

**Sea Journal of François-Michel Ronsard (vol. 2)**



## JOURNAL NAUTIQUE.

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Tenue à bord de la Corvette le  
Géographe dans la Campagne de  
découvertes commandée par le Cap.<sup>e</sup> de  
Vaisseau G. Daudin.

par M.<sup>r</sup> Roussard off.<sup>r</sup> de Génie Maritime  
Lieutenant de Vaisseau.

Traverse du port Jackson au  
Cinco - au 11<sup>e</sup> de la Rep. Fr.<sup>se</sup>

Moussard

**Sea Journal of François-Michel Ronsard (vol. 2)**  
**Archives nationales de France, série Marine, 5JJ30**

**Physical Description**

*Dimensions* : 23.5 x 36.5 cm

*Contents* : series of folios sewn and bound together (318 numbered pages, written recto-verso)

**Period covered**

26 Brumaire Year XI [17 November 1802] – Floréal Year Year XI [May 1803]

**Notes on the text**

This second register of Ronsard's sea journal covers the period from the departure from Port Jackson to the end of the second stopover in Timor.

When the *Géographe* is under sail, two pages are devoted to each 24 hour period (from midday to midday): the left-hand page comprises a table with nautical information (hours, winds, courses, knots, drift, sails, any sightings of land with bearings, sails seen, astronomical, physical and other observations); the right-hand page is devoted to "Historical events and remarks". Only the latter observations made by Ronsard are given here (these sometimes spill over on to the preceding page on the left). The first register (provided separately) has the catalogue number: Série Marine, 5JJ29. It runs from 5 Floréal Year IX [25 April 1801] – 25 Brumaire Year XI [16 November 1802].

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**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

TABLE DE LOCH.				VOILURE du VAISSEAU.		VUES ET RELEVÉMENTS DE TERRE. VOILES APPARUES.		OBSERVATIONS astronomiques physiques & autres.	ÉVÉNEMENTS HISTORIQUES ET REMARQUES.
NUM. N°.	VENTS.	ROUTES.	N°.	DP.	H <sup>rs</sup> .	M <sup>ns</sup> .			
1.	0.5.0	0.25.0	2.0	15				2. L'après midi on a déchargé l'atmosphère (par la) de vents foras - - - 5. 2. 0	<p>Le tour de la mer belle on a fait très peu de voiles par le vent le Nord-Est dans l'après midi on est allé de compte qu'on a vu des effets du vent avant de partir, je n'y suis allé et j'ai vu qu'une pluie de cette route avait été levée et qu'il avait été tiré par la des voiles - j'ai vu aussi le capitaine au commandant qui a autour de faire des l'arrière des tables avec l'arrière de la de Navire et a faire foras le jour de la voile d'arriver.</p> <p>Dans la soirée que j'ai fait j'ai trouvé d'un angle caché à bord, l'un de ces et l'autre le commandant se la ordonne de leur faire de la Cambre une station en pain et viande, dans l'heure.</p>
2.			2.0						
3.			2.0						
4.			2.2						
5.	0.5.0	0.40.0	1.5	20					
6.			1.5						
7.			1.9						
8.			1.8						
9.	0.5.0	0.18.0	1.7	20					
10.			2.1						
11.			2.1						
12.			2.0						
13.	0.5.0	0.16.0	1.9	15					
14.	0.5.0		1.8						
15.	0.5.0		1.6						
16.			2.0						
17.	0.5.0	0.8	1.8	15					
18.			1.8						
19.			1.8						
20.	0.5.0	0.1.0	1.9	20					
21.	0.5.0		1.8						
22.			2.1						
23.			2.9						

POINT A MERE.

Latitude observée au Tanne. Aut. 29. 22. 42.

Hauteur corrigé.....

Chambre corrigé.....

Longitude corrigée..... 146. 56. 27

## **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. The nautical tables are not included.

[Title page]

**Sea Journal Maintained on Board the Corvette *Le Géographe*  
During the Campaign of Discovery Led by  
Post-Captain N. Baudin  
by Monsieur Ronsard, Maritime Engineer and Lieutenant**

Passage from Port Jackson to Timor  
Year 11 of the French Republic

[Signed] Ronsard

(2)<sup>1</sup>

**26-27 Brumaire, Year 11 of the Republic [17-18 November 1802]**

We got under way at 4h00 on the morning of the 26<sup>th</sup> with the help of a light westerly breeze, but soon afterwards the *Naturaliste* found itself unable to round the rocks at the port entrance and we were forced to drop anchor again. The *Casuarina* remained under sail but the American ship *Fanny*, which is to cross Bass Strait with us, came to anchor nearby. The *Casuarina* put the astronomer ashore on the headland at the port entrance so he could make a latitude observation. I made another search of the ship and discovered a further three Englishmen stowed away – which, along with the fourteen discovered the day before and those previously sent ashore, makes a total of something over thirty men and one woman. I had these three men placed in the small dinghy and gave orders for them to be put ashore nearby. However, once the dinghy had shoved off the harbourmaster's own dinghy gave chase, caught up with it near the shore and removed the three Englishmen. The Commander, who was very unhappy at this turn of events, sent Mr Bonnefoy to tell Mr Harris that his behaviour had been most uncalled for and that the Commander would make a complaint to the Governor. As Mr Bonnefoy took some time to return, the Commander had two guns fired to recall him, along with the *Casuarina*. Soon Mr Bonnefoy could be seen returning, bringing with him Messrs Chapman and Harris. The latter vindicated himself as best he could, denying he had ordered the men removed. The Commander seemed most unhappy and, amongst other things, said that had he had the *Casuarina* at hand he would have sunk the dinghy. Mr Hamelin and Mr and Mrs Thompson dined with the Commander, and Mr Bellefin and I were also invited. Following dinner the Commander went aboard the *Casuarina* and proceeded into town. When he returned he ordered me to send a carpenter to work through the night on board the *Casuarina*. The blacksmiths also worked on the ship, and we sent over a round of cheese, twenty-five fathoms of rope, a loud-hailer, an [illegible] and an [illegible], etc. A strong north-easterly breeze had blown all day, but the night was calm and at 4h00 in the morning we again got under way and cleared the port. The pilot was dropped at 8h00 and we set our course.

(4)

**27-28 Brumaire, Year 11 of the Republic [18-19 November 1802]**

Stormy weather and overcast sky in the afternoon, with loud claps of thunder and frequent lightning all round the horizon. The sea rising and the wind strong and gusty. Same weather at night, although the storm abated somewhat. Kept the *Casuarina* within sight. The breeze gradually slackened during the morning.

(6)

**28-29 Brumaire, Year 11 of the Republic [19-20 November 1802]**

Light breeze during the afternoon, with the sky overcast and a swell running. Still sailing in consort with the three ships. We were in touch via the loud-hailer with the *Naturaliste* and the *Casuarina*. The latter told us that it had suffered some damage during the bad weather. It had made as much as three inches of water an hour, although at the time we were in contact the rate was down to one inch per hour. The wind strengthened somewhat during the night. At daybreak we sighted a schooner from Port Jackson. It informed us that the French schooner *Entreprise*, Captain Le Corps, had been lost on the Sisters. Six men, including the captain, had drowned. The ship had left Isle-de-France, bound for Bass Strait to hunt seals and then to China to sell the pelts. At 10h00 course was signalled and set south-west. During

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<sup>1</sup> Odd-numbered pages in this journal mostly consist of nautical tables (giving details of winds, course, sail settings, ships sighted, etc). This transcription reproduces only the “events and remarks” entries that for the most part are to be found on the journal’s even-numbered pages.

my watch, from noon to 4h00, I found the ship to be very slack. I had 120 bars of pig-iron transferred forward from the main hatchway, and by the end of the watch the ship was carrying weather helm even though the breeze had not freshened. In the morning I informed the Commander that the rate of water usage was three half-barrels a day and that, at this rate, the 225 barrels we had on board would last five months at the most.

(8)

**29-30 Brumaire, Year 11 of the Republic [20-21 November 1802]**

Overcast weather in the afternoon, with a swell running and a very strong breeze. We were sailing virtually under bare poles but the ship still made over seven knots, as did the *Casuarina*, which at 6h00 was some two miles astern of us. The breeze slackened at night and at daybreak we made more sail. At that time the *Casuarina* was well ahead, but by 7h00 we had closed. We changed tack at 8h00. I inspected the biscuit hold and had some fifteen pounds of biscuit removed because it had been damaged by some slurry, which I think had resulted from a spillage in the gun-room. The remainder seemed to me in good condition. The Commander ordered me to make a similar inspection every second day. The crew was given bread for the first time. The senior officers are to have a bread ration of one pound each per day, while the crew is to get the same amount on the 5<sup>th</sup> and 10<sup>th</sup> of each 10-day period. This bread, which is made with American flour, is very white in colour.

(10)

**30 Brumaire-1 Frimaire, Year 11 of the Republic [21-22 November 1802]**

Overcast sky, rough sea, fresh and gusty breeze. We had to stay under very short sail for the full 24 hours to avoid losing the *Casuarina*, which is no longer carrying its foresail – no doubt the mast has been damaged. The mainmast shrouds were hauled taut.

(12)

**1-2 Frimaire, Year 11 of the Republic [22-23 November 1802]**

Overcast and rainy weather, with an uneven breeze and a swell running. We were under very short sail to avoid losing the *Casuarina*. A foresail and jib were manufactured for the small dinghy. A cask of English flour was brought out of the hold. This is the fourth one opened since our departure, including the three casks of 180<sup>#</sup> that have been stowed in the storeroom and which belong to the Commander.

(14)

**2-3 Frimaire, Year 11 of the Republic [23-24 November 1802]**

Fine weather. The three ships were kept close together. Midshipman Baudin was sent aboard the *Naturaliste* to hand over the Commander's despatches. Shortly afterwards the American captain, Schmitz, was received on board. Very fine weather, almost calm. The night was very humid. During the morning the *Casuarina* passed astern and we handed over four 3<sup>#</sup> loaves of bread. Three others fell into the sea. The starboard cable was unbent to remove kinks that had formed during flaking down. Nine fathoms of the cable were found to be chafed and were discarded. We now have 130 fathoms on this cable and 60 on the mooring cable, which is quite worn. Effects belonging to Beaumont, Racine, Pierre Retz and Boissel – all of whom had died on board the ship – were auctioned off. An inspection was made of the bags of skins stored in the master gunner's small hold. Twenty-nine of them were found to be unserviceable and were thrown overboard.



(16)

**3-4 Frimaire, Year 11 of the Republic [24-25 November 1802]**

Overcast sky, foggy weather, occasional rain and very uneven breeze. The three ships were kept in visual contact over the 24 hours. At 11h00 in the evening, during a calm period, a sounding was taken and we had ground with 28 fathoms, sand and crushed shells. We immediately went about, sailing close to the wind, and then dropped an anchor. However the wind got up, so we made sail again. The Commander spent the night on deck. At daybreak it was thought that the Furneaux islands had been sighted. At 8h30, after having closed with the *Naturaliste*, the Commander decided to proceed into the strait and had a westerly course set. In the evening I tallied the water usage up to date. Since our departure it amounts to three casks of 4, which makes one and a half barrels per day, including for the animals – which use 70 pots per day.

(18)

**4-5 Frimaire, Year 11 of the Republic [25-26 November 1802]**

Stormy, squally weather – uneven wind between 6h00 and 7h00. The three ships passed astern of us. At 10h00 in the evening the sky clouded over and a squall hit. Initially there was a lot of rain but not much wind, but towards the middle of the squall we were hit by a strong south-westerly gust that blew so hard the gunwales went under. We immediately struck and clewed up all sails and remained hove to. The wind remained very strong, the sea rose and a blow set in. We became separated from all of our consorts during the night and at daybreak only the American ship was in sight, far in the distance.

(20)

**5-6 Frimaire, Year 11 of the Republic [26-27 November 1802]**

The weather gradually fined up during the afternoon, the wind slackened and the sea fell a little. We set the main staysail during the night to stabilise the ship, and remained hove to. At daybreak we sighted the three ships downwind, and set a course to join up. A 300<sup>#</sup> cask of beef was brought out of the hold.

(22)

**6-7 Frimaire, Year 11 of the Republic [27-28 November 1802]**

Overcast and rainy weather, with an uneven breeze and a swell running. Stood off and on at the entrance to the strait for the whole 24 hours. At 6h30 the Sisters bore SSW, and at 7h00 they were at S20°W, distant approximately 15 miles.

(24)

**7-8 Frimaire, Year 11 of the Republic [28-29 November 1802]**

The weather progressively fined up and the sea fell. We remained under very easy sail over the 24 hours to avoid losing sight of the *Casuarina*. With these sails set the ship is constantly helm a-lee when travelling at less than three knots. The ship was smoked and cleaned during the morning.

(26)

**8-9 Frimaire, Year 11 of the Republic [29-30 November 1802]**

Very fine weather in the evening, then squally during the night. Frequent lightning. Fresh bread was passed to the *Casuarina* in the afternoon. At 6h00 in the morning the *Naturaliste* collided with us on the port quarter. The flat-bottom in the mizzen chain wale protected our quarter gallery, but was itself damaged and its two brackets broken. I immediately had it

hoisted in and placed on the gratings for repairs. A copper pump was made for the hold; a muslin filter was placed inside.

(28)

**9-10 Frimaire, Year 11 of the Republic [30 November – 1 December 1802]**

Fine weather and a calm sea. We were under very short sail to avoid losing sight of the *Casuarina*. In the afternoon I received a report that the hold containing ship's effects had been looted. I visited it and discovered that one of the hold's planks had been removed and that shoes had been taken out through the opening. I reported this to the Commander, who authorised me to have a bulkhead constructed behind the cables, running the width of the ship, and to have the hatchway under the quarterdeck closed off. During my inspection I discovered two Englishmen stowed away: one is named [blank] and the other [blank]. The Commander ordered me to provide them with rations of bread and meat, but no rum, from the storeroom.

(30)

**10-11 Frimaire, Year 11 of the Republic [1-2 December 1802]**

Very fine weather and a calm sea. Continued to stand in for the Furneaux Islands up to 4h00 in the afternoon, then went about and waited for the *Casuarina*. Calm during the night, but at 4h00 in the morning a north-easterly breeze got up, varying to the east, and we set a course W¼SW to enter the strait. The cables in the orlop were brought on deck so the bulkhead could be constructed. I inspected the interior of the effects hold and found that some coats and vests had been eaten by rats. I had all of these clothes placed in trunks and informed the Commander of what I had found.

(32)

**11-12 Frimaire, Year 11 of the Republic [2-3 December 1802]**

Very fine weather. We proceeded under full sail, entering the strait through the channel to the north of the Kent Group. The new groups marked on a hand-drawn English map were not sighted. In the afternoon the lower and topmast studding sails were placed in the orlop. The medicine chest was removed from the after orlop so the hatchway could be locked. During the evening the wind dropped progressively, and between 7h00 and 8h00 we had almost flat calm. At that time we were very close to the Kent Group, which bore SW from us. I had the gun deck cleared of anything that could obstruct the cables during anchoring. The Commander spent a large part of the night on deck. At daybreak we had a number of islands in sight on our bow, stretching from north around to the south-west. We immediately went on the port tack and set a course SSW, but as the winds hauled ahead the Commander decided to pass between these small islands. We passed to leeward of the one we named *Coin de Mire*. All of these small islands, only some of which we had sighted when we entered Bass Strait for the second time through the channel to the south of the Kent Group, form what the English call the Hogaut and Curcis Groups.

[+ continuation of nautical table from previous page]

(34)

**12-13 Frimaire, Year 11 of the Republic [3-4 December 1802]**

Fine weather, calm sea, uneven breeze. We remained under easy sail to the west of the archipelagos in the strait while we waited for the three ships. Only the *Naturaliste* was in sight, a long way astern of us. At daybreak the American was in sight, but not the *Casuarina*. Work was carried out to change the cables. Two new 13-inch cables were bent to the starboard bower. The cable it had previously carried, which was 130 fathoms long, was bent

to the port bower after its end had been changed. The sheet-anchor's cables are new, since they were only used when the ship was heaved down.

(36)

**13-14 Frimaire, Year 11 of the Republic [4-5 December 1802]**

Fine weather, with the sea falling and the breeze slackening. In the afternoon an English convict was discovered hiding in the fore-top. He was wearing a blouse that I believe had been stolen from the hold. At daybreak on the 14<sup>th</sup> we set a westerly course and crowded sail. The *Naturaliste* followed us, but by noon the American was far behind; the *Casuarina* had not been sighted over the 24 hours.

(38)

**14-15 Frimaire, Year 11 of the Republic [5-6 December 1802]**

The weather was very fine during the evening but turned stormy at night and the sea rose. Overcast weather in the morning, with a fresh and gusty breeze and rough sea. In the afternoon I made a thorough search of all of the crew's trunks, kitbags and hammocks in the hope of finding a watch that had been stolen from one of the seamen, and clues relating to the theft of some trade items from a crate that had been smashed open in the orlop. The watch was not found but a small number of stolen trade items were located, hidden amongst the cables. At 6h00 in the morning the Commander closed with the *Naturaliste* and ordered it to set a course for France. We separated immediately, but soon afterwards the wind shifted to SW<sup>1</sup>/<sub>4</sub>W and the *Naturaliste* was obliged to stand off and on.

(40)

**15- [blank] Frimaire, Year 11 of the Republic [6- December 1802]**

Fine but overcast weather, sea a little rough. The *Naturaliste*, on a northerly tack, passed ahead of us at 2h15 and the Commander signalled to it to prepare to drop a large anchor. However Captain Hamelin, who had surrendered his manoeuvres book, did not understand the signal and instead hove to. He then saw that we were continuing on course, so he filled the sails and continued on his way. We then signalled to him to join up and he followed us to the anchorage, which we reached at 3h30. We dropped the starboard bower in 13 fathoms, over a bottom of sand and broken shells. Three dinghies were immediately hoisted out. Captain Hamelin came aboard in the evening. The *Casuarina* arrived at the moorings at 6h00 in the evening. The Commander decided to despatch it the next day to take the geographer, Boulanger, to survey the Hunter Islands. The carpenters worked all night to make new topsail crosstrees for it. I was instructed to have the longboat ready by daybreak to go to look for water, and to have the large dinghy ready to circumnavigate the island, under Midshipman Baudin's command and with the geographer, Faure, aboard. The Commander asked Captain Hamelin for his large dinghy, which came alongside at 10h00 in the evening.

