ditto
1	Ditto	Ditto	N 36	Ditto
1	Ditto	Ditto	N 38	Ditto
[*][338]one	Crate	Marked	N 42.	Exchange.
1	Ditto	Ditto	N 49.	V.X. Papier.
1	Ditto	Ditto	N 9	A.C.V.

Several of our [illegible] sails.

After that, very little was laid in.

By this time, the crews of both ships had nearly all deserted; they were even deserting from the hospital. The deserters included quartermasters, masters' mates and the *Naturaliste's* master helmsman.

24 [Germinal, 14 April 1801]. In the evening, the *Géographe* moved out into the roads, followed by the *Naturaliste* on the morning of the 25th [Germinal, 15 April 1801]. The search then began for sailors to complete the crews.

27 [Germinal, 17 April 1801]. As the problem with my eyes had not improved at all, I saw that it would be impossible for me to continue the voyage. As a precaution, I passed to Citizen Boulanger, at the observatory, the Reflecting Circle and box of mathematical instruments I had received from the Government. He gave me a receipt.

28 [Germinal, 18 April 1801]. My effects were sent to me ashore.

[*] By the 4th [Floréal, 24 April 1801] the crews were almost complete, but the only original crew members located were 5 men from the *Naturaliste*. Everyone who was fit to continue the voyage was embarked on that day, leaving the following persons in hospital;

From the *Géographe*:

P.Gicquel	Lieutenant
François Baudin	Ditto
Capmartin	Sub-lieutenant
Bissy	Astronomer
Milbert	Artist
Peureux Morin Mongiry	Midshipmen

Le Brun, the architect, left voluntarily, as did Petitain.

From the *Naturaliste*:

Bonie	Lieutenant
Bottard Billard	Midshipmen
LaBary	Zoologist

[*] *[Translator's note: this footnote appears in the French text]* [End of objects reloaded at Ile-de-France. Germinal Year 9.]

[*] *[Translator's note: this footnote appears in the French text]* [Floréal.]

Dumont	Student Zoologist	

Michaud, the naturalist and Member of the Institute, left voluntarily.

Delisse	Botanist	Ditto
Garnier	Artist	Ditto
Ysabelle	Midshipman	Ditto

The Chinese passenger remained here. In all, there were 20 officers and equivalents from the two ships. Citizen Picquet, Sub-lieutenant on the *Naturaliste*, and Citizen Bernier, the astronomer, moved over to the *Géographe*.

Citizen Le Villain, a student zoologist on the *Géographe*, moved to the *Naturaliste*. Like the Commander, Citizen Hamelin dines alone and only provides for his cousin, a sullen seaman on his ship.

[*] 5 [Floréal, 25 April 1801]. At 7h00 in the morning, the two ships got under way and headed to leeward of the island. It was with some sadness that I saw them set off: with all my heart, I wish them a good trip and a great deal of success.

[*] In the evening, Thouin, a *Géographe* seaman from Le Havre, aged about 25, died as a result of a high fever. He had rejoined his ship several days earlier, after treatment, but returned to the hospital two days later following a major haemorrhage, and died 3 or 4 days afterwards.

[339] [*] The foodstuff suppliers for the expedition are the Danish Consul, Pelcrom, and Commander Baudin's brother. The stores they provided were certainly not of the highest quality; my colleagues assured me that the beer was flat, the salted meat was poor, the wheat was from Bengal (not a kind used here), the rice had needed winnowing to remove corn prior to being sent on board, etc etc.

Merchandise not reloaded on to the ships is being sold by Citizen Maurice Le [illegible], a merchant living in the "rue de l'Eglise," opposite "rue du pamplemousse." There is an array of all sorts of merchandise, particularly fashions.

This merchant was selling them off because he had charged too much selling them wholesale, and no one had wanted to buy at the price he was asking. Everyone wanted his cut!

Some seeds intended for us were sold by Citizen Dégué, at a cost of 5 piastres per pound. They were not up to the quality of seeds that our gardener was distributing free to the locals.

On the 9th [Floréal, 29 April 1801] I received the following letter from General Magallon:

> Ile-de-France, 9 Floréal Year 9 of the French Republic
> To Citizen Lieutenant Gicquel

Citizen, as it is possible that certain serious circumstances may require me to muster a number of Army and Navy officers currently dispersed throughout the Colony, I ask that, should the lookouts announce the simultaneous presence of more than eight enemy warships or hoist the general alarm signal, you proceed immediately and without further notice to Port North-West, where you will be provided with further instructions.

[* *] *[Translator's note: this footnote appears in the French text]* [Departure of the Expedition]
[* *] *[Translator's note: this footnote appears in the French text]* [✝]
[* *] *[Translator's note: this footnote appears in the French text]* [Information]

I should be grateful if you could acknowledge receipt of this letter.
Signed, Magallon, Governor-General

The address was Citizen Lieutenant Gicquel, Port North-West, and the name Magallon was at the bottom.

I replied as follows:

Citizen Governor
I have the honour to acknowledge receipt of your letter dated the 9th of this month, in which you order me to proceed to the port ~~Should the lookouts~~ should the lookouts announce the presence of more than eight enemy warships or hoist the general alarm signal. If these events occur I will immediately obey your order; nothing would give me greater pleasure than to demonstrate to you my promptness and energy in carrying out the orders with which it may please you to honour me. Your respectful servant, P Gicquel. [Signed]

As Milbert had informed me that General Magallon was to dispatch him to circumnavigate the island on a landscape-sketching mission, I wrote the following letter to the Citizen Governor-General:[72]

Citizen Milbert has informed me that it is your intention for him to circumnavigate the island and to make sketches of its different landscapes. If it is not indiscreet, I should like to request your kind permission to accompany him. I should very much like to become familiar with the various navigable channels, especially in the main port. My calling makes it probable that I will return to this country before the end of the war, in a situation where the enemy may well be present off the coast. Should that occur, it would be very helpful if I could put into a place that enables me to avoid pursuit.

If you are kind enough to accede to my request, I shall do everything possible to be of use to Citizen Milbert, and you would greatly oblige one who has the honour to be your respectful and devoted servant. Dated 20 Prairial Year 9 [9 June 1801]. [Signed] P. Gicquel.

[340] * The General replied as follows:

My dear Gicquel, if the mission mentioned to you by Citizen Milbert is able to proceed I will bear in mind, with pleasure, the request that you have put to me, and will be conscious - as always - of your particular talents.

Your devoted servant. Signed, G Magallon.
Ile-de-France, 21 Prairial Year 9 [10 June 1801].

The ship allocated for this trip was the brig *Nation*, the only one of its type in the colony. The enemy seized and burned it on 18 Messidor [7 July 1801], or rather it was run aground on Delambre Island and the enemy burned it there. So the proposal for a voyage got no further.

This English squadron consists of the *Diomède,* 54 guns under the command of Mr [illegible] and the frigate the *Impérieuse*, 44 guns. They had appeared for the first time on 21 Floreal [11 May 1801], had disappeared on the 23rd [Floréal, 13 May 1801], then reappeared on the

[72] "Gouverneur Citoyen Gouverneur" in the French text has been taken as "Citoyen Gouverneur Général"
* *[Translator's note: this footnote appears in the French text].* [Ile-de-France: Year 9]

29th [Floréal, 19 May 1801] and disappeared again on 2 Thermidor [21 July 1801]. On their initial appearance, they had stranded the *Bien-aimée,* from Bordeaux, after 97 days at sea, and had arrested 4 foreign B[illegible]. On the second occasion, they took three small coasters from Bourbon [*Réunion*] and Madagascar and burned the *Nation* and a trading schooner.

On the 29th [Messidor, 18 July 1801], within sight of the island, they captured a trading brig commanded by Citizen Regnaud as it was leaving port. On this occasion they may have been given information concerning the frigate [illegible], one of whose prizes had arrived on the evening of 26 Messidor [15 July 1801]. Also, they may have learned of a boat from Bourbon that had brought news of the arrival of an [illegible] Danish ship that had been taken by the enemy and sent to India before being released at [illegible], on departure from which it talked about having spoken with the frigate [illegible]. The English ship, which appeared to be in poor repair, had disappeared when within sight of Bourbon, headed WNW, and the ship that was here disappeared on the 2nd, headed in the same direction. They normally rendezvous at Saint Marie Island, and consequently it is to be feared they will see our frigate while it is at [illegible].[73]

I had forgotten to mention in my journal that I was discharged from hospital on 14 Prairial [3 June 1801], although my eye infection had not been totally cured.

When, during the month of Fructidor, I learned that Messrs Lenouvel were to fit out their brig *Voyageur* and despatch it to France as a privateer I requested a passage, proposing myself for duty as a volunteer. This was acceded to, and I agreed terms with Citizen Raymond, who was to be the Commander.

I went immediately to inform the Governor, who was good enough to tell me that he would entrust his despatches to me, for handing personally to the Minister for the Navy and the First Consul.

On the 2nd Complementary Day [19 September 1801] the *Voyageur* commenced loading, which was completed on 18 Vendémiaire Year 10.

On 20 Vendémiaire [12 October 1801] I received the following order from General Magallon:

Citizen Lieutenant P. Gicquel, an officer of the French frigates *Géographe* and *Naturaliste,* which have been despatched on a voyage of discovery for the progress of science and navigation under the protection of the maritime powers, is hereby ordered to embark on the French ship *Voyageur*, Captain Raimond, and to proceed to France and then immediately to Paris in order to deliver the initial results ~~[illegible]~~ of discoveries made by the *Géographe* and the *Naturaliste*. Ile-de-France, 20 Vendémiaire Year 10 of the French Republic [12 October 1801]. The Governor-General of Ile-de-France and La Réunion. Signed, Magallon.

[341] * By charging me with this package and a specific order, the General hoped that if we happened to be taken I would be able to protect the important despatches he was entrusting to me.

Another order from the Administrators-General.

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[73] The large number of illegible words and grammatical errors make it difficult to be certain about the precise meaning of this paragraph.

* *[Translator's note: this footnote appears in the French text].* [Ile-de-France, Vendémiaire Year 10.]

Port North-West, Ile-de-France, 20 Vendémiaire Year 10 [12 October 1801].
From the Administrators-General of Ile-de-France and La Réunion to Citizen Gicquel, Lieutenant of the Republican Navy.