(41)

At dawn on the 16<sup>th</sup> [Frimaire, Year 11, 7 December 1802] the longboat was hoisted out and despatched to complete our water. The large dinghy set off immediately thereafter on its survey of King Island. At 9h00 I set off to look for an anchorage for the ship to the north of Sea Elephant Rock. At 11h00 the *Casuarina* got under sail for the Hunter Islands. Captain Hamelin came aboard to dine with the Commander. The tide set south up to 3h00, then turned and set north. I arrived back alongside in the large dinghy towards midnight. I had put ashore on Sea Elephant Rock. There is a cove in the NE of the rock that provides a ready landing place for boats. This small island abounds in seals and penguins, of which I brought back a boatful. The first thing that struck me when I approached the island was a hut and

three Europeans. They are fishermen from Port Jackson, sent there from the main colony to hunt for pelts. I found this spot all the more convenient as a place for the observatory in that it can be approached no matter what wind is blowing – which is not the case anywhere on the coast of King Island. Having received my report on this matter, the Commander decided to put the astronomer ashore there on the morning of the 17<sup>th</sup> [Frimaire, Year 11, 8 December 1802]. I was instructed to set up the observatory. My previous day's mission was still incomplete: I had sighted a reef that was exposed at low tide, to the N<sup>1</sup>/<sub>4</sub>NE of the island, but I had not determined its position. Furthermore, the weather had not allowed me to take the necessary soundings in the channel and to the north of the island. So I set off again with the observatory instruments. The Commander dined on board the *Naturaliste*. At 5h00 a schooner was sighted in the east, making its way to the anchorage.

(42)

The same evening, after the Commander had returned, the schooner's captain went aboard the *Naturaliste*, where he had previously seen the Commander's broad pennant. At 9h00 the *Naturaliste* got under way and set a course north. The Commander was moved by this separation, which deprives him of an officer in whom he had amply-justified confidence. For my part I lose a good friend, whose company has often provided compensation for the physical and moral difficulties that we have to endure. This is a sacrifice that I make without complaining, because I consider it necessary for the greater good of the expedition. The next day, the 18<sup>th</sup> [Frimaire, Year 11, 9 December 1802], at 5h00 in the morning, the small dinghy put the English deserters ashore. At 7h00 the commanding officer of the English schooner came aboard and handed some despatches to the Commander. Governor King had sent this ship to discover which course we were taking, because Colonel Paterson had told him that he had heard from Mr Péron that we intended to found a settlement in the d'Entrecasteaux Channel. In writing to the Commander, Mr King reminded him that Cook had taken possession of all the land between [blank]. He also said that next spring he planned to found a settlement on the southern part of Van Diemen's Land. This approach illustrates very well the boastful nature of the English nation. They have a puny settlement in New Holland – which will only exist so long as we do not decide to oppose it – and they use that as a platform for invading all of the lands in the South Seas. It is my fervent hope that the French Government will treat their acts of possession with scorn and will proceed to establish a settlement in the d'Entrecasteaux Channel, if for no other reason than to avoid abandoning these vast lands to our boastful rivals. I was back on board by the afternoon of the 18<sup>th</sup> [Frimaire, Year 11, 9 December 1802]. I had taken soundings everywhere and had discovered that the anchorage between the small island and the larger landmass is worthless; there is very little water – or indeed shelter – either in the northern cove or in Sea Elephant Bay. The small dinghy and flat-bottom also returned alongside that evening. On the morning of the 19<sup>th</sup> [Frimaire, Year 11, 10 December 1802] the longboat was sent to the watering place and the large dinghy took the naturalists and two tents there as well. The gentlemen took provisions for five days with them.

(43)

On the afternoon of the 19<sup>th</sup> [Frimaire, Year 11, 10 December 1802] the fore staysail was unbent for repairs. New falls were provided for the topsail halyards. The captain of the English schooner, accompanied by a geographer, dined on board. He left at 7h00 in the evening, taking 12<sup>#</sup> of gunpowder with him. The longboat returned during the night with its first load of water. It was unloaded at dawn on the 20<sup>th</sup> [Frimaire, Year 11, 11 December 1802] and immediately sent off again. The small dinghy was despatched to the observatory with supplies of water, wood, etc. A dinghy from the English schooner came alongside and

took away a [blank]-yard piece of light cloth, a pound of sail yarn, six needles, a sounding line with its lead, a portion of old cable and six hasps together with their padlocks. The starboard bower was weighed so the cable could be inspected; as soon as it was a-trip the port bower was dropped and 50 fathoms of cable were veered out. The starboard bower's stock was found to have been broken, its fluke loosened and the cable chafed over a length of some twenty fathoms. The buoy was lost. The 2600<sup>#</sup> anchor was fetched from the hold, stocked and dropped in place of the starboard bower. The damaged anchor was stowed in the main hatchway. The longboat arrived alongside during the night. It was unloaded at daybreak on the 21<sup>st</sup> [Frimaire, Year 11, 12 December 1802] and then all the boats were hoisted in. The starboard cable was then wormed and the boats repaired where they had been damaged during the hoisting in.

**(44)**

During the time we were anchored off the coast of King Island the ship remained constantly athwart the tide because of the strength of the current. On the 16<sup>th</sup> [Frimaire, Year 11, 7 December 1802] the tide set south up to 3h00 in the afternoon, then turned and set north. A light easterly breeze blew on the 17<sup>th</sup> [Frimaire, Year 11, 8 December 1802]. Barometer at noon was 28.2 and the thermometer 13.5.

A light south-south-easterly breeze blew at night on the 18<sup>th</sup> [Frimaire, Year 11, 9 December 1802], varying south-westerly. At about 1h00 in the afternoon the tide turned and set south.

~~Barometer at noon~~

Variable south-westerly breeze on the 19<sup>th</sup> [Frimaire, Year 11, 10 December 1802].

Barometer at noon was 28.3 and the thermometer 13.5. At 6h45 in the evening the tide began setting north.

On the 20<sup>th</sup> [Frimaire, Year 11, 11 December 1802] the breeze was variable from SSE.

Barometer at noon was 28.3 and the thermometer 13.5. At 1h20 the tide turned and began setting south. The tide began rising at 7h30, setting north.

On the 21<sup>st</sup> [Frimaire, Year 11, 12 December 1802] the breeze was variable from E-ENE.

Barometer at noon was 28.15 and the thermometer 14.

**(46)**

**21-22 Frimaire, Year 11 of the Republic [12-13 December 1802]**

Sky overcast, swell running, gusty wind. At 3h00 our port cable, which was holding the ship with 60 fathoms veered out, broke near the clinch. We got under way immediately and stood off and on all night. The wind was calm between 9h00 and 10h00 at night, but during this period a violent storm struck: lightning bolts were so frequent in all directions that the whole sky seemed to be on fire, and the thick clouds that moved the storm slowly around in all directions made the night absolutely black. Heavy rain fell at about 10h00, dissipating the storm a little, and at about 10h30 a south-easterly breeze sprang up and gradually strengthened. In the morning, with the weather having fined up, we set a course back to our anchorage. It is certain that, at about 9h00 in the evening, we passed over some shallows. The shallow water we were in during the period of calm made us fear that we were near Sea Elephant Rock, which I knew to be surrounded by dangerous reefs. Although I had fixed it WNW of us and quite a distance away at 8h00 in the evening, some light that the Commander and I sighted at 9h30, and which seemed quite close, made me fear that the current might take us on to the rocks. This fear was unfounded, however, and there is no doubt that we were not close to any land but had passed over a sandbank.

(48)

**22-23 Frimaire, Year 11 of the Republic [13-14 December 1802]**

Very fine weather, calm sea, light breeze. Continued on course inside Sea Elephant Bay. The Commander, believing that the prospects for anchoring might be better closer in, stood close inshore and at 3h00 we dropped the starboard bower in 10 fathoms water, over a bottom of grey sand. As soon as we had anchored, the sheet cable was bent to its anchor which was then dropped. The boats were hoisted out and the longboat and large dinghy were sent to search for the anchor we had lost. They returned in the evening, having sighted the buoy but not having been able to get close to it because of the current. At dawn the next day the same two boats were sent off again in search of the anchor, which they brought back with them. During the morning, contact was made with the two settlements onshore. The captain of the English schooner came aboard to request four anchor stock rings, which we made for him straight away. The Commander went ashore in his dinghy at 11h30. He was dressed in a grey frock coat and derby hat, but as he stepped ashore he saw the English flag flying from a tree, with an armed man standing at its base. On board we worked at worming the port bower cable and changing its end.

(50)

**23-24 Frimaire, Year 11 of the Republic [14-15 December 1802]**

In the afternoon the sky clouded over and the wind turned gusty and very variable. The Commander came alongside at 3h00. At 5h00 the longboat and two large dinghies returned with the anchor, which was immediately bent to its cable and dropped. Towards 6h00 the English schooner got under way and headed to the anchorage in the north of the island. Its dinghy came alongside to take the anchor stock rings, while ours went to retrieve the augers we had loaned to the schooner. The naturalists who were ashore had asked me to send them some provisions since theirs were to run out on the morning of the 26<sup>th</sup> [Frimaire, Year 11, 17 December 1802], and the astronomer had written asking me for some fresh water. The Commander decided that the boats would set off for these purposes at dawn the next day. Towards 8h00 in the evening the weather was more overcast and there was continuous heavy rain, but there was no indication that a blow was imminent. The three dinghies were hoisted in, but the aft ring failed on the third boat and it fell back into the sea, taking a seaman with it. He was rescued immediately, then the boat was put in a sling and hoisted on board. At 11h00, with the breeze freshening, the ship dragged its anchor. We drifted a considerable distance, because the crew was slow to come on deck and we took some time getting under way. However we eventually did so, cutting the cable at the splice and letting it go. We immediately put the longboat in tow, on a good line, then fished the port bower anchor. At 3h45 the longboat, which was still being towed, went under. We immediately hove to. As it sank, the longboat spilled all of its contents. It resurfaced a moment or two later so we fixed its line to the large capstan and hauled it in. However the forward thwart, to which the rope was secured, failed and came aboard with the line, leaving the longboat to drift away. By 5h00 it had disappeared from sight. Along with the boat we lost its masts, sails and oars, two grappling anchors, two grapnel ropes, 600<sup>#</sup> of iron ballast, a compass and also the large dinghy's sails, masts and yards, all of which had been placed in the longboat while the dinghies were being hoisted in and which we had not had time to get on board. At 6h00 the tiller chocks failed. We made a round-turn with the ropes on the tiller.

(52)

**24-25 Frimaire, Year 11 of the Republic [15-16 December 1802]**

The weather and wind made it impossible to stand in for the land at any time over the 24 hours.

(54)

**25-26 Frimaire, Year 11 of the Republic [16-17 December 1802]**

The weather seemed to be fining up in the afternoon so we put on sail, but had to shorten it again soon afterwards. During the night the sky filled with thick clouds and in the morning the weather was dark, with continuous violent squalls and strong and gusty wind. Almost continuous rain during the night and in the morning.

(56)

**26-27 Frimaire, Year 11 of the Republic [17-18 December 1802]**

Overcast and squally weather, with a rough sea, strong and gusty wind and almost continuous rain. The weather was very stormy at night, with lightning all round the horizon. It was not possible to think of standing in for the land at any time over the 24 hours.

(58)

**27-28 Frimaire, Year 11 of the Republic [18-19 December 1802]**

Same squally weather over the 24 hours, and we remained under the same sails. The English schooner made us lose about a league to windward as we bore up to get a sighting of it. It seems it was unable to reach the anchorage it was heading for.

(60)

**28-29 Frimaire, Year 11 of the Republic [19-20 December 1802]**

This day started off with very fine weather, but soon afterwards the horizon became hazy and we very quickly lost sight of the land that we had – to our surprise – sighted. Bearings were taken at various times, during fine patches. The night was stormy, with a lot of rain and strong, gusty wind. We continued to make sail to ensure we did not drift as much as on previous days. At 10h00 in the evening we went on the southern tack and remained that way up to noon. Still no indication that we will be able to return to the King Island anchorage for several days yet. At noon on the 28<sup>th</sup> [Frimaire, Year 11, 19 December 1802] we retrieved a 336<sup>#</sup> barrel of flour from the hold – the second such barrel that we have opened. In addition, we have used up the three barrels belonging to the Commander, which together weighed 580<sup>#</sup>.

(62)

**29-30 Frimaire, Year 11 of the Republic [20-21 December 1802]**

Squally weather over the 24 hours, with occasional rain and strong wind. At 2h00 one squall was heavy enough to make us take the fourth reef in the mizzen topsail, two feet from the cap. During the night the wind was very uneven and the squalls heavy. The wind gradually abated and at daybreak the weather fined up a little; we crowded sail. We again had a clear sighting of the land on the promontory. New sails were made for the large dinghy, as the old ones had been lost along with the longboat. I submitted to the Commander a report on candle usage, which totalled 42<sup>#</sup> for the month - 10<sup>#</sup> for the storeroom, 6<sup>#</sup> for the helmsmen, 5<sup>#</sup> for the master gunner, 7<sup>#</sup> for the hold, 6<sup>#</sup> for the boatswain's store room, 3<sup>#</sup> for the working parties, 1<sup>#</sup> for the butcher and baker and 4<sup>#</sup> for the astronomer. As regards future usage, the Commander authorised 20 candles for the boatswain's store room and 30 [candles] for the hold, excluding any unforeseen work. He withdrew the allocations for the storeroom, gunroom, working parties, butcher and baker. Nothing was said about usage for the helmsmen. The astronomer will receive candles only if the Commander orders it. During the month we used 1122<sup>#</sup> of flour. Since we had taken on 13440<sup>#</sup>, we have enough for twelve months at this rate. We used 10 [illegible] of lamp oil, and about 140 [illegible] remain; a quarter of spun cotton, of which 1½ [illegible] remain; 10<sup>#</sup> of tallow, of which 150<sup>#</sup> remains; a buoy. As regards paint,

we have 200# of yellow, 200# of red, no black, 7# of carbon black, and no white apart from enough to repaint the head. We have used a royal yard, a replacement cloth hose and a mooring cable – there remain 7 cables in all. Various spare ropes and ropes from the spare rigging have also been used.

(64)

**30 Frimaire - 1 Nivose, Year 11 of the Republic [21-22 December 1802]**

Fine weather and calm sea. The wind was unfavourable up to the middle of the night, when we had flat calm. A light north-easterly breeze sprang up at daybreak and freshened during the morning. We set a south-westerly course during the calm; the current had driven us to the north and east.

(66)

**1-3 Nivose, Year 11 of the Republic [22-24 December 1802]**

Overcast sky during the afternoon, with a calm sea and moderate easterly breeze. Rain at times during the night. Very fine weather at daybreak. We set a course for King Island and at noon we dropped anchor in Sea Elephant Bay, in 9 fathoms water over a bottom of fine sand. As soon as we had anchored the three dinghies were hoisted out and a party went to strike the observatory. Everything was returned to the ship except two empty casks. The small dinghy, which had been sent to strike the tents at the watering place, returned without having been able to put in. Two dinghies were sent to look for the buoy. At 6h30 one of them signalled having found it, and immediately made fast to it. We got under way with the yards braced sharp and at 7h30 we dropped anchor again, near the buoy and in 9 fathoms water. Work began immediately on raising our anchor. This work continued at night; at midnight the anchor was at the cathead and by 3h30 it was fished and the cable brought in. Two strands of the cable were found to have been cut at a distance of two fathoms from the clinch. The crew was given double rations. In the afternoon the wind was a ~~variable~~ south-south-easterly, variable to the south. At night it was variable S-SSW. At daybreak on the 3<sup>rd</sup> [Nivose, Year 11, 24 December 1802] it shifted SSE. Barometer at midnight and noon was 28.25 and the thermometer 12 at midnight and 14 at noon. At 8h00 on the morning of the 3<sup>rd</sup> [Nivose, Year 11, 24 December 1802] the Commander sent for me to provide advice on the means of quickly replacing our longboat. The first thing to be done was to cut wood for the framework, so I set off in the large dinghy, taking the carpenters with me. Once ashore I sent the dinghy back to the ship with what remained of the naturalists' tents; it came back for me at about 2h00. Work began immediately on loading the wood that had been cut during its absence, but it was not all aboard when the Commander had a gun fired to call me back. I left what remained and set off at 4h30. The dinghy was hoisted in by 5h30. I had not had the time to visit a large area of land on King Island during the six hours that I spent there. The island is very well wooded, with the coastal strip being bushy and almost impenetrable. Almost all of the trees found in Port Jackson can also be found there, plus a few other species. I did not see any casuarina. Many of these trees would provide good framework timber, even for ships up to 100 tonnes. I do not know whether the large trees in the hinterland would provide curved timber of larger size. The species of eucalyptus that the English call blue gum can be found there: it provides planking. I saw some wood that appeared quite flexible, and other types that were as hard as boxwood. There is no harbour on King Island – we lost our anchor there on two occasions. The core is of very fine granite, which is...



(68)

**3-4 Nivose, Year 11 of the Republic [24-25 December 1802]**

...covered with sand, but it is probable that in some places there are rocky outcrops [one word crossed out] and that is what cuts the cables so rapidly, especially as the current is so strong that ships are almost never head to wind. On King Island we found three English [illegible] belonging to different ships, which left them there while they were seal hunting. We saw a great many sea elephants. This monstrous amphibian sometimes stays on the beach for up to two months at a time, without needing food. Medium-sized specimens can provide over two barrels of oil, and it is possible to kill as many as one wants. If King Island were ever to seem important enough to establish a settlement there, I believe that it would be neither very difficult nor very expensive to dredge a dock in Sea Elephant Bay for ships with draughts of 14-15 feet. Solid rock may, however, be found before reaching that depth; limestone is plentiful there. There are many feral cats on the island, as well as kangaroos, [illegible] and emus. Sea Elephant Rock is covered with seals. There is a reasonably sheltered anchorage in the north of King Island, behind one of the New Year Islands, but I do not know if the sea floor is suitable. In any case the approach to this coast is very dangerous because of the numerous reefs lining it, most of which are hidden underwater, two or three leagues offshore. We got under way at 5h45 on the 3<sup>rd</sup> [Nivose, Year 11, 24 December 1802], in very fine weather and with a moderate breeze. The Commander feared for his anchor and cable. The night was fine, but on the morning of the 4<sup>th</sup> [Nivose, Year 11, 25 December 1802] we had foggy weather, with a light swell and a very light and uneven breeze.

(70)

**4-5 Nivose, Year 11 of the Republic [25-26 December 1802]**

Very calm sea in the afternoon – almost flat calm – with a very thick fog. At 5h30, during a clear patch, land was sighted that I judged to be a long, low-lying rock, ~~as much~~. At 7h15 a reef was sighted bearing SE. We went on the other tack and steered north, but it was calm and the weather was very foggy. We had land to the south. A line was bent to a kedje anchor. Between 11h00 and midnight a light westerly breeze sprang up, enabling us to proceed on course. At daybreak we steered towards the land sighted the day before, and at noon we were not far from Three Hummock Island. A cask of salted meat and one of flour were brought out of the hold.

(72)

**5-6 Nivose, Year 11 of the Republic [26-27 December 1802]**

Fine weather, calm sea, moderate breeze. In the afternoon we continued on course, skirting Three Hummock Island. It is quite low-lying and well-wooded. Towards sunset we sighted a small island far in the distance, to the south of King Island. It is not marked on the charts. The night was almost calm. At daybreak we sighted King Island and stood in for it. At 11h15 we sighted the *Casuarina* in Sea Elephant Bay. We signalled to it to join up, and shortened sail. Work was done on the framework for the longboat. The carpenters have been relieved of watch duty so they can take this work forward promptly.