Citizen, as soon as you have disembarked you are to arrange to proceed as soon as possible to Paris in order to hand to the Government the official despatches that we have specially entrusted to you. To ensure that your trip is not in any way impeded by the authorities in your port of arrival, you are hereby authorised to inform them of the contents of this letter. Signed, Magallon and [below] Chauvalon.
Secret order dictated dated on the 18th [Vendémiaire, 10 October 1801].
It is extremely important that Citizen Gicquel succeed in safeguarding the five despatches that I am entrusting to him.
I wish him to hand over personally the letters addressed to General Bonaparte and the Minister for the Navy, to Mr Duprey and to my sister, Madame de Leon.
The last of these letters includes a bill of exchange.
As for the letter addressed to Citizen Carnot, Citizen Gicquel is to send it by post. I rely on Citizen Gicquel's intelligence and cautious attention to detail for the safe carriage of these important despatches, which I again urge him to hand over personally. If unfortunately they should fall into the hands of the enemy, operational secrets that should remain confidential would be revealed.
Citizen Gicquel is charged with a small parcel of spices that I am sending to the First Consul to enable him to make a personal assessment of the produce from and importance of these Colonies.
He is also charged with a tin tube containing a bird of paradise for Madame Bonaparte, to whom I have advised this despatch in a letter enclosed with the letter to the First Consul.
Ile-de-France, 18 Vendémiaire Year 10 [10 October 1801]. Signed, General Magallon.

I had two tin boxes made for me, measuring 14 inches by 10 and 8, with false bottoms 3 lines deep.[74] I used one for my own effects and the other for tea and sugar. I also had false bottoms 3 lines deep inserted into my trunks, for hiding the important private letters I was transporting. All of this work cost me 33 piastres, which I paid out of my own pocket; there was no money in the Treasury to pay me a month's salary.

I obtained the following certificate from the Chief Medical Officer at the hospital:

I, the undersigned, Chief Medical Officer of the Republic's hospitals in these Colonies, certify having treated Citizen Pierre Gicquel, Lieutenant on the Expedition of Discovery, who was disembarked and admitted to hospital for chronic ophthalmia, which over a long period failed to respond to treatment and necessarily prevented him from continuing his voyage. The almost constant headaches that accompanied the inflammation of the eyes and indicated that this local illness was related to an internal [illegible], required lengthy treatment. Now that he is convalescing well I urge him to leave the tropical climate and to return to Europe as soon as possible.
Done at Ile-de-France, 20 Fructidor Year 9 [7 September 1801]. Signed, La Borde MD, and [below] Seen by the Administrator-General of Ile-de-France and La Réunion. Signed, Chauvalon and [below] General Magallon.

[74] It has been assumed that the reference is to the old French unit of length (1 line ≈ 2.3mm).

Thus, my papers were in order and I was ready to leave. This happened on 23 Vendémiaire [15 October 1801], when we moved out into the port, and then on the 24th [Vendémiaire, 16 October 1801], at 8h00 in the evening, we made our departure from the island. A suspect vessel that had sailed past the port and then close to the "Morne Brabant" during the day made us take the precaution of sailing 10 leagues to the north, then rounding to pass 10 leagues to leeward of Reunion Island.

[342] * It was only on 3 Frimaire [24 November 1801], at 6h00 in the evening, that we rounded the Cape of Good Hope. The winds were as contrary and as violent as at the height of the bad season, and we went as far south as 39º. From there we unexpectedly sighted Needle Cape, where we noticed a difference east of 4º38'. The lunars had consistently placed us to the east of the dead reckoning position. The Captain was a little to blame for our being so far south: he was using an English map, based on the London meridian, and instead of adding the difference between the London and Paris meridians in order to obtain the position of his ship he was subtracting it, so he thought he was 80 leagues from the coast of Natal when in fact we were 1[blank] leagues. It was only when I pointed out his error that we tacked closer to land, and after a chase obliging us to head north we sighted Needle Cape. At 0h20 on 23 Frimaire [14 December 1801] we crossed the line at a longitude of 19º22'W, as deduced from the observations made over three days.

12 Nivôse [2 January 1802]. Doubled Flores Island to the north, out of sight, at about 8h15'. On the 14th [Nivôse, 4 January 1802] we started to run into northeasterly winds; they remained contrary until the 27th [Nivôse, 17 January 1802], when they veered aft.

28 [Nivôse, 18 January 1802]. Came into soundings at 6h00 in the evening.

29 [Nivôse, 19 January 1802]. At 5h00 in the morning sighted Les Glenans, and at 6h00 [illegible]. At 7h45 we took on the pilot, half a league offshore. Learned of the Peace. Dropped anchor at 10h00 at [illegible]. It was only then that I informed my travelling companions that I was charged with official despatches. I presented myself to General Thevenard's office and he immediately arranged the orders and passport so I could proceed on to Paris. To be continued![75]

* 2 Pluviôse [22 January 1802]. In the morning, I set off for Paris in the stagecoach. We arrived in Rennes in the evening of the 3rd [Pluviôse, 23 January 1802]. I continued on my way on the 6th [Pluviôse, 26 January 1802] and on the 10th [Pluviôse, 30 January 1802] I arrived in Paris. On the 11th [Pluviôse, 31 January 1802] Mr Beaupré took me to call on the Minister for the Navy and I handed over the packages addressed to him. General Magallon informed him that I was also carrying packages for the First Consul, and the Minister requested that I also hand these over. I did not express any objection to this but I gave him the secret orders from General Magallon. After having read them, he again ordered me to hand over the despatch for the First Consul. I told him that I had not brought with me the box of spices or the tin tube containing the bird of paradise. He then asked questions about why I had left the expedition, what state the colony was in when I left, the situation concerning its commerce, the state of mind of the inhabitants, their views about France, what was thought about the deputation[76] to the Seychelles and what people felt about the delay of the frigate

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* *[Translator's note: this footnote appears in the French text].* [Year 10: arrival in Lorient and Paris.]

[75] "Point de Conduite!" in the French text is unclear in this context.

* *[Translator's note: this footnote appears in the French text].* [Pluviôse]

[76] "Déportation" in the French text has been taken as "députation."

Chiffonne and the *Fléche* &c. I responded to all of these questions, after which the Minister commented that the inhabitants would be happy about the latest despatches sent to them. He ordered me to bring the box and tin tube to him the following day, the 12th [Pluviôse, 1 February 1802].

I cannot imagine why Minister Decrès told me several times that I seemed very young, and asked me how long I had been at sea. I told him that I would be 32 in April and that when I disembarked at Lorient I had a total time at sea of 173 months and 22 days - 13½ years of that time having been spent in the Service.

The First Consul arrived from Lyon during the night of the 11th-12th [Pluviôse, 31 January 1802- 1 February 1802].

On the 12th, at about 11h00 in the morning, I went to hand over the bird of paradise and box of spices to the Minister for the Navy. While I was there, he sent off these two items and the despatch to the First Consul, and told me to be present on the 15th [Pluviôse, 4 February 1802] at the general audience with the First Consul, who was aware of my arrival and to whom I only needed to present myself. As happened yesterday, there was a good deal of flattery, many questions and I was again told how young I look! He also told me that he did not want me to stay in Paris for long, and that if I wished to go to [illegible] he would see to it that I had a good position. I thanked him and asked him for money and for permission to join the frigate currently under construction in St-Malo. He replied that he had no objection to that. On the 13th [Pluviôse, 2 February 1802] I put in a submission requesting payment of monies owing to me.

On the 14th [Pluviôse, 3 February 1802] I handed to Mr Etienne Bolger, Mr Duprey's brother-in-law, the despatches I had for him. This gentleman is [illegible] former Embassy Secretary.

15 [Pluviôse, 4 February 1802]. I attended the audience with the First Consul.

[A page is missing]

[343] Copies of the letters written to me by Citizen Engineer-Hydrographer Beaupré, Assistant Conservator of the General Depository of Naval Maps and Charts and my former travelling companion on the frigate *Recherche,* commanded by Rear-Admiral D'Entrecasteaux.

[*] Paris, 6 Prairial Year 8 [31 May 1800].

Citizen and friend
I received your kind letter, with its very flattering expressions of friendship, with much pleasure. Please be assured that you can give me no greater pleasure than by sending me news of how you are keeping. I have asked Citizen Maingon to see you and to enquire whether you would be interested in another great voyage. However, as it is possible that he will not see you, I am very happy to have your address so I can consult you directly. In order not to do anything without knowing your wishes, I have spoken of you as a man who is able to contribute much to a voyage of discovery, but I have refrained from naming you until I was certain that the proposal would please you and that there was certainty of promotion. Captain

[*] *[Translator's note: this footnote appears in the French text].* [1st]

Baudin, the expedition commander, came to see me yesterday and I told him that I was expecting your reply from one day to the next. For this reason, dear friend, I ask that you consider the matter and let me know frankly if you are interested in the voyage. I urge you to pay a visit to our friend Maingon as soon as you have received this letter and to seek his advice, since it seems very likely that he will be part of the voyage. Farewell - keep in good health; you can depend on the esteem and friendship of your friend and travelling companion. Signed, Beaupré; addressed to Citizen Lieutenant Gicquel, on board the *Indivisible*, Brest.

[*] Paris, 18 Messidor [Year 8, 12 July 1800]

I saw Captain Baudin yesterday and we talked a lot about you, my dear Gicquel. I was very happy to be able to speak highly of your abilities and to have Captain Baudin recognise the advantage he could take of your nautical skills. I hope that you will have an assured promotion before your departure, which should take place in September at the latest. Citizen Maingon's friends have all been saddened by the news of his illness. We hope, however, that there will be no unfortunate consequences and that soon we will have the pleasure of greeting him here (he alone will have permission to travel via Paris). I have passed your bills of exchange to a businessman I know, who has already arranged to liquidate them. However before they are sold I should like you to tell me at what price I should ~~give~~ let them go. (You know that the Navy prices them at 320-330 [pounds symbol] ((286976 [pounds symbol])). If we were to obtain 20 or 25 louis more than the Navy price, should we sell? I look forward to your response on this question. I ask you to call on our friend Maingon and to tell him how saddened I am to know of his illness and that it is with much joy that I will greet him soon. I received some news of Raoul. It seems to me that his eyes are bothering him considerably; if you see him, please pass on my best wishes. Farewell, and keep in good health. You may count on the friendship of your travelling companion. Signed, Beautems Beaupré.

PS I omitted to tell you that the passports for the expedition have arrived and that now nothing can prevent it from taking place. Since I believe you would be happy to stay for some time in St-Malo, let me know if you wish me to take action to have your sailing order issued promptly.

I believe I received a letter before 18 Messidor [Year 8, 12 July 1800], but I am unable to find it and assume it has been lost. [Signed] P. G.

[*] Paris, 2 Thermidor [Year 8, 1 August 1800]. As soon as your letter arrived, I set about your business. I went to the Ministry with Captain Baudin and, according to what we were told, in the [illegible] we hope that when you receive your sailing order you will also receive an authorisation to receive your back salary. I am unable at this point to say exactly how promotions will be handled, but please believe that I will look after your interests most assiduously. You will have an assured promotion on departure - at least that is what Captain Baudin leads me to hope, as indeed is the case for others whom it is not necessary to name. I have referred your letters of exchange to the person responsible for them, and am hopeful he will ensure that the proceeds are satisfactory. We are expecting our friend Maingon to arrive any day now, which is why I have not spoken about him. You will be able to stay for some days in St-Malo - this has been agreed with the Commander, who believes it unnecessary to make a special request to the Minister to this effect. Farewell, keep well and you may depend upon the esteem and friendship of your travelling companion. Signed, Beaupré.