(74)

**6-7 Nivose, Year 11 of the Republic [27-28 December 1802]**

In the afternoon the weather turned foggy. We were abeam of Sea Elephant Bay, waiting for the *Casuarina* to join up. At 4h00 we sent across a dinghy, which brought back the geographer, Boulanger. The *Casuarina* had run into contrary winds on its expedition to the Hunter Islands, and had touched bottom on two occasions. It had got off by jettisoning all of its water, so we needed to give it two casks. We hoisted in our dinghy at 5h30, and then made

sail. The fog became very thick and damp during the night, and the wind picked up. In morning we could see neither land nor the *Casuarina*, but towards 10h00 the weather cleared and we sighted King Island stretching from N - N40°W. Towards noon the breeze progressively slackened and we set the topgallants.

(76)

**7-8 Nivose, Year 11 of the Republic [28-29 December 1802]**

In the afternoon the weather covered over, the breeze freshened and the sea progressively rose. From 4h00 to 6h00 we stayed on course to close the *Casuarina*, and during the night we shortened sail so we did not lose sight of it. The sea was a little rough, with a fresh and gusty breeze. At daybreak King Island was again sighted, bearing NE a long way in the distance. We set a course for Kangaroo Island.

(78)

**8-9 Nivose, Year 11 of the Republic [29-30 December 1802]**

Fine weather over the 24 hours, though with a cloudy sky, a slight swell and a moderate breeze, variable and uneven. We manoeuvred to keep the *Casuarina* in sight. Continued to make sail for Kangaroo Island.

(80)

**9-10 Nivose, Year 11 of the Republic [30-31 December 1802]**

Cloudy sky and moderate breeze during the afternoon; sea running a swell. Overcast weather at night, with a thick and very damp fog and an uneven breeze, quite strong when gusting. We sailed close-hauled until daybreak because we estimated we were close to land. The weather fined up in the morning and the breeze slackened. At 4h00 we resumed our course; still no sign of land up to noon.

(82)

**10-11 Nivose, Year 11 of the Republic [31 December 1802-1 January 1803]**

Fine weather over the 24 hours; cloudy sky, calm sea and a moderate breeze, variable and uneven. At 1h00 in the afternoon we sighted the mainland, bearing east. In the evening it was visible stretching northwards from us. At that time we were to the east of Kangaroo Island, so we set a westerly, then north-westerly course during the night and finally at daybreak we headed north. The schooner followed close behind.

(84)

**11-12 Nivose, Year 11 of the Republic [1-2 January 1803]**

Very fine weather, moderate and variable breeze. The land not in sight in the afternoon. Sailed close-hauled during the night, then bore away at 4h00 in the morning and resumed our course. Soon afterwards we sighted land and recognised it as Kangaroo Island. At 6h00 in the morning the Commander passed the word for me and ordered me to undertake a survey of the island. The area of coastline explored during the morning is sheer near the coast and of medium height. It does not appear to be wooded in this part; the coves are lined with sandy beaches. The Commander ordered the *Casuarina* to pass close inshore, which it did.

(86)

**12-13 Nivose, Year 11 of the Republic [2-3 January 1803]**

Cloudy sky over the 24 hours; humid weather, with a slight swell and a moderate and variable breeze. We continued our survey until evening. Made tack and tack during the night and then at daylight we resumed at the point reached the evening before. At 7h30 we sailed close-

hailed to keep to seaward of a small island and some large reefs that were visible quite some distance offshore. The *Casuarina* remained in sight, sailing close inshore.  
[+ barometer, thermometer and sounding readings]

(88)

**13-14 Nivose, Year 11 of the Republic [3-4 January 1803]**

Cloudy sky over the 24 hours, with a slight swell and a fresh and uneven breeze. We continued to skirt Kangaroo Island, and at 5h30 we were at its south-western headland. At 5h45, having rounded the small islands to the south-west and the reefs that surround them, we noticed pounding surf to the NNW, very close to the ship. We immediately changed course and steered west. At sunset we thought we had sight of land in the west, with two small detached islands bearing SW. We steered in this direction until midnight, but since we saw nothing, and with soundings giving no indication of land, we stood in for the island. In the morning we continued to skirt the coast, and at noon we were north of the island's north-west headland. We recognised this as the headland where we had completed our survey of the northern coast in Floréal, Year 10 [April-May 1802].  
[+ barometer, thermometer and sounding readings]

(90)

**14-15 Nivose, Year 11 of the Republic [4-5 January 1803]**

In the afternoon we continued to skirt the northern coast of Kangaroo Island, taking bearings up to about 5h00 in the afternoon. At that time the wind prevented us from standing close in so we suspended the survey and set a course east all night. At 7h00 in the evening we sighted the headland on the mainland separating the two gulfs. In the morning we stood in for the island. We went on the other tack at noon because we were to the west of the cove where the Commander wished to drop anchor. Fine weather, calm sea and fresh breeze over the 24 hours.

(92)

**15-16 Nivose, Year 11 of the Republic [5-6 January 1803]**

Very fine weather, calm sea, moderate breeze. Stood off and on in the channel for the rest of the day and at night. On the morning of the 16<sup>th</sup> we headed for the anchorage and at 8h30 the starboard bower was dropped in 8½ fathoms water, over a bottom of muddy sand. Thirty fathoms of cable were veered out. The three dinghies were immediately hoisted out. Two were despatched to reconnoitre the bay, with one of them being ordered to light a fire on the western headland. The third boat was instructed to go ashore at the closest spot and to cut timber for the longboat.

Latitude of the eastern headland of the bay where we anchored: 35°43'30"

Longitude of [the eastern headland of the bay where we anchored]: 135°47'0"

Latitude of the western headland of the same bay: 35°43'20"

Longitude of the [western headland of the same bay]: 135°38'30"

(93)

**17-29 Nivose, Year 11 of the Republic [7-19 January 1803]**

At daybreak on the 17<sup>th</sup> [Nivose, Year 11, 7 January 1803] the large dinghy was sent to chart the cove situated deep within the bay in which we were anchored. At 7h00 we sighted the *Casuarina* to the north-west. It dropped anchor next to us at 10h00. As it was in a poor state I went aboard to inspect it, following which all our carpenters, caulkers and blacksmiths were set to work to get it ready to put to sea again. The wind shifted WSW to W, and then WNW and NW up to noon. The sea became choppy. In the morning we changed the foresail so it

could be repaired. We gave a cable and hawser to the *Casuarina*, and transferred the anchor we were carrying for it. It sent us an anchor which was given a new iron stock and was immediately returned. Squally weather in the afternoon, with a rough sea and a fresh and gusty breeze. We veered out twenty fathoms of cable.

The breeze slackened a little at dawn on the 18<sup>th</sup> [Nivose, Year 11, 8 January 1803]. The *Casuarina*'s sails were repaired and it was given 4 casks of water and a bag of wicks. The dinghy sent to the cove returned during the morning. The topgallant masts were struck down. The wind was a gusty westerly. In the afternoon it was variable from SW - WSW and at 8h00 in the evening it slackened off. Very uneven in strength and direction at night.

At daybreak on the 19<sup>th</sup> [Nivose, Year 11, 9 January 1803] the kedge anchor was raised and secured. The second dinghy was despatched to inspect the double bay to the west of the anchorage. The boats made a number of trips to the *Casuarina*; two casks of sea biscuit were transferred aboard that ship. In the morning the weather was fine, with a moderate west-south-westerly breeze. Several rain squalls hit. At about 10h00 the Commander went ashore, taking various tools for digging wells. In the afternoon I had the ship moored NW- SE. The port bower anchor, in the NW, was in 9½ fathoms. Each cable was veered out 70 fathoms. The Commander returned at 6h15. Workmen of all sorts continued to work on the *Casuarina*, which we also supplied with firewood. Same squally weather during the afternoon and at night, with occasional light rain and a light breeze, strengthening to gusty.

At daybreak on the 20<sup>th</sup> [Nivose, Year 11, 10 January 1803], in very fine weather and with a calm sea and light breeze, I set off with the carpenters to cut some timber for the longboat. Not having found anything suitable at observatory point, I travelled overland to the sandy cove in the south of the bay. There I found some small eucalyptus that I had felled. I was back on board by 8h30.

**(94)**

During the day the boats remaining alongside were used to transport to the *Casuarina* the various effects that had been repaired or were being given to that ship. It got under way at 9h45 in the evening. Light southerly breeze over the 24 hours, variable SE.

In the morning of the 21<sup>st</sup> [Nivose, Year 11, 11 January 1803] the cables were cleared and various daily tasks were performed on board. In the afternoon the dinghy sent to the western bay returned. Very fine weather over the 24 hours, with a calm sea and a moderate and uneven breeze, variable SSE-SSW.

On the morning of the 22<sup>nd</sup> [Nivose, Year 11, 12 January 1803] two boats were sent off fishing, but were unsuccessful. At 8h00 a dinghy put the astronomer and his instruments ashore on the nearby headland. Very fine weather up to noon, with a fresh east to east-north-easterly breeze. The longboat's [illegible] and keel were fitted. Moderate breeze in the evening, varying SSE-SE- S. Calm during the night.

On the 23<sup>rd</sup> [Nivose, Year 11, 13 January 1803] firewood was cut and some wells were dug for water. Very fine weather, with a light north-westerly breeze up to 5h00 and a similar south-south-easterly breeze in the evening and at night.

On the 24<sup>th</sup> [Nivose, Year 11, 14 January 1803] firewood was cut and two casks of water were loaded. The longboat was mounted on its stocks. Very fine weather, light south-south-westerly breeze, variable to SSE.

On the 25<sup>th</sup> [Nivose, Year 11, 15 January 1803] more firewood was loaded, plus two casks of water. A storm blew up at 7h00 in the evening, but gradually dissipated. The wind varied from SSW to W during the morning. Moderate north-easterly breeze, varying to the north during the afternoon, while at night it was very uneven and variable from north to west.

On the 26<sup>th</sup> [Nivose, Year 11, 16 January 1803] a party was sent to cut timber for the longboat. Spare masts and spars were moved to the gun deck so the three dinghies could be

placed on the gratings. Squally weather, fresh and gusty breeze variable SW-W, choppy sea, overcast sky. Almost calm during the night.

On the 27<sup>th</sup> [Nivose, Year 11, 17 January 1803] a party was sent to cut firewood. Very fine weather, light breeze varying SSE, S and SSW. Calm during the night.

On the 28<sup>th</sup> [Nivose, Year 11, 18 January 1803] we loaded sand and 5 casks of water. Seven live kangaroos were also embarked. Very fine weather, breeze varying E, ESE and ENE.

On the 29<sup>th</sup> [Nivose, Year 11, 19 January 1803] a party was sent to the bay west of the anchorage to cut timber for spars. The port side of the great cabin was dismantled and work continued on the longboat, the sails and the ship's sailing gear. Six casks of water were loaded. A sow, a boar, two hens and a cock were put ashore on the island. Clear sky, calm sea, moderate east-north-easterly breeze. Stormy weather at night. At 2h45 the wind gusted violently from ENE, then N-NW before shifting SSW, gradually slackening. The ship dragged its anchor during this storm.

**(95)**

**30 Nivose – 11 Pluviose, Year 11 of the Republic [20-31 January 1803]**

Very fine weather on the 30<sup>th</sup> [Nivose, Year 11, 20 January 1803], with light airs up to evening, followed by a gusty south-westerly. The dinghy sent to the western bay returned with some spars.

On 1 Pluviose [Year 11, 21 January 1803] the Commander went ashore with the carpenters to cut timber for the longboat. He spent the night ashore. We loaded 6 casks of water. Very fine weather, light southerly breeze.

At 7h00 on the 2<sup>nd</sup> [Pluviose, Year 11, 22 January 1803] the Commander returned from his expedition ashore, where he had run into danger. A tree that was being felled tumbled on to him and knocked him down. Fortunately he ended up between two branches and he suffered no more than slight bruising to the head. He brought back three live kangaroos. We loaded five casks of water, and two other two cabins beneath the quarterdeck were dismantled. Very fine weather over the 24 hours, with winds variable from S-SSE.

On the 3<sup>rd</sup> [Pluviose, Year 11, 23 January 1803] we loaded five casks of water and some timber for the longboat. Very fine weather, light to moderate south-easterly and south-south-easterly breeze. Almost calm during the night.

On the 4<sup>th</sup> [Pluviose, Year 11, 24 January 1803] we loaded five casks of water and some timber for the longboat. Fine weather, light and variable easterly and east-south-easterly breeze. Fresh and gusty east to south-easterly breeze at night.

On the 5<sup>th</sup> [Pluviose, Year 11, 25 January 1803] we loaded another five casks of water and timber for the longboat. Hot weather, calm for part of the day. Light south to south-south-westerly breeze at night.

On the 6<sup>th</sup> [Pluviose, Year 11, 26 January 1803] we loaded four casks of water and some timber. Very fine weather, light southerly breeze, variable to ENE.

On the 7<sup>th</sup> [Pluviose, Year 11, 27 January 1803] we loaded three casks of water and cleared the cables. Overcast weather, calm sea. A little rain fell at night and there was a good deal of lightning all round the horizon. Some southerly gusts.

On the 8<sup>th</sup> [Pluviose, Year 11, 28 January 1803] we loaded five casks of water and struck the camp at the watering place. Fine weather, with a light southerly breeze, freshening from time to time and veering SE-SSW.

On the 9<sup>th</sup> [Pluviose, Year 11, 29 January 1803] we loaded two casks of water and cleared the cables. Fine weather, moderate breeze varying NE-SE. At 1h30 a fire broke out in the planking of the galley water reservoir. It was quickly extinguished.

(96)

On the 10<sup>th</sup> [Pluiose, Year 11, 30 January 1803] the topgallant masts were swayed up. We took on five casks of water and careened the longboat so planking could be fitted to its hull. This work continued by torchlight until 11h30. The breeze varied from SW-S-SSE, then slackened during the night. Very fine weather.

At daybreak on the 11<sup>th</sup> [Pluiose, Year 11, 31 January 1803] the longboat was careened on its port flank and the same work carried out as on the previous day. It was righted at 8h00 in the evening. Same weather and winds as the previous day.

At 4h00 on the morning of the 12<sup>th</sup> [Pluiose, Year 11, 1 February 1803] the longboat was secured on its stocks, then the three dinghies were hoisted in and we unmoored. By 7h00 we were apeak on the starboard bower, with the topsails at the masthead, waiting for the breeze so we could get under way.

We had remained moored off Kangaroo Island for 26 days, during which time the shipped had dragged its anchor only once despite some quite strong gusts of wind. We had been moored east-west between the two headlands of the bay – it may have been better to have been a little further in. In any case, we were too close to the eastern headland for the north-westerly winds. The island is not inhabited, but there were traces of fire everywhere I went. I estimate that this had happened about ten years ago. The core under the island's layer of soil is of shale. We did not find any streams, but by digging wells we were able to obtain a supply of water that more or less met our daily requirements. We had great difficulty finding the timber required for the longboat construction, even though the eucalyptus species that the English call blue gum – *eucalyptus robustus*, which is a very good timber for ship building – is common on the island. The problem is that once these trees grow to 7-8 inches in diameter they rot inside. I believe that when they get to that size the soil is no longer capable of providing enough moisture for sap. A species of *itea spinosa* can provide plenty of curved wood, 8 or 10 inches when dressed and finely shaped, but I saw nothing adequate for planking.

Like Mr Flinders, we came across a prodigious number of kangaroos, and even though we did not do much hunting the crew was always able to have as much as they wanted. The same cannot be said for emus. We saw several, but were only able to capture two live specimens bring on board. We embarked twenty kangaroos, and in order to house them we had to dismantle the pantries and five cabins.

(97)

**11-12 Pluiose, Year 11 of the Republic [31 January- 1 February 1803]**

The cove [two words crossed out] that we found deep within the bay in which we were anchored could serve as a shelter for small ships such as the *Casuarina*. The sea rises by [blank] at the entrance to this small port.

(98)

The ship's draught at anchor – with two anchors dropped and all the boats hoisted out (but the flat-bottoms on their skid beams):

Stern	13 <sup>ft</sup> 6 <sup>in</sup>
Head	12 <sup>ft</sup> 2 <sup>in</sup>
Difference	1 <sup>ft</sup> 4 <sup>in</sup>
Draught on departure from Le Havre	
Stern	14 <sup>ft</sup> 4 <sup>in</sup>
Head	13 <sup>[ft]</sup> 3 <sup>[in]</sup>
Difference	1 <sup>ft</sup> 1 <sup>in</sup>

The ship's trim is about the same, but it is sitting about a foot higher.

Elevation of various parts of the ship above sea level (to help with dip, the observer's height is not included)

The middle of the aft section of the poop	20 <sup>ft</sup>
The side of [the aft section of the poop]	19 <sup>ft</sup>
The middle of the forward section of the poop	19 <sup>ft</sup>
The side of [the forward section of the poop]	18 <sup>ft</sup>
The quarterdeck, abeam the mainmast	10 <sup>ft</sup>
The forecastle, at the bows	11 <sup>ft</sup>

On the 12<sup>th</sup> [Pluiose, Year 11, 1 February 1803], at 4h00 in the morning, the longboat was secured on its stocks, the three dinghies were hoisted in and we unmoored. At 7h00 we were apeak on the starboard bower, with the topsails at the masthead, waiting for the breeze. It got up at 8h00 and we then got under way, gradually increasing sail until we were under full sail. We set a course NW, skirting the island, without however getting too close because of the shallow water; soundings consistently returned a very variable depth, between six and ten fathoms.

\*

**(100)**

**12-13 Pluiose, Year 11 of the Republic [1-2 February 1803]**

On the 12<sup>th</sup> and 13<sup>th</sup> we continued on course to clear the channel by the west. The weather was ~~very~~ fine, but the breeze was very strong and variable. At 2h00 we sighted the *Casuarina*, on the opposite tack from us. We passed close by and to windward, but it continued on its run and at 3h30 it disappeared from sight. We continued on course to clear the channel before nightfall, because the weather appeared threatening. Towards 10h00 we doubled the island's NW headland. At the time it was almost calm. We kept the stern lantern lit during the rest of the night and hove to. The weather was stormy and the wind very variable in strength and direction. Overcast and rainy weather in the morning. We steered SSW in search of the land thought to have been sighted in this quarter during our exploration of the southern part of the island.

**(102)**

**13-14 Pluiose, Year 11 of the Republic [2-3 February 1803]**

Dark and rainy weather over the 24 hours, with a very uneven and variable breeze. For the remainder of the day we continued searching for land to the south. At daybreak on the 14<sup>th</sup>, with no sign of land, the search was called off and we set sail for the St Peter Islands. Work continues on the longboat, as vigorously as the weather allows.