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[*] *[Translator's note: this footnote appears in the French text].* [2nd]
[*] *[Translator's note: this footnote appears in the French text].* [3rd]

PS. I must not forget to tell you that Citizen Willaumez, who was in the Ministry at the same time as me [344] spoke in very glowing terms about you; he then told me privately that he had forgotten all your petty annoyances … (by me![77])

[*] Paris, 10 Fructidor [Year 8, 2 September 1800]. I have received your letter, my dear Gicquel, but have not yet made any moves to seek what you desire. I believe above all (without however presuming to give you advice) that I should urge you to consider very carefully the situation in which you find yourself. You will have an excellent opportunity during the projected voyage to make some very important astronomical and hydrographical observations. There is absolutely no doubt that you are the only officer capable of performing hydrographical work. What then would prevent you, as second-in-command of one of the ships, from carrying out work that would give you, on return, an unquestionable right to an honourable promotion? Although Captain Baudin wishes to have you on board his ship, you can certainly insist, if you judge it appropriate for your promotion and if it is your own preference, on having the position of no. 2 on the other ship, because that is your position. On the other hand, the first ship sails better, and you know how important that can be in hydrographical work. Do you not also think, my dear Gicquel, that at a time when there is a general reorganisation of the officer corps there might be some danger for you - who are rightly considered the best officer on the expedition - if you were to seek to be excused. Please consider these arguments - to which I could add many more - and weigh them against any reasons inclining you to abandon this voyage. As soon as you have made your decision, write to me and I will immediately take up your case. Notwithstanding what you said, I hope that you will have an assured promotion prior to departure. This is a point I have always made strongly to Captain Baudin - I have even told him that the only reason you were undertaking the voyage was so you could be promoted. You asked me in your most recent letter to recommend you to the Expedition's engineers, but I have to tell you that I do not know them, even by name. One of them (I think he was the one assigned to the[78] ship) came to see me at the Depository, however, and he seems very sound. We spoke a lot about you and I even promised to give him a letter asking you to do whatever you can to help him. As you know all about what is required to produce good maps, and could even if necessary produce them without outside help, you will be indispensable to these engineers who know the theory but perhaps lack practical experience. Moreover, the one I met seems to be a very gentle man. I gave him, as much as was possible, an idea of how I went about my work but the experience you have had will be worth more than all I could tell him. I have not seen the engineer from the first ship. My hopes have once again been dashed as concerns your letters of exchange. If I am unable to exchange them at the agreed price prior to your departure, I will send them to you via some of your travelling companions. Farewell: keep well and rest assured that means can be found to have you excused if your interests require it. Signed, Beaupré and [below] Please reply promptly.

This letter was in an envelope sent to my address in Le Havre. <u>On board the *Naturaliste*</u>.

[*] Paris, 28 Fructidor Year 8 [20 September 1800].

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[77] The meaning of this remark in parentheses is not clear from the context: "pas moi" ("not me") would have been slightly clearer and was perhaps intended by the author, although it too remains elliptical.

[*] *[Translator's note: this footnote appears in the French text].* [4th]

[78] From the context of the remainder of this paragraph, it would seem that the word "second" is missing from the transcript.

[*] *[Translator's note: this footnote appears in the French text].* [5th]

As the son of a particular friend of Citizen Buache, a relative of mine, is a member of the crew of the frigate *Géographe*, it is my pleasure to introduce him to my friend Gicquel as a young man capable of helping him in his work. He is educated, full of good will, and in very little time will be able to do useful work on the hydrographical aspects of the voyage, which is what any seaman should concentrate on first of all. As I am certain that the young man will show himself to be worthy of any kindness shown by my friend Gicquel, I do not wish to recommend him but simply ask that he be closely involved in the work being done; time will do the rest. Greetings and friendship. Signed, Beaupré.

PS This young man's name is Peureux. The address was on board the *Géographe*, Le Havre.

[*] Paris, 29 Fructidor Year 8 [21 September 1800]. I am writing to you on the run, my dear Gicquel, to pass on the results of a long conversation I had with the kindly Beaupré, mainly about your ~~interests~~ intentions. Beaupré was not at all of your mind, and continues to believe that it would be a great mistake on your part to pull out of the voyage; he even believes that if you did so at this time you would do yourself irreparable harm. As for the various approaches we both spoke to him about, he will set about them with the zeal he invariably shows when your interests are involved. I will write at greater length the day after tomorrow, because between now and then I will see him and discuss these matters with him again. Your friend. Signed, Capmartin. PS I have purchased two dozen pencils for you, and will soon go to purchase [illegible].

The address was Citizen Lieutenant Gicquel, on board the *Géographe*, Le Havre.

[345] [*] Paris, 1st Complementary Day, Year 8 [23 September 1800].

My dear Gicquel, I had just dined with Beaupré when I received your letter. I am hurrying off this reply, in response to your request, to let you know his views regarding your plan and the most recent steps he has taken for you. He believes not only that your refusal could damage the high regard in which you are - quite rightly, no doubt - held by the senior officers in our corps, but that it could be a certain reason for having you dismissed from our organisation. As for the wishes you expressed to him, your intentions will be honoured but you should not expect to see your project [illegible] implemented prior to departure: that is absolutely impossible. However, he is sure that once at sea you will have all that you have requested. As you can see, dear colleague, in these circumstances Beaupré is very far from being able to request that you be excused, except if you absolutely wish him to make approaches that are not in your interests. Given that, I thought I could safely purchase for you [illegible], and I have done so. Through Beaupré I have got to know Citizen Boulanger, the geographer, and I can tell you that he is a very likeable young man, about whom Beaupré spoke very highly to me. I have received the letter from the Freycinets, for which I thank them - I will write to them in two days' time. Nothing new as concerns our Expedition. The scientists - or so-called scientists - have received their sailing orders. We are to be advanced six months' salary. My leave has expired but I will try to depart on 2 Vendémiaire [Year 9, 24 September 1800]. Your friend. Signed, Capmartin.

[*] Paris, 4 Vendémiaire Year 9 [26 September 1800].

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[*] *[Translator's note: this footnote appears in the French text].* [1st]
[*] *[Translator's note: this footnote appears in the French text].* [2nd]
[*] *[Translator's note: this footnote appears in the French text].* [6th]

Citizen Boulanger, who is the hydrographer on the Expedition in which my friend Gicquel is participating, will deliver this letter. He is keen to establish friendly and professional links with the only officer capable of helping him in his work and I consider myself fortunate to be able to contribute to establishing these relations, which I consider very important for the success of the fine expedition entrusted to Captain Baudin. Citizen Boulanger has all the necessary qualities to succeed, requiring only a little practical experience - experience that my friend Gicquel has obtained. I am therefore convinced that together you will carry out very interesting work. I ask you, my dear Gicquel, to take advantage of Citizen Boulanger's theoretical knowledge; you will have at least five months to study prior to commencing your operations, and this time should be spent on mathematics. During that time, Citizen Boulanger will for his part have time to practise making nautical observations. I have reason to hope that you will be happy with Captain Baudin. He has arranged to be able to promote during the voyage - which, I assure you, was all that could be achieved in the current circumstances. Farewell; I wish you a happy trip and health that will support your zeal. Your friend. Signed, Beautems Beaupré.

PS I am attaching a letter from the father of our poor companion in misfortune, Bouvouloir. He recommends his son to you; you have always felt friendship for him, and if by chance he is still alive, try to bring him back. That is the Government's intention.

[*] Paris, 5 Vendémiaire Year 9 [27 September 1800].

Citizen Boulanger came to see me yesterday to receive the attached letter, which he was to pass to my friend Gicquel. Not having found me at home and having departed this morning at 4h00, he will soon introduce himself to my friend who, unless I write to him today, might think there is ill will on my part. I received your letter yesterday and I confess that I was extremely upset by it. You seem to believe that I am not thinking of you, when in fact not a day passes without my working to pursue your interests. I have tormented Captain Baudin and have announced to him that you will not join the expedition unless you are certain of promotion; he has consistently assured me that you would be happy and I have absolutely no reason to think any different. As it happens he is leaving today, and in three days' time you will be able to make your own judgment about him and the credence to be given to his promises. Until you have met, I consider it a very imprudent thing to do to ask that you be excused from the voyage. Lieutenants are being placed at this very moment, and you may believe me when I say that not everyone who wants a placement will get one. If you were to seek to disembark, you would lose your active status and who could say whether you would remain on the list? Once again, for the next three or four days it would be imprudent to submit the request you wish to make, because you need your position. What difference can it make to you, in any case, if the voyage is a brilliant one or not? Are you not already well known, and can you not work with the engineer and acquire new competencies to impress the Government? The voyage will not be as long as the one we undertook together and you can look upon it as something like a trip to India. I have seen Citizen Capmartin. He is your friend and for this reason apart from any other, I found him very likeable. He came to see me again and I noted with pleasure that you could be extremely well supported by this young [346] man. Let us put all pretence aside and examine once again what you should do. You are undeniably the 1st officer of this expedition and you will be paid the respect that your long period at sea and personal merit deserve. Baudin already has a high opinion of you and, whatever may be said, this man is intelligent enough to appreciate how much the

[*] *[Translator's note: this footnote appears in the French text].* [7th]

hydrographical side of his voyage will reflect well on him. Moreover, if he wants to achieve anything in this area he will be obliged to place early trust in you. It would not take much intelligence to work out that a man used to sailing in dangerous waters is a man worth paying the very closest attention to. If he has promotions to distribute, who will merit one more than you? Anyway, my friend, I have given you my opinion. Now, if you wish to persist, write to me after you have seen your Commander, and send me a formal request that I will ~~send~~ present to the Minister; we need a request from you because without that I have no standing to request that you be excused. You may be assured that the day after I receive this letter I will submit the request. Farewell; keep well and whether you go on the voyage or remain behind you can count on my esteem and friendship. Signed, Beaupré.

The following was written on a separate note:

My friend, if you join the voyage I recommend that you keep a detailed journal, because whatever happens this would enable you to garner some profit from your trip. Please send me your family's address, so that I can let them have news of you when I am able to. Following your response, I will make arrangements either for you to be excused from the voyage, or for your mother to be paid that part of your salary that you wish to go to her. Not having been able to negotiate the letters of exchange, I am sending them to you so you can pass them on to your family. Please pass on my regrets to Citizen Boulanger. I hope that when you get to know this young man you will have greater hope of accomplishing useful things. I shall be seeing Captain Baudin for the last time, and will speak to him about you…. Your first discussion with him will do the rest.

These two letters, the note, the letter from Mr Bouvouloir and the two letters of exchange were in the same envelope.