**(104)**

**14-15 Pluiose, Year 11 of the Republic [3-4 February 1803]**

Dark and rainy weather over the 24 hours. The light and variable breeze freshened up to 10h00 in the evening, then slackened up to midnight before freshening again up to 6h00 in the morning. During the morning it was strong and steady, and the sea was rough. Two starboard cabins were dismantled to house the kangaroos that had been kept on deck, where they had suffered badly from the sea water coming on board.

**(106)**

**15-16 Pluiose, Year 11 of the Republic [4-5 February 1803]**

Cloudy sky over the 24 hours, with a swell running and a variable and uneven breeze. Continued tracking north up to 8h00 in the evening, when the Commander ordered us to sail

close-hauled. Made tack and tack during the night, before resuming our course at 5h00 in the morning. We believed we were no further than 15 leagues from the Postilion, where we are to resume our survey.

**(108)**

**16-17 Pluiose, Year 11 of the Republic [5-6 February 1803]**

Fine weather, cloudy sky, moderate, uneven and variable breeze and a swell running. The weather fined up on the morning of the 17<sup>th</sup>. Continued on course northwards up to nightfall, when we began making tack and tack. In the morning the mainland was sighted to the north and east and we crowded sail to stand in for it.

**(110)**

**17-18 Pluiose, Year 11 of the Republic [6-7 February 1803]**

Very fine weather, strong breeze, light swell. At noon we resumed our survey at the small Postilion Island, which we rounded to the west, and [illegible] we headed east to reconnoitre the low-lying land in the bay behind this island. The mainland was constantly in sight, but the shallow water forced us to skirt it at a distance. The Postilion bristles with reefs, which on one side extend SSW and on the other to the east, stretching over a great distance. However, there seems to be a good channel between the rock formation to the east of the island and the mainland.

Made tack and tack during the night, always keeping the two St Peter Islands in sight.

At 6h00 in the morning we bore up to NE to enter the bay, rounding the St Peter Islands by the east, but soon afterwards some reefs off the mainland coast forced us to bear up as far as NW, then W, so that at 7h00 we were very close to the easternmost of the St Peter Islands. As soon as we had rounded the reefs we came back to starboard and tracked northward, but the rapidly shallowing water forced us westward again when we had only 6 fathoms under the ship. Consequently we only sighted from a great distance the far reaches of this bay, which is situated to the NE of the St Peter Islands.

Tracking west from 8h00 to 9h30 and rounding the St Peter Islands to the north, we came close to the mainland and skirted it close inshore. We were then to the south of a small island. After having rounded its western extremity, we tracked north and north-east to enter a large bay that could be seen from the masthead, and where we hoped to find shelter. And indeed we dropped the starboard bower there at 11h05, in six and a half fathoms over a sandy bottom, and initially veered out thirty fathoms of cable. Immediately after having anchored we hoisted out the boats and sent them to take soundings in the bay. In the afternoon ~~of the~~ ~~18<sup>th</sup>~~ a further twenty fathoms of cable were veered out to ensure that the ship held. The topgallant yards were unrigged. The weather continued to be fine during the night, although there was a stiff SSE breeze. However, the ship did not drag its anchor. Barometer at midnight, 28.4, thermometer 15°.

**(111)**

**19-22 Pluiose, Year 11 of the Republic [8-11 February 1803]**

On the morning of the 19<sup>th</sup> [Pluiose, Year 11, 8 February 1803] the breeze was moderate, varying ESE-SSE. At 5h30 the two dinghies set off, each with provisions for three days, to sail around and survey the bay. The small dinghy was sent off fishing. In the afternoon the breeze was strong and gusty. Work was done to fit out the longboat.

Same weather on the 20<sup>th</sup> [Pluiose, Year 11, 9 February 1803] – light breeze in the morning, freshening thereafter. Work continued on the longboat. The two dinghies returned in the afternoon, having completed their mission. One of them reported that it had proof that the land to the east of the small island was another, larger, island. We had not seen the channel



separating this latter island from the mainland when we skirted its southern part. During the night the wind was very strong.

Similarly, the morning of the 21<sup>st</sup> [Pluiose, Year 11, 10 February 1803] brought a strong breeze from SSE. A dinghy was sent ashore with the naturalists. It returned towards evening and the three dinghies were hoisted in. Twenty fathoms of cable were veered out for the night, which saw constant strong wind.

	Barometer		Thermometer	
	At noon	At midnight	At noon	At midnight
19 <sup>th</sup>	28.3	28.3	16	16.2
20 <sup>th</sup>	28.25	28.25	16.4	15.5
21 <sup>st</sup>	28.3	28.2	17	16
22 <sup>nd</sup>	28.35		16.5	

At 7h00, while we were still in the bay, the depth decreased to 5 fathoms. It then increased to 8 and stayed there while we were between the two headlands – outside of this we ceased to have ground with the hand line. At 11h30 we took a sounding with the main line, but had no ground with 23 fathoms.

We remained in this bay for three days. We had entered it in the hope of finding a port, or some fresh water, but our hopes were dashed. There is good anchorage, but we were not sheltered from south-westerly winds. We did not see any natives, although we came across several of their fires. The sandy beaches are covered in shells, including some species that were new to us. We captured and embarked some small kangaroos and two live possums, as well as several types of granite. The sea rises about six feet.

Latitude observed in the far reaches of the bay on the 19<sup>th</sup>: 32°10'50".

Longitude [observed in the far reaches of the bay on the 19<sup>th</sup>]: 131°33'58".

At 4h00 in the morning on the 22<sup>nd</sup> [Pluiose, Year 11, 11 February 1803] we [illegible] the capstan, took the second reef in the topsails and then got under way. At 6h45 we were under sail. We cleared the bay in which we had anchored, sailing closer to the eastern than the western side of the entrance, then set a course west, rounding the St Peter and St Francis Islands – the latter ones being out of sight - to the north and skirting the mainland. We were forced to alter course on several occasions because of reefs. We saw many islands, which we left to the south. The coast surveyed during the morning consists of low-lying sand dunes, devoid of any vegetation.

**(114)**

**22-23 Pluiose, Year 11 of the Republic [11-12 February 1803]**

Very fine weather during the afternoon, with a strong breeze and a swell running. Continued surveying the coast, skirting it from east to west. It consists of arid sand dunes, although some of the headlands have low but sheer cliffs near the shore. Between 4h00 and 5h00 the continent could be seen stretching out of sight to the north, while at the same time small islands could be seen to WSW. We approached these islands and recognised them as being the ones we had sighted on [blank] Floréal, Year 10. At 5h00 a rock was sighted very close to the ship, leading us to sail close-hauled to SSW. We rounded the reefs at a distance of less than 1 mile. We stayed on the same course at night and in the morning, as the Commander had completed the survey of the SW coast. At 11h00 in the morning we set a course SW, on course for King George Sound.

**(116)**

**23-24 Pluiose, Year 11 of the Republic [12-13 February 1803]**

Fine weather over the 24 hours, though with a cloudy sky and light swell. Continued on course for King George Sound.

**(118)**

**24-25 Pluiose, Year 11 of the Republic [13-14 February 1803]**

Fine but cloudy weather over the 24 hours with a fresh, variable and uneven breeze and a rough sea. Continued on course for our next destination. Repairs were completed to the two dinghies.

**(120)**

**25-26 Pluiose, Year 11 of the Republic [14-15 February 1803]**

Overcast and dark weather, with a variable and very uneven breeze. Stormy weather at night, with a god deal of lightning in the east and some rain squalls. Still on course for King George Sound.

**(122)**

**26-27 Pluiose, Year 11 of the Republic [15-16 February 1803]**

Overcast sky and damp weather over the 24 hours, with a light, uneven and variable breeze. According to our reckoning we are not far from the coast, but we were unable to make an observation.

**(124)**

**27-28 Pluiose, Year 11 of the Republic [16-17 February 1803]**

Fine weather and very light breeze during the afternoon. Land was visible at 2h00 and at first sight we recognised Mount Gardner. However very shortly afterwards the horizon, which had been very hazy, cleared and revealed two other hilltops, one of them higher than the first one we had seen. This made us a little uncertain. We continued to stand in for the land. Very light airs at night, and we hove to at 2h00. At daybreak we again stood in for the land, and as we got closer we recognised the entrance to King George Sound. The Commander had some sketches made of it. This land formation is so special that it will be impossible to mistake – at least that is how it seemed to us because it is unlike anything else we have seen on the south-west coast.

**(125)**

**28-29 Pluiose, Year 11 of the Republic [17-18 February 1803]**

Prior to entering the bay we took several soundings, without having ground with 20 and 16 fathoms, but once inside the headland, and very close to it, we had ground with 16 fathoms. It then decreased to 8 fathoms, but later increased again, beyond 16 fathoms.

As we entered the bay we saw a French flag flying on Seal Rock. We fired a gun, to which the *Casuarina* responded with several rockets; we fired off two rockets ourselves.

**(126)**

Overcast sky during the afternoon, with a gentle breeze and light swell. We skirted the coast, standing close inshore. As we made our way to the moorings we passed to the south of the two islands at the entrance to the bay and dropped the starboard bower in 17 fathoms, over a bottom of muddy sand. We immediately moored the ship ESE-WNW, veering out 70 fathoms on the starboard cable and 50 fathoms to port. We then unrigged the topgallants.

During the night the wind shifted WNW. At daybreak three dinghies and the longboat were hoisted out. The observatory was set up on the ~~garden~~ island and we went in search of a watering place close to the ship.

On the morning of the 29<sup>th</sup> [Pluiose, Year 11, 18 February 1803] the Commander went ashore to visit the watering place that had been found. He was back on board three hours later. The longboat had been fitted out and was ready to get under sail when a strong W $\frac{1}{4}$ SW gust made the ship drag its anchor until we were in line with the port cable. Soon afterwards the gusts increased in strength and the ship dragged both anchors. We veered out 90 fathoms to starboard and 100 to port, bent the sheet anchor to its cable and catted it, and unrigged the longboat. During the day we saw several fires at different places in the hinterland. The captain of the *Casuarina* came aboard. He told us that he had found a superb port in the large gulf. He had also recovered from Princess Royal Harbour a medal and inscription left by Mr Flinders during his visit here. It is dated [blank]. Very rainy weather at night [several words crossed out] heavy rain, with fresh and gusty wind. At 8h30 in the evening we dropped the sheet anchor. Winds variable from WSW-NW.

On the morning of the 30<sup>th</sup> [Pluiose, Year 11, 19 February 1803] the naturalists were taken ashore; their tents had been set up at the watering place on the previous evening. The sheet anchor was weighed. The weather continued to be squally all day, with gusty W-WSW winds. Same weather at night, although the gusts were not as strong and there were calm patches in between.

On the morning of 1 Ventose [Year 11, 20 February 1803] the two large dinghies were sent off, one to survey the port and the other to inspect the bay to the east, as far as Bald Island. The longboat was despatched to the watering place. At the time the breeze was a light south-westerly. The longboat returned during the afternoon with 25 casks of water. It was swiftly unloaded and sent off again. Light and variable airs from SW-SSW, then S-SE at night. Also some very light easterlies.

### (127)

At 5h30 on the morning of 2 Ventose [Year 11, 21 February 1803] the Commander set off in his dinghy to visit the bay. As he left he ordered me to weigh the port bower anchor and to drop it again: this was done. In the morning we again moored SE-NW, veering out 70 fathoms on the starboard cable and 60 fathoms to port. The longboat returned from the watering place with 23 casks of water, then set off once again. Thick fog during the morning, dissipating in light rain, and fine weather thereafter. Light east-south-easterly breeze, very variable all round the compass from 5h00 to 8h00 in the morning. Very fine weather during the afternoon, with a moderate east-south-easterly breeze. At 4h00 we sighted a vessel making its way towards the port, and shortly afterwards it was recognised as an American snow. At sunset it dropped anchor nearby; we immediately sent a dinghy to inform the Commander of this meeting. Fresh and gusty breeze in the evening, variable E-E $\frac{1}{4}$ SE; the sea a little rough.

Very fine weather on the morning of the 3<sup>rd</sup> [Ventose, Year 11, 22 February 1803], with a strong easterly breeze. At 10h00 the American captain came aboard: he is a [blank] fisherman. He is hunting along the coast for pelts, which he then plans to sell in China. The ship's name is [blank]. At 11h30 the longboat returned with 20 casks of water. Very fine weather during the afternoon and at night, with a fresh east to east-north-easterly breeze.

The American captain came aboard again on the morning of the 4<sup>th</sup> [Ventose, Year 11, 23 February 1803] to see the Commander. Neither I nor Mr Freycinet was informed of his arrival; he spent part of the morning on board without either of us knowing anything about it. The longboat returned with its last load of water. In the afternoon the wind slackened and veered ESE. At 4h30 the Commander arrived in his dinghy; he was annoyed that a boat had

been sent to inform him of the American's arrival. Work proceeded on board to repair some grappling anchors. Towards sunset the *Casuarina* was sighted, under sail and clearing Princess Royal Harbour. Calm during the night, with some light airs varying ENE-NNW.

**(128)**

At daylight on the 5<sup>th</sup> [Ventose, Year 11, 24 February 1803] we sighted the *Casuarina* anchored near the watering place. During the morning the wind varied NNE-N-W-WSW. The American captain came aboard to dine with the Commander. Overcast weather in the afternoon, with a fresh west-south-westerly breeze. The captain of the *Casuarina* came aboard. Squally weather during the night, with a west-south-westerly breeze and almost continuous rain.

Same weather on the morning of the 6<sup>th</sup> [Ventose, Year 11, 25 February 1803], gradually fining up as the breeze veered SW and SSW. At 10h00 the longboat set off for the watering place to complete the *Casuarina*'s water. The Commander went with it. However, as the boat became embayed downwind, the Commander's stern dinghy was sent for him. He arrived at 6h00 in the evening. The large dinghy came alongside in the afternoon, having completed its survey of the port. Squally weather during the night, with a strong west-south-westerly breeze.

Same squally weather on the morning of the 7<sup>th</sup> [Ventose, Year 11, 26 February 1803], with the same west and west-south-westerly breezes and a little rain. The breeze later settled in the WSW and it was fine in the afternoon. The longboat returned in the afternoon. The night was fine, with light airs, variable ESE-E-SE.

On the morning of the 8<sup>th</sup> [Ventose, Year 11, 27 February 1803] the American snow got under sail. The very light breeze veered from ESE-NW, then immediately back again to ESE. The snow had great difficulty rounding the islands. The longboat went for sand and for the daily water supply. In the afternoon stores were sent across to the *Casuarina* to bring its supplies up to 4½ months. At 6h00 in the evening the large dinghy returned from its expedition to the large bay in the east. Mr Ransonnet, who was in command, had had contact with natives and had also discovered three small ports similar to Princess Royal and Oyster Harbours. The night was fine, with a fresh easterly breeze.

On the morning of the 9<sup>th</sup> [Ventose, Year 11, 28 February 1803] the tents at the watering place were struck. Winds variable NE-E. Some clothes were given to the *Casuarina*. The observatory was dismantled in the afternoon, then all of the boats were hoisted in and we unmoored. The night was fine and calm.

**(129)**

**9 Ventose [Year 11, 28 February 1803]**

[No text]

**(130)**

**10 [Ventose] Year 11 of the Republic [1 March 1803]**

[No text]

**(132)**

**10-11 Ventose, Year 11 of the Republic [1-2 March 1803]**

The weather was reasonably fine in the afternoon but turned squally at night and the sea rose. Course was given WSW so we could round Cape Leeuwin, but the wind prevented us from setting that course. We stood off and on over the 24 hours, without making much headway.

(134)

**11-12 Ventose, Year 11 of the Republic [2-3 March 1803]**

Fine weather during the afternoon. Towards 5h00 in the evening we were abeam of the first bay to the west of the Eclipse Islands, and could not see land in its far reaches. The land that was visible to us was devoid of any vegetation. Smoke could be seen rising in various places in the hinterland. The weather turned overcast at night, with the sea still rough and the winds contrary.

(136)

**12-13 Ventose, Year 11 of the Republic [3-4 March 1803]**

Overcast weather, rough sea, contrary winds. The *Casuarina* asked us to shorten sail, and we obliged. We were forced to wear ship constantly. The ship steers well in calm seas, but as soon as there is a swell it becomes slack and difficult to handle, and makes a lot of leeway. The wind abated in the morning and by noon it was almost calm.

(138)

**13-14 Ventose, Year 11 of the Republic [4-5 March 1803]**

Overcast and dark weather with some rain squalls, a very uneven and variable breeze and a heavy south-westerly swell. If it were true that enjoyment is proportionate to desire, then rounding Cape Leeuwin should be a very joyful time for us. We have long considered this as a turning point, bringing us closer to our homeland and friends. One needs to be on the other side of the world, having been separated for almost three years from everything one holds dear, to understand the effect produced on sensitive men by the idea of such a homecoming. Having cleared King George Sound we could within twenty-four hours have completely left the south-western coast behind us. And yet for four days the winds have persisted in preventing us from crossing this barrier and I believe that, when the time finally comes, our desire will have been exhausted and we will no longer experience the hoped-for pleasure.

(140)

**14-15 Ventose, Year 11 of the Republic [5-6 March 1803]**

Fine weather and a calm sea. At 4h00 in the afternoon, with the breeze very light, the *Casuarina* was ordered to close with us and the Commander tasked it with skirting close in-shore to inspect the meanderings of the coastline, which seemed likely to provide some shelter. Rottnest Island was given as a rendezvous should we become separated; we then made tack and tack for the remainder of the 24 hours. The *Casuarina* had hardly reached the coast when the wind freshened and veered easterly – which would have allowed us to get under way if we had not been obliged to await the *Casuarina*.

(142)

**15-16 Ventose, Year 11 of the Republic [6-7 March 1803]**

A very thick fog rolled in at 2h00, the wind freshened and the sea rose. We continued making tack and tack, continually wearing ship as we did so. Towards noon the weather had fined up and the sea had fallen; we were able to go about without wearing. We were not far from the coast, although it was not in sight; at dawn we had only glimpsed it on the horizon, as the fog kept it hidden.

(144)

**16-17 Ventose, Year 11 of the Republic [7-8 March 1803]**

Overcast sky, sea a little rough, moderate breeze. In the morning the breeze freshened and the sea rose. Continued making tack and tack up to 8h00 in the morning when the Commander,

who no longer held out any hope of joining up with the *Casuarina* on that part of the coast it had set out to explore, set a course WNW. I had the watch from 8h00 to noon, but soon after taking over I felt ill and was forced to leave the deck. The fatigue caused by such a long voyage, combined with a lack of exercise and the mental distress I have suffered have finally affected my health, which I had thought to be iron-clad. This is my second bout of illness since arriving in King George Sound. I had always considered that nervous disorders were the exclusive domain of frail young things, and yet now – either because my inner being is less able to support jolts or because it has become more sensitive – I am often forced to have recourse to ether.