[*] Paris, 13 Vendémiaire Year 9 [5 October 1800]

If my letter arrives in Le Havre in time, I ask that my friend Gicquel send me a letter for the Minister in which he requests, for form's sake, that a quarter of his salary be paid to his family. It is also necessary that Citizen Carel have an authority to enable him to be paid this salary. I am very happy that you have decided to proceed with the voyage, and I am certain you will be satisfied with Captain Baudin. You can do much for your reputation in the position that you occupy, if your health matches the enthusiasm I know you feel. Farewell my dear Gicquel, and may I embrace you in thirty months' time. Please pass on my best wishes to Captain Baudin and to Citizen Boulanger. Signed, <u>Beautems Beaupré</u>.

I regret that I did not keep copies of the letters I wrote to Mr Beaupré; I believe he could produce them should they be required.

Copies of letters that I despatched to Mr Beaupré via a Danish ship. Ile-de-France, 7 Floréal Year 9 [27 April 1801].

My esteemed friend, I have the honour to inform you that I have disembarked from the *Géographe* due to illness - ophthalmia has put me in hospital and prevented me from continuing the voyage.

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[*] *[Translator's note: this footnote appears in the French text].* [8th]

The two ships set sail from here for their next destination on the 5th of this month [Floréal, 25 April 1801], and it was not without regret that I saw them depart.

Many people have left the Expedition, including Mr Michaux, a member[79] of the Institute, and Mr Bissy.

I shall do all I can to return to France as soon as possible; I should like to have a position in the Navy before the end of the War.

I have been told that Commander Baudin has written a despatch to the Government, criticising everyone who has left his ships, and that he has not even spared those who remained behind for health reasons. Since all that he may have said about me can only be slander, I place my hopes in the Minister for the Navy's goodness and sense of justice. I like to believe that his generous soul will not lead him to condemn, on the basis of a single report, an enthusiastic officer who has always served with honour and who would sacrifice his life for the glory of his country. I remain, with respect, your devoted friend P. Gicquel.

[347] Table of variations observed on board the corvette *Géographe* during the voyage from France to Ile-de-France. These variations are averages of those observed during the day, either in the morning and evening when possible, or in the evening and morning when it was not possible to do otherwise.

The fix has been calculated for the time of each observation, taking into account the differences of latitude and longitude over the 24 hours.

I have consistently followed marine chronometer no. 31, leaving a column for longitude correction when we landed, if the chronometer had been in error.

Since chronometer no. 38 seems to have provided a reasonably exact longitude from Tenerife to the Cape of Good Hope based on its Paris daily rate, and bearing in mind the difference noted at Santa Cruz, I have used it to work out corrections for no. 31. In each possible case, this longitude should not show a great difference at each fix.

From the Cape of Good Hope to Ile-de-France I corrected the longitude shown by no. 31 in part proportionately, following the error found in the latter place, having followed its daily rate determined at Paris and taking account of known errors.

This table follows those I prepared on the ships *Recherche*, [illegible], *Léger*, *Régénérée* and *Tyrannicide*.

[348] [Page left blank]

[349] [Table]

[350] [Table]

[351] [Table]

[79] "Nombre" in the original has been taken as "membre."

[352] [Page left blank]

[353] Temperature correction table for each degree of the [illegible] thermometer: marine chronometer no. 38, by Louis Berthoud.

Above 15º on the thermometer, the chronometer is slow, and below that temperature it is fast.

[Table]

[354] [Blank page]

[355] Daily correction of chronometer no. 38.

[Table]

[356] Continuation of daily temperature correction of chronometer no. 38.

[Table]

[357] Another letter I wrote to Mr Beaupré at the same time:

Ile-de-France, 7 Floréal Year 9.

My esteemed friend

You will be aware from my attached letter of the nature of the illness that has obliged me to remain in the hospital on this island. Whatever slander Captain Baudin may recount to the Minister for the Navy, this is the only reason for my leaving the ship.

It was a great tragedy for me to have undertaken this voyage, and I am immensely saddened by it. It is as unsuccessful as I had predicted in France, and events here have turned out as I had thought they would during the crossing, and as I had announced to you in my message sent by the Danish ship *Kingt*, which left on 29 Ventôse. My situation makes it necessary for me to provide you details that I would have given to you orally had I been returning to France soon - but since I do not know when that will be I need to provide them now so you may know what to believe about me.

Mr Baudin is indeed the man I described to you, and whom your friend Mr … will have been able to portray better than I. His reputation here is as bad as can be, and his name is never mentioned without being accompanied by the descriptions "rogue," "scoundrel," "coward," etc. (I can provide proof!). During the voyage he was unable either to make himself liked or to gain the confidence of anyone; he let his spitefulness and ignorance show through by gratuitously annoying both his officers and midshipmen. He showed none of the tender paternal care for his crew of a General D'Entrecasteaux or a Mr Huon: several seamen still did not have anywhere to sling their hammocks when we arrived, since his various knickknacks (which are a testament to his greed) occupied all the available space.

Six days passed following our arrival in this port before the most meagre supplies were laid in, and even then only four fresh meals were provided for the crews every ten days. The men did not even have the lemon juice to which the law entitles them in the tropics, despite the

fact that they were working all day long on the rigging and on unloading merchandise. There was an extremely high level of disgust, and both ships' crews deserted. It was only after enormous effort that scrappy crews were formed, and the large number of protégés who disembarked with the two Captains' permission have not been replaced.