**(146)**

**17-18 Ventose, Year 11 of the Republic [8-9 March 1803]**

Overcast sky, humid weather, rough sea and fresh breeze. Made tack and tack during the night, then at dawn we sighted St Allouarn Island and stood in for the coast. Soon afterwards we almost came to grief on a reef that was only occasionally exposed, and which we only saw when we were upon it. The coast we skirted is quite high, with surf breaking all along it. It seems to be sandy and is covered with bushes close to shore, with large trees further inland. I spent all day in my bunk, without going on watch, and on this occasion I did not sight Cape Leeuwin.

Latitude of Cape Leeuwin	34°25'41"
True longitude of [Cape Leeuwin]	112°42'32"
Latitude of St Allouarn Island	34°27'10"
True longitude [of St Allouarn Island]	112°42'35"

**(147)**

**18 Ventose [9 March 1803]**

[No text]

**(148)**

**19 [Ventose], Year 11 of the Republic [10 March 1803]**

~~Very fine weather, calm sea, moderate breeze. Remained under very short sail waiting for the *Casuarina*. In the morning we sailed past Blind Strait without sighting it, even though we were not far out to sea, but our noon latitude puts us on the coast of Dirk Hartog Island.~~

**(150)**

**19-20 Ventose, Year 11 of the Republic [10-11 March 1803]**

In the afternoon we sailed around Geographe Bay at a distance of 3-4 miles offshore, but the fog that rolled in prevented us from having a clear view of the coast. A storm struck and the weather threatened to turn quite bad. However by sunset it had fined up and the Commander decided to anchor for the night. During the afternoon we had seen some – seemingly quite large – objects floating in the bay, and at 3h00 the dinghy was hoisted out to go and see what they were. It came back alongside shortly afterwards, having determined that it was a dead whale. No injury had been seen. At 7h00 we dropped the starboard bower in 9 fathoms water, over a bottom of sand mixed with shells. The night was extremely fine. At daybreak we came apeak the anchor and by 6h00 we were under sail. Continued on course, skirting the coast. Towards 8h00 we recognised our last anchorage in Geographe Bay from Prairial, Year 9 [May-June 1801]. It was only then that we realised we had just spent the night very near the place where our longboat had been lost. The Commander had wanted to send a boat ashore, but as we had already passed the spot in question, and since he wanted to take advantage of a precious day's exploration, he did not consider it appropriate to turn back. However we were

forced to drop anchor a second time. At 11h15 we sighted an inlet, and from the masthead water was sighted behind the first row of dunes. At 11h30 the starboard bower was dropped in 10½ fathoms water, over a bottom of small gravel. We sent a boat to inspect the inlet, which at the time bore S15°E, distant 4½ miles. The dinghy returned after four hours, having discovered a vast lagoon where the water was 2½-3 fathoms deep, with a longish entrance having 12-14 feet of water in the channel. The dinghy brought back some casuarina branches and a white cockatoo, with pink around its beak. The land is inhabited, but the natives did not...

(152)

**20-21 Ventose, Year 11 of the Republic [11-12 March 1803]**

...show themselves. The remains of a cooked kangaroo had been found on land that had been recently burned. Some of the limbs still had flesh attached, and it was not at all spoiled. There appear to be many fish in this lagoon, which would make a good port for small vessels. The dinghy was alongside by 4h00. It was immediately hoisted in and we waited for the next day to get under sail. The breeze was fresh during the afternoon, but slackened at night and the sea fell. We got under way at 5h30 in the morning and, as on the previous day, skirted the coast very close inshore. It consists of [illegible] dunes, behind which can be seen some higher, well-wooded ground.

(154)

**21-22 Ventose, Year 11 of the Republic [12-13 March 1803]**

In the afternoon we were skirting the coast, very close in, making 6½ knots in very fine weather, when at 12h20 the depth rapidly decreased from 6½ fathoms to 5 fathoms, then to 5 and even to 3½. At the first sign of a decrease we hauled the wind, but as the depth decreased further we bore away. At the very same moment we saw the top of a sandbank off to port, appearing to have very little water over it. We passed between it and the mainland. Once past, we hauled the wind for a quarter of an hour and then bore up to stand in for the coast once again. However the uneven depth prevented us from getting as close inshore as we had been during the rest of the day. At 4h00 we sighted land stretching away to the north. As we approached we could see quite large inlets, inside of which nothing was visible. At 6h30 in the evening we recognised Rottnest and Seal Islands. We sailed close to the wind on the port tack up to midnight, then on the starboard tack up to daybreak. The sky was very clear, with a fresh breeze and rough sea. The breeze and the sea then fell away and we crowded sail to reach Rottnest Island. At 6h30 we sighted the *Casuarina* getting under sail. We hove to. Mr Freycinet came on board: he had skirted the entire coast since our separation, without having found any shelter. At 8h00 we set a course north, coasting along the mainland – which seemed to me to run NNW-SSE – but at a great distance.

(156)

**22-23 Ventose, Year 11 of the Republic [13-14 March 1803]**

At 12h45 in the afternoon the course was changed to NNW, since our northerly course had us too close inshore, and we continued to skirt the coast up to nightfall without losing sight of it, in very fine weather and with a strong breeze. We were under very short sail in order to keep the *Casuarina* in sight, but at dusk we were forced to heave to and wait for it. The *Géographe* makes very good way in this trim; in weather that calls for topgallants we were making up to 6½ knots under the three topsails, two reefs taken and struck on the cap. At 9h00 in the evening, with 27 fathoms and a coral bottom under the ship, the course was altered to NW. Still very fine weather and a very rough sea. At 6h00 in the morning the

course was set back to NNW, and we continued in this direction until noon. For the first time since getting close to the Torrid Zone we sighted some tropic birds.

**(158)**

**23-24 Ventose, Year 11 of the Republic [14-15 March 1803]**

Fine weather over the 24 hours, with a strong and somewhat uneven breeze and rough sea. Continued on course NNW under very easy sail so the *Casuarina* could remain in consort. At daybreak the course was altered to NNE. Sighted some flying fish and caught a bonito – the first since our departure from France.

**(160)**

**24-25 Ventose, Year 11 of the Republic [15-16 March 1803]**

Very fine weather, calm sea and moderate breeze. Still under very easy sail to wait for the *Casuarina*. Our noon latitude puts us off Dirk Hartog Island, which we are skirting at a distance of approximately 6 miles.

**(162)**

**25-26 Ventose, Year 11 of the Republic [16-17 March 1803]**

Very fine weather in the afternoon, with a calm sea and fresh breeze. At noon we sighted the northern headland of Dirk Hartog Island. The Commander ordered the *Casuarina* to pass ahead and to signal the depth when it reached 5 fathoms or less in the channel between Dorre and Dirk Hartog Islands. We followed it for a moment or two, but as we had no ground with 25 fathoms we soon crowded sail and passed ahead. The southernmost Dorre Island was sighted from afar, and we also saw the sandbank in the middle of this channel: the waves rarely break over it, which is why we took such a long time to get a proper sighting. At 1h30 we entered Shark Bay. We stayed on a south-easterly course up to 6h30 in the evening, when we dropped the starboard bower in 8½ fathoms, fine sand, and veered out 70 fathoms of cable. At 7h30 the *Casuarina* came to anchor within hailing distance of us. The night was fine but very humid, with a moderate breeze. At 6h00 in the morning the two dinghies were hoisted out and sent to take soundings ahead of the ship. At 7h00 the *Casuarina* got under way, with orders to look for an anchorage near the middle peninsula, which we had in sight. At 7h30 we got under way and set the same course. At 8h45, in five fathoms water, fine sand, we dropped the starboard bower and paid out 40 fathoms of cable. The two dinghies returned and were immediately provisioned for six days and sent, under Mr Ransonnet's command, to hunt for turtles on Auteuil Island.

**(163)**

**26-27 Ventose, Year 11 of the Republic [17-18 March 1803]**

On the afternoon of the 26<sup>th</sup> the small dinghy, which had been sent ashore in the morning, came back alongside. It brought back some fish, but had not put in. A large number of armed natives, some of whom appeared to our men to be extraordinarily tall and strong, had opposed their going ashore. The dinghy was not carrying arms and had been commanded by the master's mate. During the night the flat-bottom, which had also been sent out to fish, also reported having seen many natives who had forced them to put to sea again quickly. Continuously fine weather, light breeze from S¼SW and SSW. The night was very humid. At dawn on the 27<sup>th</sup> [Ventose, Year 11, 18 March 1803] the *Casuarina* got under sail to take soundings in the northern part of the bay, and at 7h30 I took command of the longboat and the small dinghy, both of them fully armed. We were a party of 19 men, including the naturalists, in the two boats. My orders were to use all possible means of making contact with the natives who had been sighted the previous day, but to remain constantly on the alert while I did so. I



had the weapons loaded before we reached land. Soon afterwards I went ashore without difficulty and, after having secured the boats, I set off into the hinterland with three men, plus those among the naturalists who wished to come with us and the surgeon's mate, who was accompanying me. We covered a lot of ground, but in vain because we did not come across any natives. Behind the dunes where they had first been seen the previous day I discovered a sort of hamlet made up of 12-15 huts of varying sizes. Their shape resembles that of an oven, but they are much better constructed than those I had seen previously in Geographe Bay. We found nothing inside these huts, except some spear shavings in one of them. The fireplaces, which are at the entrance to each hut, contain the remains of shellfish, and also some kangaroo bones.

**(164)**

I came across the skeleton of one of these animals, still with part of its skin attached; its [illegible] had very visible light and reddish grey vertical stripes. The animal was the size of a large cat. If it was a kangaroo – as I believed when I saw the small size of its front paws – it was certainly a species that is not known to us. However, its hindquarters were missing and it may be that what I took for a small kangaroo was in fact a small tiger cat. The soil, which is extremely arid, consists of reddish-coloured, burning sand that would be incapable of providing many nutrients for vegetation - which consequently is in a pitiful state on this peninsula, with only some dried-out bushes to be seen, apart from the grassy plants that we encountered almost everywhere on this continent. Limestone is not rare, but the lime it would produce would be so mixed with sand that nothing more would need to be added prior to use. We saw very few birds on this peninsula, and no insects apart from a large number of ants and many very annoying flies. The latter are small and troublesome, like those I found on the Admiral Islands. A search for shells, which are normally abundant in this bay, provided absolutely nothing during this initial foray. It must be that the spot where we landed is not a shellfish habitat. Towards 4h30, having been unable to meet any natives, who certainly left the peninsula following their encounter with our boats the day before, and with the naturalists having abandoned their research, I decided to leave. I left some glass objects and buttons, a mirror, a tobacco pouch with a negro's head painted on it, etc in a hut where I had rested, and at 6h00 I was back alongside. I had organised the men to do some fishing, and the small dinghy arrived back at the ship laden with fish. Very fine weather during the day, with a moderate breeze varying S-SW. The night was fine and very humid, with the breeze varying SW-SE. I had landed in the fourth cove from the peninsula headland. Its entrance is guarded by a line of rocks, which are uncovered at low tide. There is very little water on the land side of this reef, and the channel is not very wide.

**(165)**

On the 28<sup>th</sup> [Ventose, Year 11, 19 March 1803] the weather continued very fine, with light and variable breeze, SW<sup>1</sup>/<sub>4</sub>S – S. In the afternoon the longboat went ashore to collect salt. The night was fine and very humid.

Same weather on the 29<sup>th</sup> [Ventose, Year 11, 20 March 1803]. Two new topsails were bent. As usual a fishing party was sent out, returning with an abundant supply. Fishing is done with lines; the seine would probably be even more effective, but we are still taking more fish than we can eat. It is not being salted, due to the lack of salt. It cannot be kept for long – sometimes fish caught in the morning have already deteriorated by noon. ~~Perhaps~~ No doubt this is due to the great heat. At 7h00 in the evening a gun was fired to recall the longboat, which had orders to return by sunset. A second gun was fired at 10h00.

The longboat arrived back alongside at 11h00 on the morning on the 30<sup>th</sup> [Ventose, Year 11, 21 March 1803], bringing 600<sup>#</sup> of salt. At first an attempt had been made to evaporate sea

water in boilers, rather than taking water from the marshes where it is already almost at saturation point. This method had been unsuccessful, especially since the boilers were unsuitable in that, compared with their overall capacity, they presented only a small surface to the heat. However, while crossing the peninsula the party had discovered some crystallised and very fine salt, deep within a dry marsh. The crystals came away in sheets half an inch thick, and some 600# had been collected. At 3h00 Mr Bonnefoy, who was in command of the longboat, had been ready to get under way in accordance with his orders, but an incident had prevented him from doing so. Messrs Péron and Petit, together with the gardener, had walked off and had not yet returned. They had arrived at 8h00 in the evening, exhausted from having crossed the entire peninsula, but by then it had been too late to set off because the shallows near the coast needed to be negotiated.

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The first thing that had detained the gentlemen during their walk was the great number of shells they had come across on the other side. Sandbanks, extending far into the sea and covered only with knee-high water, are so full of shells that one only has to reach into the sand to retrieve a handful of shells. A second reason for their lateness was that they had seen some natives approaching [two words crossed out], were poorly armed and did not wish to have any interaction, but seeing that the natives were rapidly gaining on them they decided to wait for them. When they were still a long way away the natives also stopped and one of them – of rather greater stature than all the others – came forward alone, holding his spear on his head; the others climbed on to the sand dunes. Our gentlemen walked towards him in unison; a moment later the native stopped, then took flight and he and the others were not seen again. Had I been lucky enough to have had this meeting when sent to make contact with the natives, I would probably have been successful. Having thus wasted a good deal of time – and moreover not being in agreement over the shortest way back to the longboat – our gentlemen inevitably arrived very late. The weather was fine all day and also at night, which was less humid than over the previous days, but the breeze was fresher and there were some clouds in the sky. The wind remained variable, S¼SW - SW¼S.

On the morning of 1 Germinal [Year 11, 22 March 1803] the longboat put ashore on the northern headland of the peninsula and the astronomer took an observation to determine the latitude, which he found to be 25°29'45", and the longitude - 111°7'35". The tide turned and began setting south at [blank]. Soon afterwards we sighted the two large dinghies and the *Casuarina*, and at 1h00 the dinghies were alongside, bringing three turtles each weighing about 300, and nine small ones. At 5h00 the *Casuarina* dropped anchor nearby and its captain came aboard to report to the Commander, who had sent him to take soundings on the edge of a sandbank situated in the NE of the peninsula. Fresh and gusty breeze during the night. The longboat came alongside at 11h00 in the evening and was immediately unrigged. The wind varied from SSE to SW over the 24 hours.

**(168)**

**2-[blank] Germinal, Year 11 of the Republic [23 March- , 1803]**

At daybreak all of the boats were hoisted in and we got under way in fine weather, with a calm sea and moderate breeze. We took constant soundings, which returned 7-8-9-8-7-9-11-12 and 13 fathoms up to 11h15, when we ceased to have ground with 14 fathoms.

Barom.	Therm.	Latitude of SW headland of Dorre Island	25°19'55"
28.25	19	Longitude [SW headland of Dorre Island]	110°36'55"
28.3	18	Latitude of the reef in the channel	25°22'28"
28.3	19.5	Longitude [of the reef in the channel]	110°39'22"

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**3-3 Germinal, Year 11 of the Republic [23-24 March 1803]**

Fine weather in the afternoon, with an uneven and variable breeze, progressively freshening. Continued to skirt the Dorre Islands at a considerable distance, and then at 3h00 we set a northerly course. At 6h00 land was in view from the masthead, bearing east as far as could be seen. During the night a light swell developed, with a strong, uneven and variable breeze. At 7h30 in the morning a course was set NNE; the land no longer in sight.

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**3-4 Germinal, Year 11 of the Republic [24-25 March 1803]**

Very fine weather over the 24 hours. Under very easy sail in order not to lose the *Casuarina*. Land not in sight. The sea still running a swell.

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**4-5 Germinal, Year 11 of the Republic [25-26 March 1803]**

Very fine weather during the afternoon, with a rough sea and fresh breeze. Under easy sail in order not to lose the *Casuarina*. Same weather during the night. At daybreak land was sighted stretching SSW – SE $\frac{1}{4}$ S. Hauled the wind to stand in for the land, and at noon the NW headland of New Holland was sighted, bearing S3°E. The land stretched around to S12°W. A small island was visible from the masthead, bearing SE. There are reefs between it and the NW headland.

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**5-6 Germinal, Year 11 of the Republic [26-27 March 1803]**

At noon we were off the NW headland, which we had already fixed on our first exploration of New Holland. On neither occasion had we skirted it close enough in to be sure that it is not an island, the more so as the inlet we saw to the south of the headland in Messidor, Year 9 [June-July 1801] seemed very open. At noon we bore away E $\frac{1}{4}$ SE, then at 12h30 E $\frac{1}{4}$ NE. Six islands were sighted from the masthead, but only two were visible from on deck. I took some bearings – I believe that the four other islands are located between the two I fixed. At 5h15 a very low-lying small island was sighted ahead, with the sea breaking over it in the south at an angle of about 30°. We were forced to change course because of this island. The night was fine, as the day had been. We made tack and tack and at daybreak we bore away when land was sighted to the east. At 6h45 we found ourselves almost amongst the sandbanks. The one closest to the ship, which seemed the shallowest, bore north, distant about 600 *toises*. At 9h00 the Commander ordered me to take bearings to determine the position of the coast, when it was visible. Up to noon we had in sight some very distant, low-lying and seemingly straight land, consisting of sand dunes devoid of any vegetation.

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**6-7 Germinal, Year 11 of the Republic [27-28 March 1803]**

Very fine weather over the 24 hours, with a slight swell and moderate breeze. At noon land was once again in view. From the deck it appeared as hummocks, initially seeming to be separate small islands but which could then be seen to be joined together. I believe that this land is part of what had been seen from the masthead between 10h00 and 11h00, much further away than the land then visible from on deck. At 1h00, just as we were turning NE $\frac{1}{4}$ N to stand in for the northern headland of the land in sight, a long line of reefs was sighted beyond that point, seemingly separate from it. We immediately changed course and skirted the reefs at a great distance. I believe them to be a sandbank that is exposed at low tide, because towards 4h00 the surf was much less than earlier in the day. Made tack and tack during the

night, then at daybreak course was set SE. Some land, appearing to be an island, was sighted. At 8h00 it bore S4°E from on deck. At the time a very extensive reef was in sight from the masthead, bearing SW-SSW. At noon, land was still visible from on deck. It was impossible to take a bearing of the reef, which was only visible from the masthead. I believe it to be the same one we had skirted on the previous evening.

The *Casuarina* sailing close to us.

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**7-8 Germinal, Year 11 of the Republic [28-29 March 1803]**

Fine weather, calm sea and moderate breeze in the afternoon; no land in sight. Same weather at night. At daybreak land was sighted from the masthead, bearing SE - S¼SE, and we stood in for it. Commenced surveying at 8h00 in the morning, coasting along a chain of islands up to noon. Their great number, combined with the current which drove us in several different directions, will make the recording of this day quite difficult.

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**8-9 Germinal, Year 11 of the Republic [29-30 March 1803]**

In the afternoon, in very fine weather, we continued to survey the groups of islands as we sailed past. At 6h40 the anchor was dropped in 18 fathoms, small gravel and shell debris. The night was fine; we got under way at daybreak. The buoy-rope of our (starboard) bower was found to be cut. Continued to skirt the coast, which still presents as a series of islands.

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**9-10 Germinal, Year 11 of the Republic [30-31 March 1803]**

Continued to skirt the coast in the afternoon. It was generally too far away for bearings to be taken. Only one island was close to the ship, and bearings had been taken since 10h00, but to the west of this island there will be a gap in the chart, although we sighted indented land in the far distance, apparently some islands. At 4h00 we recognised the island close by as Admirals Island. Behind it could be seen some land that I had sighted at close range when I was on the island on 8 Thermidor, Year 9 [27 July 1801], and which I had at that time taken (as I still do) to be the mainland. We took bearings in a number of places. We then came across a number of low-lying sandy islands that were hardly visible even though we were not far from them. I believe they are similar to the two small sandy islands close to Admirals Island, which I skirted at close range in the dinghy and which I could not see when I was more than a league away. We saw these two small islands again from the ship, and took their bearings. I had only marked one of them on the sketch I had drawn in Year 9, but on this occasion they were clearly visible as two separate islands. However I remain convinced that the channel between them disappears at low tide. At 6h00 we found ourselves with six fathoms water. We went close-hauled, steering north, without any further decrease in depth: it remained at six fathoms until almost 7h00, when it gradually increased to ten fathoms, at which point we dropped anchor over a bottom of sand and mud. The *Casuarina* anchored nearby. At daybreak the top of the sandbank we had passed over bore S6°E from the ship; a great deal of it was exposed, not far from us. After having got under sail we steered E, with land being visible from SW to E, far in the distance. At 8h45 smoke was seen rising from this land, bearing S45°E. At noon the same column of smoke bore S20°E.

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**10-11 Germinal, Year 11 of the Republic [31 March – 1 April 1803]**

Stayed on course without sighting land up to 4h00, when some very low-lying land was seen from the masthead, apparently quite close and bearing SE. At 4h45 we went close-hauled to join up with the *Casuarina*. At 7h05 we dropped anchor in 8 fathoms water, over a bottom of sand and broken shells. The *Casuarina* dropped anchor close by and sent over some crew from its sick list. The Commander gave written orders for the night, and in the morning he issued a regulation stating the times at which soundings were to be made. The regulation of 1 January 1787 would be very difficult to execute where there is only a small number of helmsmen and in an expedition such as we are undertaking at present, where we are constantly sailing in less than thirty fathoms water. We got under sail at 6h00; we were within sight of some very low-lying land, which from the masthead seemed to stretch E-SW. It was visible from on deck by 8h00, but was too far away for any bearings to be taken, and by noon it was no longer visible even from the masthead.

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**11-12 Germinal, Year 11 of the Republic [1-2 April 1803]**

Very fine weather, calm sea, light and uneven breeze. We dropped anchor at 9h00 in 15½ fathoms water, over a bottom of sand and shells. Saw a lot of lightning during the night. Got under sail at 6h00 in the morning. At 8h00 land was sighted from the masthead, and at 9h00 we steered towards a small sandy island. Soon afterwards reefs could be seen stretching far to the north and south of this island. We then realised that the reef was closer to the ship than the island. The *Casuarina* passed to landward of both. At 9h30 another sandbank was sighted from the maintop, with the sea breaking over it and bearing S11°E - S18°E. At 10h45 the same two extremities bore S26°W - S16°W. Between 9h30 and noon an uninterrupted, low-lying stretch of mainland was visible from the masthead. Several columns of smoke were sighted.

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**12-13 Germinal, Year 11 of the Republic [2-3 April 1803]**

Very fine weather, light and variable breeze. Between noon and 3h00 we had uneven depth, varying from 10 to 15 fathoms. It was even more uneven between 3h00 and 4h00, and at one time we found ourselves in 5½ fathoms water. At 4h45, when we had 10 fathoms beneath the ship, we sighted a sandbank ahead and altered course east. At 5h20, surf was sighted, breaking over a sandbank bearing S50°E. At 7h15, with the depth having decreased rapidly, we went close-hauled on the port tack. We changed tack as the shoaling continued, but then bore away to SSW. The depth increased, but since the bottom consisted of rocks we were unable to anchor. We knew that the depth would inevitably quickly decrease again if we kept on this course, since we were standing in for the land, so we went close-hauled again. We sailed in shoal water from 8h00 to 10h00, with a very uneven depth that varied quickly from 8-9 fathoms to 3 fathoms. At 8h15, when we were at the latter depth, we went about. Then at 8h30, after the depth had increased to 9 fathoms but then rapidly shoaled again to 3, we bore away successively to every quarter between WSW and NE¼N, by the east, never having more than 9-10 fathoms water. At 9h30 we sailed for almost a quarter of an hour with an even depth of 3 fathoms beneath the ship. Finally, at 9h50, the sounding lead, which until then had consistently shown a bottom of rocks, returned 6 fathoms, fine sand, so we dropped the anchor. A dinghy was sent to take soundings around the ship. Nowhere was less than three fathoms or more than nine. At 1h00 the *Casuarina* dropped anchor nearby. At sunset on the

12<sup>th</sup> some low-lying land was visible, stretching approximately SW-SE. At dawn on the 13<sup>th</sup> low-lying land was in sight again, assumed to be the land seen the previous day. At 8h00 it stretched S21°W to S10°E. Land remained in sight from the masthead all morning, bearing south. We did not sail on a determined course, but rather navigated using our soundings.  
[+ Continuation of nautical table from previous page]

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**13-14 Germinal, Year 11 of the Republic [3-4 April 1803]**

Flat calm up to 2h00, with the depth varying from 12-14 fathoms. A light north-north-westerly breeze then sprang up and we were able to make a little way on an easterly course. Between 2h00 and 3h30 the depth varied from 12 to 10 fathoms, then back to 12. It then suddenly decreased to 8 fathoms, then 7½ and then in less than two minutes to 5, 4 and finally 3 fathoms. We immediately went close-hauled on the port tack, but no sooner had the sails been braced than the lookout shouted that there was no water ahead or to port. We immediately bore away, with soundings continuing to indicate four or sometimes just three fathoms. The bottom could be seen over the starboard side and the depth seemed to be decreasing considerably, but as the lookout shouted that water was again available on the port bow we came up to the wind a second time and the depth increased just as rapidly as it had decreased. At 4h00, when we had only just had time to brace the sails, we had 9 fathoms water. We dropped anchor at 8h00 in 23 fathoms, over a bottom of grey sand. Got under way again at daybreak, still in very fine weather and with very light airs. No sign of land.  
[+ Continuation of nautical table from previous page]

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**14-15 Germinal, Year 11 of the Republic [4-5 April 1803]**

Fine weather, light airs. We dropped anchor at 8h30 in 20 fathoms, over a bottom of grey sand. The *Casuarina* had been embayed by a very strong current and had been obliged to stand off and on until midnight, when it dropped anchor near to us. No sign of land in the afternoon, but at daybreak it was sighted from the masthead, stretching SW-SE. We got under way and tracked east to stand in for it. At the time we had no ground with 16 fathoms, but at 7h30 the colour of the sea indicated that a sandbank was nearby. We took constant soundings, and since the depth rapidly decreased to 10½ fathoms we bore away a point. At 8h00 we had 14 fathoms water. Towards noon the breeze slackened.  
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**15-16 Germinal, Year 11 of the Republic [5-6 April 1803]**

Very fine weather, light and variable breeze. We are seeing many fish every day, as well as porpoises and sea snakes. At 6h30 in the evening we found ourselves over a sandbank, and as the depth had decreased from 14 to 10 fathoms we shifted a point closer to the wind. Immediately afterwards we had only 9 fathoms so we went close-hauled and the depth increased straight away, remaining at 11 fathoms up to about 8h00. Thereafter it became very variable, between 10 and 14 fathoms. We dropped anchor at 8h00 in 12 fathoms, over a bottom of fine sand. Got under way at daybreak and set a course NE, but the uneven depth made us bear away progressively as far as NNE. Land was in sight from the masthead, bearing S-SSE, and sandbanks were also visible in the same direction. At 11h00 smoke was sighted from on deck, bearing E23°S; at noon the same smoke bore E24°S. Land was no longer in sight, even from the masthead.  
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**16-17 Germinal, Year 11 of the Republic [6-7 April 1803]**

The afternoon was very fine, with a very light breeze, freshening towards 4h00 and slackening thereafter. Land was not in sight, even though at 12h30 in the afternoon smoke was visible from on deck, bearing ESE. We dropped anchor at 7h45 in 13½ fathoms, over a bottom of fine sand. No change in water depth was noticed overnight. We got under way at daybreak and laid a course NE¼E to stand in for land that was visible from the topgallant crosstrees, stretching S¼SW-E¼NE. Passed through several tidal races. From 8h00 to noon we skirted a tolerably low-lying coast, which was seen to be wooded in several places. At noon the land closest to the ship was estimated to be approximately 4 or 5 miles distant. From the masthead it could be seen stretching S-NE.

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**17-18 Germinal, Year 11 of the Republic [7-8 April 1803]**

Continued to skirt the mainland coast in the afternoon. When the depth decreased to 8 fathoms we sailed close-hauled, and the depth then remained between 8½ and 9 fathoms. At 6h00 land was visible from E¼NE to S¼SE. At 7h45 we dropped anchor in 15½ fathoms water, sand mixed with shell debris. Soundings were taken around the ship and it was determined we had not less than 16 fathoms. Very cloudy weather, with continuous lightning in the south and east. At 1h00 in the morning the *Casuarina* anchored nearby. At daybreak we got under sail and set a course NE, skirting the coast at some distance. The coast appeared to be quite straight. Our anchorage was close inshore, on a coast that is very low-lying in this area.

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**18-19 Germinal, Year 11 of the Republic [8-9 April 1803]**

During the afternoon we continued to survey a very low-lying coast. There are deep inlets which we were unable to map in detail, although some points were fixed. At 4h00 we had a large inlet to the ESE, in which no land could be seen. By 6h00 land was again in sight, stretching ESE – ENE. The weather was very stormy to the ENE, with very variable winds. We dropped anchor at 7h30 in 10 fathoms, over a bottom of grey sand mixed with shell debris. Got under sail at daybreak. Land was within sight; we stood in close and coasted along it until noon.

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**19-20 Germinal, Year 11 of the Republic [9-10 April 1803]**

In the afternoon we skirted the mainland, standing in quite close. It is of medium height and consists of sand dunes, edged with cliffs. Some bushes could be seen. Towards 5h00 we estimated that we were no more than three miles offshore. By 6h30 the depth had decreased to 9½ fathoms so we went on the other tack and at 7h15 we dropped anchor in 12½ fathoms, fine sand. The night was very fine and almost calm. Got under way at daybreak and steered north until 10h00, when the depth decreased and we bore away to NW¼W. The coast was in sight and we took some bearings.

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**20-21 Germinal, Year 11 of the Republic [10-11 April 1803]**

Continued to skirt the coast in the afternoon. We were unable to see it stretching away, but the lookouts confirmed that it was ahead. As we approached towards evening it appeared to be an island, but then we noticed low-lying land stretching far to the east, so that if the land I marked at I and K is not an island, there is nevertheless, between H and K a large inlet in which land is not visible. ~~The colour of~~ The water off this inlet was yellow and full of sand, as is normally to be seen at the mouths of large rivers. We dropped anchor at 7h00 in 12½ fathoms, over a bottom of sand. The night was fine, and we got under sail at 6h00. At 8h40 the depth decreased rapidly from 14 fathoms to 11, and then immediately to 5; we went close-hauled on the port tack. The depth remained at 5 fathoms for a few moments, but then increased as rapidly as it had decreased. At 11h00 it again shoaled rapidly, from 16 fathoms to 11, so we again went close-hauled. At 8h00 in the morning land was visible only in one direction - E5°S.

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**21-22 Germinal, Year 11 of the Republic [11-12 April 1803]**

Very fine weather over the 24 hours, with a very light breeze. In the afternoon a kedge anchor was fixed under the bowsprit and at 8h00 the port bower was dropped in 26½ fathoms, sandy bottom. We got under way at daybreak and set a course ESE. No sign of land.

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**22-23 Germinal, Year 11 of the Republic [12-13 April 1803]**

Stormy weather in the afternoon, with lightning to the south and a light and variable breeze. No sign of land; at 7h40 the port bower was dropped in 21 fathoms water, over a bottom of sand and gravel. Very stormy weather at night, and at 10h00 a squall made the ship drag its anchor. We veered out 30 fathoms of cable and the ship held. At daybreak land was visible from the masthead, bearing south and appearing to be three small islands. We were under sail by 6h00, on course and sailing close-hauled. The wind constantly veered forward and prevented us from standing in for the land.

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**23-24 Germinal, Year 11 of the Republic [13-14 April 1803]**

Stormy weather in the afternoon, although the sea was calm and the breeze very light. At sunset land was visible from the masthead, bearing ESE. At 7h15 the port bower was dropped in 27 fathoms, fine sand. At daybreak we got under sail. At 7h00 land was sighted from the masthead, bearing ESE. At 11h00 it was in sight from on deck and at noon a headland could be seen bearing S58°E. On this side of the headland land appeared to stretch off to the south-west, and beyond it the land stretched ENE. Very fine weather during the night and morning.

[+ Continuation of nautical table from previous page]

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**24-25 Germinal, Year 11 of the Republic [14-15 April 1803]**

Very fine weather during the afternoon, with a light, uneven and variable breeze. At 2h00 a sandbank ahead of us, bearing NE, made us bear away a point. We went close-hauled again after having skirted it. Land was in sight at that time, but we were far away from it – it was



visible from on deck at S5°W, and from the masthead at E¼NE. At 7h00, in flat calm, we dropped anchor in 27½ fathoms, sand and gravel, and veered out 60 fathoms of cable. During the night the weather closed in and turned stormy. At 2h00 a light west-north-westerly breeze suddenly gave way to violent squalls, bringing wind and rain. It began gusting from the south-east, then veered E-ENE and NE. It was flat calm between the blows, so the winds and currents made us rotate several times around the anchor within a very short time. At daybreak, when we heaved at the capstan the cable came on board, having been cut 40 fathoms from the anchor, which remained at the bottom. There was no buoy-rope because we were likely to drop anchor often, at great depth, and the Commander had had it removed. We got under sail and set a course NE¼E. The sky was overcast, and the wind uneven and variable. At 8h00, with an exposed sandbank (or a small island between wind and water) bearing NE from us, we bore away to the north. The top of this sandbank seemed to bristle with rocks; we went close-hauled again after having skirted it. We worked at replacing our small bower anchor with one weighing 1900, which was still in the hold.

[+ Continuation of nautical table from previous page]

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**25-26 Germinal, Year 11 of the Republic [15-16 April 1803]**

Fine weather, cloudy sky, uneven and variable east-north-easterly breeze. At 2h00 land was sighted bearing NE¼N. We steered downwind of it and soon afterwards passed through a tide-way full of seaweed. From a distance the lookouts had described the seaweed as rocks. At 5h30 land was in sight from on deck. It appeared to be an island, which at [blank] bore N49°E - N61°E. At 9h07 in the evening, having sighted a black patch on the surface near the ship, we took a sounding and had 35 fathoms water. Soon afterwards it decreased to 29, so we bore away to the north-west. We assume it was a clump of seaweed; the *Casuarina* told us that it had sailed over it and had not had ground with 39 fathoms. We remained under sail all night. We are about to spend some days in an area where the bottom consists of rocks and coral. We are finding exactly what we had previously discovered in this area, which proves that the longitudes taken during the first part of the voyage have been properly rectified and that there is now little error in the chronometer's daily rate. At daybreak we put on full sail; land was not in sight.

[+ Continuation of nautical table from previous page]

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**26-27 Germinal, Year 11 of the Republic [16-17 April 1803]**

Very fine weather; the breeze continued to slacken and we had twelve hours of flat calm. At dusk and in the evening we performed various manoeuvres to join up with the *Casuarina*. No sign of land.

[+ Continuation of nautical table from previous page]

(220)

**27-28 Germinal, Year 11 of the Republic [17-18 April 1803]**

Very fine weather, steady south-westerly and south-south-westerly breeze. We steered ESE to stand in for the land, which remained out of in sight.

[+ Continuation of nautical table from previous page]

(222)

**28-29 Germinal, Year 11 of the Republic [18-19 April 1803]**

Very fine weather in the afternoon. At 1h30 land was sighted from the masthead, bearing ENE and ESE. At 5h00 in the evening the lookout sighted a small island between wind and

water, bearing SSE. At 6h00 the land in sight stretched S30°E - S70°E. The night was very stormy, with thunder and heavy rain squalls at 10h00. The wind blew in strong gusts and was very variable in direction. At daybreak the weather fined up and at 6h00 land was visible from the masthead, bearing ESE. At 8h00 it was in sight from ESE around to S¼S.E. We assume that these are islands. At noon they were visible from on deck, but the calm prevented us from standing in for them.

[+ Continuation of nautical table from previous page]

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**29-30 Germinal, Year 11 of the Republic [19-20 April 1803]**

Land, which had been visible from on deck just before noon, was only in sight from the masthead a short time later due to the mist on the horizon - even though the weather was very fine. It remained out of sight from on deck for the rest of the day, although some columns of smoke were seen, one in the south-east at 2h00, another bearing S27°E at 6h45 and a third bearing S15°E at 7h55. The night was very fine. At daybreak land was in sight, and was surveyed. It consists of archipelagos, and very few or no bearings were taken on the mainland.

[+ Continuation of nautical table from previous page]

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**30 Germinal-1 Floréal, Year 11 of the Republic [20-21 April 1803]**

Fine weather during the afternoon, with the sky overcast and very light airs. At 2h00 we altered course to north to avoid a sandbank or reef that could be seen from the masthead, bearing NE. At 4h30 we bore away to NNE as we rounded the reef, and soon afterwards doubled another that bore ENE from the first, quite close. We were still within sight of an archipelago that we surveyed as much as possible, although we passed considerably to seaward of it. At 8h00 the kedge anchor was dropped in 38 fathoms, over a bottom of soft mud. The night was fine and calm. At daybreak we got under sail and set a north-easterly course, but the current drove us south towards islands that were then in sight; at 8h00 the closest of them seemed to us no more than four miles distant. We skirted them close in up to noon, making little headway.

[+ Continuation of nautical table from previous page]

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**1-2 Floréal, Year 11 of the Republic [21-22 April 1803]**

We continued coasting along the islands seen in the morning, standing quite close in. We could see land in the distance beyond these islands, and assumed that it was the mainland. At 7h00 in the evening the kedge anchor was dropped in 37 fathoms, over a bottom of mud. Very fine weather during the evening and at night. At daybreak, still in very fine weather, we got under sail and set a course E¼NE, still charting. At noon we were within sight of the islands we had surveyed the previous day, and we dropped anchor nearby.