After only six months, Mr Baudin has decided he no longer wishes to be in charge of messing arrangements for the officers. He has said that he spent the 21,330 francs he was advanced for six months' worth of supplies, but during the voyage we almost always ate ship's rations - and indeed even supplies nominally laid in for the sick-list! He supplied very little to the mess by way of tableware and cooking material, and then dismissed the cooks and decided he would not provide any food at all. The remaining officers are obliged to continue the voyage relying solely on ship's stores. The Commander had the temerity to tell them that if they each contributed 15 piastres to the mess they would live well for a long time! What then did he do with the 21,330 francs, with which he managed to feed us so badly for a period of only six months? Currently he dines alone, or quite often with a helmsman who is his secretary and the young gardeners who normally eat in the galley! His no. 2[80] also dines alone, with Midshipman Bougainville. Two helmsmen who are working as artists are allowed to dine with the officers - it is total disarray!

Captain Hamelin has followed his lead in all respects. His officers have told me that his food was prepared in the crew's galley and that he dined with his cousin, who is one of the seamen on board his ship.

The Commander's brother, in temporary association with the Danish Consul, has supplied all of the replacement expedition stores laid in here. Once they had been loaded, everyone realised that the goods were inadequate, but no committee was formed - as the law stipulates - to taste them prior to purchase. Each ship only has 20 casks of wine, very little liqueur, 30 casks of arrack and 53 kegs of flat beer. Would I (with such bad health) have been able to endure this food?

If the Commander had so much trouble procuring what he required, he has only his bad reputation to blame. Anyone else would have been able to obtain credit; there is much confidence in the First Consul, but none at all in the letters of exchange presented by Mr Baudin.

[358] This man was not content with being dishonest with his subordinates, but carried this through into his relationships with the colonies. He got himself on to the wrong side of Governor Magallon, who is a man of honour, as well as of the administration and senior officials. He disgraced himself in every way during his last voyage, even selling the ship he commanded for the Emperor in order to pay off part of his gambling debts. He still owes a lot, but refuses to pay and has the gall to say to his creditors that they do not scare him since his person is protected due to the mission he is undertaking. This is true, because otherwise he could have been arrested.

Mr Baudin has no moral or social qualities; he is neither a naturalist nor a seaman! His hair stands on end with fright at the slightest hint of a squall and he [illegible] everyone. When we were coming in to anchor, I was unable to reassure him by telling him that I knew the island well enough to stand in for the anchorage by night if necessary. You will agree that this is not

[80] "Capitaine de frégate" ("Commander") in the original.

the man required for such a voyage, in which boldness is required in addition to prudence. One cannot now hide the fact that this expedition is a thousand times beyond Mr Baudin's capacity. Hamelin is no more a seaman than Baudin, either - he is timid! Le Bas, Mr Baudin's very [illegible] Commander,[81] is useless on board and has no idea about the profession. He had previously only ever sailed as a merchant pilot, plus half a trip as a voluntary midshipman on the *Thétis*. He has a bad reputation in Bengal and also here; all of these men are known here and there has been extreme amazement to see all three of them in charge of this expedition. It is a great misfortune that Mr M was not in charge of one of the ships. Mr Baudin, who three times gave me his word of honour and trumpeted around the town that he would have presented me with my Commander's[82] commission on 9 Germinal, did not do so, without providing any reasons. He passed word to me in hospital, via Mr Boulanger, that if I wished to continue the voyage he would have given me my commission in New Holland. My situation did not allow me to accept this offer, but had I been well I would have insisted very much on continuing the voyage,[83] because I can place no faith whatsoever in his word of honour. What he said was just words proffered without any follow-through, in the same way as his signature! (Everyone knows this.) Moreover I still have the greatest reservations about this expedition. I reiterate that if the ships do in fact return, they will have accomplished nothing - absolutely nothing - for geography (the three days we took to make land prove this), which is where I could have been useful. Moreover, they will accomplish very little for natural history, about which I know nothing. Consequently, I would be almost useless on board. It is to be assumed, indeed it is certain, that if the Government is not happy with the expedition's outcome, Mr Baudin will lay the blame on his travelling companions, and he will arrogate to himself all of the glory should he succeed. His views on all of this can be seen in his previous correspondence.

My few financial means have meant that I am reliant on friends, because salaried officers are not being paid. I could find a command on a merchant ship, but my eyes are still bothering me a lot and, besides, I do not wish to enter this service. I prefer the Navy and wish to be promoted and to be employed there before the end of the War. To that end I will do [illegible] everything in my power to return to France as soon as possible. However, I fear I will not be able to depart before the month of Thermidor or Fructidor.

If Mr Baudin's spitefulness has led him to recount slander about me to the Minister, please try to ensure, my dear Mr B, that the Minister does not make up his mind without having heard me or seen my journal.

The persons who disembarked for health or other reasons are etc, etc. Very few of the crews who embarked in Le Havre remain.

I have learned that Forestier and son were well as of about a year ago. Bouvouloir was no longer in Batavia; he had been sent about 3½ years ago to command a small ship going in search of [illegible] stone, and was known to have foundered. He returned to Trinquebart where he is believed to have remained. I shall endeavour to obtain firmer information prior to my departure for Europe.

Please remember me to Citizens Maingon and [illegible] brothers. I am looking forward with much impatience to the moment I can embrace you and to tell you personally that I remain,

[81] "Capitaine de frégate" in the original
[82] Ditto.
[83] Sic, although the context suggests that a negative may have been intended.

with friendship and respect, your devoted friend. [Signed] P. Gicquel.

I despatched the duplicate copy on 25 Floréal [Year 9, 15 May 1801].