[+ Continuation of nautical table from previous page]

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**2-3 Floréal, Year 11 of the Republic [22-23 April 1803]**

Very fine weather, with such light airs that we were still within sight of the same islands. At 2h00 smoke was seen to the south-east, suggesting that the mainland is not far away. At 4h30 a group of rocks appeared close to the ship; I estimate that it was less than a league away, and that it was about two miles long, lying NNE-SSW. At 8h00 in the evening the kedge anchor was dropped in 30 fathoms, over a bottom of mud. The night was calm. We got under sail at

7h15, making very little headway up to noon. The same islands were still in sight, as well as some new ones. Some low-lying land, visible in the far distance behind them, was assumed to be the mainland.

[+ Continuation of nautical table from previous page]

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**3-4 Floréal, Year 11 of the Republic [23-24 April 1803]**

Very fine weather, almost calm up to evening. The current drove us close to the northernmost of the islands in sight. At 8h00 in the evening the kedge anchor was dropped in 33 fathoms, over a bottom of mud. The night was calm. At daybreak we waited for the breeze so we could get under way. Did so at 9h50 with south-easterly airs, but they did not last. We drifted about a mile and a half to the south-west and at 11h00 were obliged to drop the kedge anchor once again, in 35 fathoms over the same bottom.

[+ Continuation of nautical table from previous page]

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**4-5 Floréal, Year 11 [24-25 April 1803]**

At 12h30 in the afternoon we rode out the ebb tide. At 4h00 a large dinghy was hoisted out and despatched immediately for the nearby island with only its crew, the Commander's secretary and the gardener aboard. At 7h00 we saw two rockets, indicating that it had been able to put in. At 7h00 in the morning the dinghy was visible to the south of the island. It did not appear to be on course to return to the ship, and indeed we have since learned that, having seen a number of canoes similar to those found in the Moluccas, it had given chase. The dinghy had cut across the line of retreat and, having closed one of them, had fired a rifle shot to prevent it from escaping – as it had shown signs of wanting to do. At the sound of the shot all of the paddles had been raised and the sail had been lowered. The dinghy went alongside and found five Malays in the canoe, in which they were carrying fish and water. They had refused to come on board and nothing could be discovered about them, since their language had not been understood.

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**5-6 Floréal, Year 11 of the Republic [25-26 April 1803]**

The large dinghy arrived alongside at 2h00 and was immediately despatched across to the *Casuarina*, bringing its captain back on board. The large dinghy was then immediately sent off again under the master helmsman, with two days' provisions on board and armed with two rifles and two blunderbusses. The *Casuarina* got under way at about 6h00, but the breeze was so light that it drifted a long way to the north-east of the island it was making for. At noon it could be seen from the masthead, far away and SE¼E of the ship.

[+ Continuation of nautical table from previous page]

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**6-7 Floréal, Year 11 of the Republic [26-27 April 1803]**

Very fine weather during the afternoon. In the evening seven or eight Malay boats were seen sailing among the islands. At 10h00 in the evening the *Casuarina* anchored in the archipelago.

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**7-8 Floréal, Year 11 of the Republic [27-28 April 1803]**

Very fine weather during the afternoon. Stayed on course NE¼N until 4h00, skirting at some distance a large exposed sandbank, with surf breaking over it, which could only be seen from

the masthead. At 4h00 the course was altered to NE, and changed soon afterwards. At 5h30 we went close-hauled on the port tack and at 6h30 we dropped anchor in 34 fathoms, over a bottom of mud. The night was extremely fine. Got under sail at 6h00 and at 8h00, having sighted reefs bearing NE, we altered course to the north. At noon the reefs appeared to stretch ENE-ESE.

[Nautical table]

At sunset on the 7<sup>th</sup> land was visible from the masthead, stretching from ESE to E $\frac{1}{4}$ NE.

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**8-9 Floréal, Year 11 of the Republic [28-29 April 1803]**

Very fine weather. At 6h00 in the evening an exposed sandbank was visible from the masthead, stretching from SE-NE $\frac{1}{4}$ E, distant some two leagues. We dropped anchor at 8h10 in 30 fathoms, over a bottom [one word crossed out] of sand and gravel. The bottom was so uneven that at the point where the cable came aboard we had only 22 fathoms. Soundings were variable all night, and nothing can be deduced from them concerning the tides. The Commander, who was ill, was not on deck at the time the ship was being anchored. [Several words crossed out.] Mr Bonnefoy began taking in the sails and Mr Ransonnet supervised the anchoring. The next day the Commander criticised Mr Bonnefoy for having handed over the watch before having completed anchoring. At daybreak a sandbank was sighted from the masthead, stretching N20°W - N84°E. The calm prevented us from getting under way.

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**9-10 Floréal, Year 11 of the Republic [29-30 April 1803]**

The calm held us up all afternoon, as it had in the morning. At daybreak the lookouts sighted an exposed sandbank bearing NNE from the ship. The night was fine and calm. At daybreak a light breeze sprang up from WNW, variable WSW, enabling us to get under way. We steered north until noon. Since yesterday we have increased water rations, with three bottles now being distributed per man instead of two. In addition, two quarts of lemonade are being distributed and beer is being produced for consumption at mealtimes. That will save on rum, supplies of which are beginning to run down. We now have a month's supply of water, at the present rate of usage.

[+ Continuation of nautical table from previous page]

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**10-11 Floréal, Year 11 of the Republic [30 April -1 May 1803]**

Very fine weather over the 24 hours, with a light and variable breeze. Calm during the night. In the morning the breeze veered SSE and SE. Steered a steady northerly course for the port of Timor.

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**11-12 Floréal, Year 11 of the Republic [1-2 May 1803]**

Very fine weather over the 24 hours, breeze varying SSE-ENE. We are now in the monsoon region and are continuing on course for Timor. At 8h00 in the morning we set the course to NNW.

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**12-13 Floréal, Year 11 of the Republic [2-3 May 1803]**

Very fine weather, light breeze, variable NE-SE. At sunset Timor was sighted, bearing N30°W. At daybreak the same coast was visible, appearing as very lofty land stretching N-WNW. We stood in for it up to noon.

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**13-14 Floréal, Year 11 of the Republic [3-4 May 1803]**

Very fine weather over the 24 hours, with a very light breeze. Stayed on course up to midnight to stand in for and coast to the west along the southern coast of Timor. From midnight to 5h30 we tracked east to ensure we did not miss the strait in the night. At daybreak the island of Roti was visible, far in the distance and bearing WSW. We made very little progress because of the calm, and at noon Roti was still not visible from on deck.

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**14 Floréal [Year 11, 4 May 1803]**

[No text]

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**15 [Floréal], Year 11 of the Republic [5 May 1803]**

The weather was fine over the 24 hours, with a light and uneven easterly to southerly breeze during the afternoon and up to 4h00 in the morning, then easterly to northerly up to noon. Made tack and tack during the night, then at daybreak we set a course for the strait between Roti and Timor.

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**15-16 Floréal, Year 11 of the Republic [5-6 May 1803]**

At about 2h00, in very fine weather, we had opened the Semau Strait and the eastern headland of Roti was visible to the south. There was a very strong current in the channel, plus tidal races where the sea was breaking in such a way that we feared there might be shallows. We sailed around the island of Semau, spending the night making tack and tack to the north. At daybreak we set a course for Kupang Bay.

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**16-17 Floréal, Year 11 of the Republic [6-7 May 1803]**

On course for the moorings during the afternoon. We encountered a breeze that was very uneven in strength and direction, obliging us to carry out various manoeuvres. By 5h00 we were not far from the fort, so the national flag was hoisted and underlined with a gun. The Commander had intended to proceed to the moorings without a pilot, but one arrived at 7h30 and was taken on board. At 10h30, with the breeze having died, we were forced to drop anchor in 26 fathoms, muddy bottom. The boats were hoisted out at daybreak and at 7h20 the Commander went ashore. On the previous evening he had ordered me to prepare to go ashore, but because there had been no wind and we had been unable to anchor before nightfall, he did not send me. He was back on board by 10h00 and had a 7-gun salute fired; the fort responded in similar fashion. The naturalists went ashore to take up lodgings in the fort. At 11h15 we got under way under the foremast topsail, mizzen topsail and staysails and proceeded to moorings closer to land, in 20 fathoms, muddy bottom.

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**17-18 Floréal, Year 11 of the Republic [7-8 May 1803]**

At 1h00 the longboat went ashore, taking the pilot plus three large barrels, 18 casks and four other barrels - a total of 25 recipients containing 26 hogsheads. At 3h30 we moored SE-NW, with 60 and 70 fathoms on the two cables. The topgallant yards were struck down.

At daybreak a dinghy was sent off fishing. The Commander went ashore at 7h00. The other dinghies were kept busy transporting his effects and those belonging to the naturalists.

Fishing was unsuccessful – very little was caught. Work proceeded to empty the casks in the hold. A Malay boat delivered 16 casks and two barrels of water. The latter two were stowed in the scuttle butts and the 16 casks placed in the hold. Some pomelos and lemons were brought on board and distributed to the crew. Oranges were given to the men on the sick list. As he was leaving to go ashore, the Commander gave me instructions regarding the allocation of duties and ordered me to be solely responsible for crew leave and for the boats. The sheet-anchor was catted. There are still nine casks in the hold to be emptied. Both pumps failed and had to be repaired.

Towards sunset fresh meat was distributed to the crew, 1<sup>#</sup>½ per man. At 8h00 in the evening I...

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...received from the Commander an order to confine Lefebvre [illegible] and Duflot on board, to similarly confine anyone who abandoned their boat and to pay very careful attention that only good water was embarked. He told me that some water would arrive that night, but this did not happen.

At daybreak on the 19<sup>th</sup> [Floréal, Year 11, 9 May 1803] we prepared to heel the ship to starboard. By 4h00 the copper and planking damaged by the anchor had been repaired. Loaded 12 casks and three barrels of water in the afternoon, together with 1700 pounds of rice. Very fine weather, breeze varying SSE-E.

Same weather on the 20<sup>th</sup> [Floréal, Year 11, 10 May 1803]. Loaded 15 casks and four barrels of water and repaired copper on the starboard flotation line.

At daybreak on the 21<sup>st</sup> [Floréal, Year 11, 11 May 1803] a buffalo was shared among the two ships. The plants were sent ashore. Twenty-two casks of fresh water and six barrels of rum were loaded. At 2h00 the ship dragged its SE anchor during a violent easterly gust. Cloudy weather during the day, with a gusty east to south-easterly wind.

On the morning of the 22<sup>nd</sup> [Floréal, Year 11, 12 May 1803] the longboat was sent to take delivery of a load of rice and one of the large dinghies took the carpenters ashore, with a local resident, to cut spars. I went ashore in the morning to report to the Commander on a discussion that had taken place between Mr Freycinet and me regarding granting leave, which the Commander had entrusted solely to me. Although he was responsible neither for allocating duties on board the ship, nor for the work to be carried out, Mr Freycinet had claimed that when he was duty officer he could give orders to all crewmembers and in respect of the boats.

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The Commander, who was annoyed by these discussions, told me to stick to the orders he had given me regarding allocating duties on board, and immediately sent me back to remoor the ship even though I was due to dine with him on that day. I returned on board at noon and had the SE anchor weighed and changed to NW. The ship was thus moored NW-SE with cables of 70 fathoms to starboard and 60 to port. During the evening we loaded 3750<sup>#</sup> of rice and 20 casks of water. Same weather, with still a variable breeze SSE-E.

On the 23<sup>rd</sup> [Floréal, Year 11, 13 May 1803] the ship's swiffters were tarred and we took on 20 casks of water. Very fine weather, breeze variable E-ESE. In the morning I went ashore to dine with the Commander. Another discussion had taken place on deck between Mr Freycinet and me, although I did not mention it to the Commander. Following is what happened. Mr Freycinet told me that the Commander's response to him the day before had been exactly as he had wished, namely that he was quite independent of me on board the ship, that he would never receive orders from an engineer and that I would give none whatsoever while he was on duty. I told Mr Freycinet that I was not seeking to give him orders and that indeed I had always avoided doing so, but that...

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...I had long been used to giving orders to officers equal in rank to him and that, in any case, I would always pass on to him the Commander's orders where necessary. For my part, the Commander had stipulated that I should carry out the orders he had given me when he left the ship. As we were at table, the Commander received a letter from Mr Freycinet. Immediately after dinner he went into his study and wrote the following response:

Copy of letter from the Commander to Citizen Freycinet, in response to a letter from that officer of the same date:

In our various discussions regarding your claims in respect of the position you are to occupy on board, I have already informed you that I do not wish to decide who - between you and Mr Ronsard - should have preference to take command of the *Géographe* either after my death, should it occur during the voyage, or during stopovers should official ship's business or my state of health require me to go ashore. As I consider you to be lieutenants enjoying the same seniority, I had no reason to take into account your respective length of service at this level when considering your claims; rather, in the circumstances in which you currently find yourselves, seniority in terms of age seemed to me the preferable consideration. It was on this basis alone...

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...that I gave Mr Ronsard responsibility, during my absence, for ship discipline and for other minor matters that might arise. You are both well aware that I do not wish to formalise the position of first lieutenant, and I assure you once again that I will not do so during the voyage. Nor have I ever claimed that you should be immediately under Mr Ronsard's authority when you are on duty, or at other times. The order I gave him applied only to officers of a lower rank, and to the rest of the crew. As this arrangement - which I had thought would satisfy everyone - clearly does not suit you, my concern for the ship's safety and for good order on board forces me to take a decision which I had wished to see implemented only after my death. Since you both require me to be clear on this matter, I hereby inform you that tomorrow, or the day after at the latest, I shall muster the crew so they can inform me which of you two they prefer as leader. Their choice in the matter will be final, since it is appropriate that men be commanded by the person who best suits them, or in whom they have the greatest confidence. As for the reasons you adduce in your letter...

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...as to what, in your view, you owe to the naval corps, I have a very different view from yours. If someone does you an injustice, you should look to the Government - which alone can judge the validity of your claims - to provide compensation, which

will always exceed the inconvenience you have suffered. The naval corps will not be any less honourable for all that - only the person who has aggrieved you will be responsible. Accordingly, the honour of the naval corps should not be your concern. Since one of you will necessarily be unhappy with the crew's choice and since I am well aware of what his reaction will be, he will be able to take advantage of one of the two forthcoming occasions to leave for Batavia and from there to make his way to Europe. Any other officers who through solidarity or particular attachment to the unhappy candidate wish to accompany him should expect to encounter no difficulty or objection on my part.

Please enter a copy of this letter into the ship's log, so that everyone may be aware of its contents. Greetings. Signed N. Baudin. 24 Floréal, Year 11 [14 May 1803].

The Commander had this letter passed to me on the evening of the 23<sup>rd</sup> [Floréal, Year 11, 13 May 1803]. I could not agree with him regarding uncertainty as to which officer should be senior...

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...but since I had explained to him the reasons for my claim so often (reasons that I shall record below), I felt that it would be futile to put them to him yet again. My reasons are as follows. In the first place, the Law of 3 Brumaire provides (in Article 79, part 6) that where there is competition between officers attached to the ports service and naval officers, sub-engineers are to be ranked alongside naval lieutenants, effective from the date of receiving their brevet. Now, I ~~have been~~ was a sub-engineer, first class, ten years ago. Accordingly, even if I was still only a sub-engineer I would be ranked with naval lieutenants who have ten years' service. And since I am also a naval lieutenant – that is to say, I perform the same duties as they do – I should retain the seniority provided for by law, at least until some new law comes along that declares void the one I have quoted and says that “maritime engineers are not to count periods of service in ports, and are only to be considered as belonging to the naval service once they have met, at sea, the requirements set out in the regulation of 7 Floréal and the decree of 7 Thermidor, Year 8.” To date, and to my knowledge, no such law has been passed and it is most improbable that it ever would be, because it would solely disadvantage a number of long-serving...

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...engineers and would have no effect on the corps in general because young student engineers (and as is well-known they remain students for a number of years) will always ensure that they have six months' service at sea under their belts before being appointed sub-engineers, second class. Thus they will always be ranked with sub-lieutenants at the date of receiving their brevet of sub-engineer, second class. Then several more years will be required before the transition from second to first class, during which time they will accumulate at least six months' service at sea, so that long before they are promoted to sub-engineer first class they will have fulfilled the conditions required to be naval lieutenants. And in every case they will be ranked with naval lieutenants effective from the date of their brevet of sub-engineer, first class. The same applies to full engineers, second and first class, and that is why I say that it is not credible that the Government would have considered a law whose only effect would have been to drive all of its long-standing engineers out of the service. Because if I am denied the right to be ranked with naval officers effective from the date of my engineer's brevets, it is as if one were to say to me, “we are withdrawing all of the brevets that you have received up to now, and when you have had six months' service at sea we will return your brevet of sub-engineer, second class along with the rank of sub-lieutenant, and



then after a year we will return your sub-engineer first class brevet, with the rank of naval lieutenant.” This reasoning is correct, since the regulation of 7 Floréal provides that these two ranks are inseparable, and that henceforth it will no longer be possible to be a sub-engineer first class without being, at the same time and from the same date, a naval lieutenant.

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But if as sub-engineer first class I am to rank with naval lieutenants having ten years of service, it is a good deal more bizarre that, despite my having been a full engineer for four years and thus, in terms of the Law of 3 Brumaire and the decree of 7 Floréal, Year 8, being ranked with commanders and captains, precedence should be claimed by a young man aged 22, who has been a naval lieutenant for one year only, and that he should do so solely on the grounds that he was a sub-lieutenant before me and that he was promoted to lieutenant on the same day as me. I, however, was in the naval service more than ten years before he joined. It might be said in response to this that my service was as an engineer and not as a naval officer, but my reply is to ask whether, when a naval officer is employed in a port on the construction and fit-out of a ship, that time is deducted from his service record. Of course not. Well, I have spent 15 years in the service, six of them in building and fitting out ships with the rank of lieutenant and one as head of this service with the rank of captain, so there is an attempt here to disregard this service because I am an engineer (whereas it would count for a great deal for a naval officer)...

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...and to consider me as only having entered the Navy from the moment the *Géographe* left the shores of France. I say “from the moment the *Géographe* left the shores of France” advisedly, because if one were to consider (as is normal) the voyage as having commenced on the day of the passing-in parade, that is to say on 9 Vendémiaire, Year 9 [1 October 1800], then in terms of the regulation of 7 Fructidor, Year 8, I should have been made lieutenant on board the *Géographe* on 9 Vendémiaire, Year 10 [1 October 1801] – and consequently prior to Mr Freycinet who along with me was actually commissioned a lieutenant on 28 Vendémiaire, Year 10 [20 October 1801]. And that would have been so even if I had had no other service at sea, which is not the case because when I received my orders to join the *Géographe* I was discharged for this purpose from the frigate *Carmagnolle*, where I was serving under Rear Admiral Lesseignes, Commander of Naval Forces in the Northern Seas. The result of all of the foregoing is that, firstly, under the terms of the Law of 3 Brumaire Mr Freycinet could not claim precedence over me as first lieutenant on board the ship; secondly, even setting aside this law he had no claim, given the regulation of 7 Fructidor, ~~which says that when~~, by virtue of which I should have been made lieutenant after having completed one year’s service at sea (in which the time I had served on the *Carmagnolle* should be counted); and thirdly, even counting only the time at sea on the *Géographe* he still had no claim because since this voyage began on 9 Vendémiaire [Year 9, 1 October 1800] I should have been commissioned lieutenant on 9 Vendémiaire, Year 10 [1 October 1801] and he was only commissioned on the 28<sup>th</sup> of that month [Vendémiaire, Year 10, 20 October 1801].

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I could add that when the Commander promoted Mr Freycinet to lieutenant he was so far from wanting to place him at the head of the promotee group that he was even inclined to withhold the promotion, and only decided to proceed following representations from a number of persons – which, with all due respect to the Commander, included me, with all the enthusiasm of which I was capable.

I had submitted my case to the Commander on a number of occasions, but without having

been able to obtain a decision, as can be seen from his letter. Age - so his letter said - was the only grounds on which he had decided to give me responsibility for discipline and general duties on board. In my view this was the slightest of my claims, but at least it was something and since it gave me what I wanted it was enough. The Commander said that he had never intended Mr Freycinet to be personally under my command. This independence did not offend me, since I had never given any orders to Mr Freycinet. However it was my place to give orders to the other officers and to the crew. I was in charge of the work to be done on board and was solely responsible for granting leave from the ship and for ensuring that the boats were always available should the Commander require them.

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He had discussed this with me prior to going ashore, but since he had only done so orally I was not unhappy to see that his official, public response justified everything I had done. However I was not so happy with the Commander's decision to resort to giving the crew a choice. It is true that at that stage I was unaware of the manoeuvring that - so I have since been told - went on, manoeuvring in respect of which Mr Freycinet was as incapable as I of having participated. But this process seemed to me humiliating and even liable to result in the crew's chosen commander being subject to their control. Moreover I knew that I did not have the advantage in this process, given sailors' fickle temperament and the fact it is rare for the person responsible for discipline to be preferred to other officers, who are never required to mete out punishment. Consequently I did everything I could to dissuade the Commander from this course of action. I was unsuccessful, but I took some comfort from the thought that the Commander's decision proved that he had no complaints with my conduct since taking over responsibility for discipline and duty on board his ship, and that he considered me equally capable of taking the ship home should some misfortune befall him during the voyage. Had it been otherwise he would have been obliged to take a decision rather than compromise the safety of his ship by relying on the crew's choice, since sailors are not always the best judges of officers' respective worth.

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What [several words crossed out] the Commander says about the naval corps proves what I have myself experienced since I began serving at sea. Naval officers who at the time the Law of 3 Brumaire was adopted were saying that the engineer corps should have been merged with the naval officer corps, are now doing all they can to keep the two distinct. Should I not have the same right to say that the naval corps' honour requires that there should be no preferential treatment against me? Because after all I belong to the naval corps just as much as Mr Freycinet does; certainly at the time the Government merged these two corps, not one of the small number of officers in the engineer component would have failed to dignify the naval corps, in terms of knowledge and education. The same might not be able to be said in respect of naval lieutenants. It is thus ridiculous to see officers belonging to the same corps make claims in which the honour of the corps is brought into play. Finally, the last part of the Commander's letter, in which he said that the officer not chosen by the crew could return to Europe on one of the two ships about to leave for Batavia, removed the possibility of any later objection. The Commander was at liberty to make arrangements to transfer the command of his ship should he die, and he could transfer it to the most junior of his sub-lieutenants if he so wished, but he...

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...could not force officers superior in rank to serve under that person's command. By discharging them, no further action would be possible. It was the same for questions of

discipline during the Commander's absences, which is the responsibility of the first officer. It might be said that when I joined the voyage I could not have had any thoughts of commanding the ship. That is of course true, because for this to occur required nothing less than the array of circumstances we in fact encountered. However, for my part I would say that Mr Freycinet, who joined the ship as a newly-promoted sub-lieutenant, would also never have imagined returning to France in command of the expedition. I, on the other hand, was certain when I embarked that I would never be under the orders of officers who joined as sub-lieutenants, given that after three months I would be senior to them. And as concerns command of the ship, there is no doubt a regulation stipulating the amount of actual service at sea required before an officer takes command of a ship, since it would be ridiculous if an engineer, having only one year's service at sea (of which perhaps only three months would be actual service on a ship) but because of his seniority outranked lieutenants having five or more actual service at sea – it would be ridiculous, I say, if in these circumstances the command were given to the engineer in preference to the naval officer. But if a regulation provides that in order to have a claim to command a ship of a given tonnage an officer must have (for example) two years' actual service at sea, an engineer who meets that condition and who moreover is the most senior officer on board in terms of time served, must have the right to make a claim for command. Although I am not aware of this regulation, I continued to contend with Mr Freycinet not only in respect of the rank of first officer on the ship (which cannot be taken from me as long as...

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...the Commander is alive), but also for command of the ship if we were to lose the Commander during the voyage. This is because the regulation to which I referred would never attribute command only on the basis of the number of months of service at sea – grades and seniority will always enter into consideration (otherwise an elderly sub-lieutenant with, say, twenty years of service at sea could take over command of a ship having lost its captain, in preference to lieutenants on the ship having greater knowledge and enough time at sea to take over command). Thus I submit that, irrespective of the period of service required for assuming command, if it were the case that I had insufficient months at sea to have a claim then it is very likely that Mr Freycinet would be in the same situation: without knowing his service record and the number of months at sea to which he can lay claim, I would suggest that he does not have 90 days more than I – perhaps not even 30 if only service as an officer is counted – and this advantage could not offset my ten years of service at ranks superior to his. Thus I was right to consider myself first officer and in this capacity claim to be in charge of discipline on board during the Commander's absence – as he himself thought...

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...when he gave me this responsibility. And I was right to have a claim to command the ship should, by ill-chance, we lose the Commander. Consequently, should it transpire that the crew's choice not be in my favour, I should take advantage of the freedom offered by the Commander, and withdraw from the expedition. This resolution seemed all the more reasonable to me in that the '65 decree states that if an officer commanding a ship should die during a voyage, the General shall nominate a replacement without reference to officers' time in service, but that the officer so nominated shall always be of a higher rank than the officer who was second-in-command on board the ship.

Things were at this point on the evening of the 23<sup>rd</sup> [Floréal, Year 11, 13 May 1803] when I returned on board the ship. On the morning of the 24<sup>th</sup> [Floréal, Year 11, 14 May 1803] Mr Freycinet received the letter that I have copied above, and entered it into the ship's log. I was still in charge of the ship, and sent a party ashore to kill a bull. Work proceeded on board to

tighten the stays and shrouds, and 18 casks of water were loaded. At 7h00 in the evening I received from the Commander an order to place one of the dinghies, together with its crew, at the disposal of the pilot so he could visit a ship that had been sighted off the NW headland of Semau. This order began as follows: “Mr Ronsard, or the duty officer if he is not on board, etc.” I was indeed on board, but Mr Bonnefoy who was the duty officer opened the letter (which was not sealed), had the dinghy prepared and then sent me the Commander’s order – so that when I went on deck to have the order executed I found the dinghy’s crew already aboard. I should probably have punished this act of insubordination, but I was too close...

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...to taking a decision that would have put an end to all of this, and I let this impertinence pass as I have let pass a thousand others, through fear of not being backed up by the Commander. The wind was variable from the east to south-east, as usual, and the weather was fine.

The Commander came on board on the morning of the 25<sup>th</sup> [Floréal, Year 11, 15 May 1803]. I received him and then repaired to my cabin, not wishing to be a witness to the crew’s act of choice. It was not long in coming. The Commander went ashore again at 7h00 and it was then that I learned that Mr Freycinet had received 60 votes, to my twelve. So the pattern continues of my not being successful in popular elections. They are a game that I have always promised myself to play as little as possible and, all other considerations apart, I am not unhappy that they have gone out of fashion in France. I went ashore immediately after the Commander and went to see him. He confirmed what I had learned on board, and immediately set to writing the following letter to Mr Freycinet:

The Commander of the Voyage of Discovery  
To Citizen Lieutenant Freycinet, on board the *Géographe*:

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Since my health is deteriorating on a daily basis, and since there had been no end to the discussions between you and Mr Ronsard regarding your respective claims to the command of the ship should I die during the voyage, and regarding the running of the ship during stopovers when I am required ashore, I considered it appropriate to bring together the naturalists and crew so they could inform me which of you suited them better for the present, and for the future should that be required. As it has been determined, through the vote cast by each person in secret and immediately recorded by the teller in my presence and that of the duty officer, who read it aloud, that the majority has decided in your favour, any further discussions between you and Mr Ronsard on this matter must cease. You remain personally responsible for the ship’s safety during its stopover in this harbour, and you will be authorised to take command to proceed immediately after my death to Isle de France, in accordance with detailed instructions that will be made available to you after this event, if it occurs. As to the daily running of the ship, the boatswain will submit to you each day a list of men he needs to send ashore, which is not to include anyone whose misconduct has led to his being confined aboard. You are not to choose anyone to be available to serve the officers prior to informing me of your choice, so that I can decide whether or not I require that person for more direct duty on board. No-one except you...

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...will give permission to go ashore and you are to set a time limit for each person to return aboard the ship. I alone will give permission to remain ashore overnight. When

there are slack times on board you should unbend the sails and progressively replace them with sails that have been repaired. You are to keep an exact record of the trade items that you might provide to the officer corps, the midshipmen, the surgeon and the various masters and mates. When an officer requests a boat you shall make one available, provided it is not required at the time the request is made; however, you should ensure that trips are not too frequent, especially when it is very hot, since the men's health needs to be protected.

It will be appropriate to weigh the anchors from time to time and to inspect the cables, so that we do not suffer the same misfortune as some other ships that have lost their anchors. Ensure that the buoy-ropes are in good shape and that the buoys remain afloat. You should ensure that the officer responsible for the ship's internal and external cleanliness does not neglect this aspect of his work. Please also let me know how many casks remain to be filled in the hold. You should provide to the American ship any assistance it requires, that is to say you...

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...should send men on board the ship should they be required for mooring or for housing its masts. Signed N. Baudin

This letter is to be entered into the log together with the signed minute recording the crew's choice.

This letter, which gives Mr Freycinet responsibility for the ship, also relieved me of that responsibility, and consequently all I thought about next was not returning on board the *Géographe*. I admit that I spent twenty-four hours under this illusion, during which time I felt myself ~~rid of~~ relieved of a heavy load. I felt that I would forever be rid of the harassment I had experienced constantly over almost three years. Commander Le Bas had begun this harassment as soon as we left France, and when he left the ship at Timor he had left behind his "esprit de corps," as he put it, or to speak more correctly his jealousy and hatred for engineers.

The next day, the 26<sup>th</sup> [Floréal, Year 11, 16 May 1803] my worries began all over again. I went to see the Commander to discuss my discharge, and to ask that he provide me with letters for Batavia. But he replied that he could do none of what I requested, that naval regulations absolutely forbade him to leave an officer behind in a foreign country without good reason – and he had none to get rid of me – and that if I left the expedition he would not have me arrested, but neither would he provide me with a discharge or any letters for Batavia. I went through forty-eight hours of excruciating worry. On the one hand I considered that it was impossible for me to stay on board, but on the other hand I had no way of extricating myself other than through desertion, which is no doubt unheard of on the part of an officer, and this prospect made me tremble. I was in one of those unfortunate situations where, regardless...

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...of what option is chosen, one is certain to do the wrong thing. I felt this very deeply and was incapable of making a decision. I finally decided to attempt to obtain a medical certificate from the doctor, which I knew the Commander would accept if I was able to obtain it. But this was not a simple thing to do, since the expedition doctor was so scrupulous that his very best friend would not get a certificate from him if the doctor did not know for certain that he could not continue the voyage without being in mortal danger. I had seen proof of this several times since leaving France, but nevertheless I gave myself some chance of success because, while I had no obvious illness, my health was in fact deteriorating from day to day. I spoke to him about it on several occasions, without getting any very positive response, and

since I detected that he was avoiding giving me a reply and indeed was avoiding me altogether, I wrote the following letter to him:

30 Floréal, Year 11 [20 May 1803].

To the Principal Physician, Voyage of Discovery

Sir, I find myself obliged to address myself to you to seek to be relieved of completing a voyage to which, as you know better than anyone, I have always attached a real and sustained interest. My health, which is deteriorating every day, no longer allows me to aspire to a place of glory beside those who will be with Captain Baudin when he returns to France. The long passage from Timor to Port Jackson began to tire me greatly. During the stopover I performed a great number of duties...

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...that prevented me from thinking about my personal situation, but no sooner had we put to sea again than I found myself ill – sufficiently so to have been forced to stay in my bunk on several occasions. During this entire voyage I did not go a single day without suffering often acute pain in all of my limbs. My stomach was affected, and even now, though I am extremely sober in my eating, I suffer painful indigestion after every meal. My chest is fatigued and constantly affected by an irritation similar to a tingling that I have difficulty describing to you. Towards the end of the last passage at sea my legs failed to the point where I found it impossible to stay on my feet more than fifteen minutes at a time. I do not like to complain, but I believe there were very few days when I did not mention the poor state of my health, and I can assure you that very often I stood my duty while being in great pain and without being able to give it all the attention it required. If, in addition to these physical ailments, one adds considerations in respect of which few persons are better placed than you, Sir, to assess the consequences – I speak of the influence of mental sensations on physical wellbeing – I submit that henceforth every moment of the day spent on board the *Géographe* will plunge me into a [illegible] state of suffering that even the most robust constitution would perhaps be unable to support. I therefore request, Sir, that you provide me with a certificate confirming that the state of my health leaves me no hope of being useful to the expedition during the forthcoming voyage, and that I require time ashore prior to being fit to put to sea again. Please be assured, Sir, that if I request this certificate from you it is because...

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...I firmly believe that my condition requires it. Please also be assured of my sincere attachment to you.

On 2 Prairial [22 May 1803], not having received any reply to this letter, I again wrote to Mr L'haridon seeking a response, and on the same day I received the reply that I have copied below:

Sir

While you confined yourself to speaking to me about leaving the expedition for health reasons I sincerely believed – and I ask your pardon for this – that you were speaking lightly, as one does in the most ordinary of conversations. However, now that you have written to me seriously about this matter, and that you require a prompt and decisive response, I shall not make you wait any longer and will pay you all of the respect that you are entitled to expect. With your permission I shall even go as far as saying that I have great fondness for you, but above everything else it is honour and my duty that I am most fond of. And I do not believe – I say this with regret – that they enable me to accede to your request.

Please, sir, accept the assurances of my respect and my thanks for the esteem that you have expressed towards me.

Signed L'haridon

Kupang, on board the *Géographe*, 2 Prairial, Year 11 [22 May 1803]

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As can be seen, this letter left me no hope that I would be medically discharged, and all that remained was for me to know what the Commander intended to do with me and how he wanted me to present myself for duty. This is what I set out in the following letter to him, dated 2 Prairial [Year 11, 22 May 1803]:

Citizen Commander

I have the honour to request that you inform me of your intentions with regard to me. After you had given to Mr Freycinet command of the ship should an accident befall you, and had similarly given him the responsibility for duty and discipline on board that you had previously given to me, I felt myself justified in requesting that you agree to my discharge. I shall not rehearse here all of my claims to outrank Mr Freycinet, and shall confine myself to saying that since the Law of 3 Brumaire, which is the only one known to us, provides me with ten years' precedence over Mr Freycinet (even if I was only ranked as a sub-engineer and lieutenant), I can under no circumstances accept the rank and carry out the duties of second officer on board the *Géographe*.

Greetings and respects. Signed Ronsard

On 9 Prairial [Year 11, 29 May 1803] I received the following reply:

Citizen

The majority of votes – not I – gave command of the *Géographe* to Mr Freycinet after my death, if between now and then I do not make any new arrangements. The method I employed to put an end to your competing claims was the only one appropriate to the circumstances. The Government will decide at a later date which one of you was correct. However...

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...until that happens nothing should change as regards the manner in which you performed your duties up to the time the recent decision was taken. Moreover you are aware of the Government's intentions in having naval engineers put to sea. If, however, it does not suit you to continue serving as a naval officer, the decision is up to you. I would merely observe that under no circumstances can you absolve yourself from continuing the voyage as an engineer. I am unable to agree to your discharge.

Your fellow citizen. Signed N. Baudin

After having read this letter several times I was still unsure of what decision I should take. I could have said much in reply, but nothing would have convinced the Commander to agree to my discharge. He denies having given Mr Freycinet command of the *Géographe*, saying that this was a decision by the majority of votes. But what did it matter to me how I was deprived of my functions as first officer and my claims to command the ship? The Commander adds, "if between now and then I do not make any new arrangements." Consequently he does not consider the crew's choice to be final, yet he could not pay heed to my feelings by waiting a little or even making the change in my favour forthwith. "The Government will decide at a later date," he says. No doubt the Government will indeed decide, but its decision will be for others, whereas I...

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...will still have been upset and humiliated, and will still have lost all the benefit I might have

expected from an extremely arduous 4-year voyage. Because after all I joined the ship as an engineer on a salary of 4800<sup>#</sup>, and I shall return to France on the same level. I will have obtained the rank of lieutenant, but had I stayed put I would have had this rank 9 months after the departure of the *Géographe*, that is to say three months before I was actually promoted. This rank will not provide me with any advantage over engineers who are senior to me in service time, and it will [two words crossed out] put me on a level with all of the sub-engineers who have done a year's service at sea, without perhaps ever having travelled more than 500 leagues off the coast of France. The Commander says that the decision that has just been taken should change nothing as concerns the way in which I have served up to that point, but I am not the one who is changing anything, it is the decision itself that is doing so. In Port Jackson I received hundreds of orders from the Commander (which I have kept) that prove he considered me to be the first officer on board the ship. Furthermore, I received orders that show that the Commander treated me as the first officer of the division, such as the order to convene all officers from the two ships and to communicate to them the message that the Commander had sent to me. (Mr Hamelin was ashore with the Commander at the time.) When we arrived in Timor, the Commander handed over the ship to me when he went ashore, as he said in his letter to Mr Freycinet. In accordance with the decision that has just been taken, Mr Freycinet is the one who is in charge of the ship during the Commander's absences and who will replace him should he die.

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Consequently my role on board has changed in a very real way. Perhaps, however, the Commander was referring only to my duties as a naval officer, that is to say commanding a watch at sea. If I were to agree to that reference it would be to tacitly approve both the Commander's methods and the decisions resulting from them, whereas I believe it to be a matter of honour for me to protest against these, and certainly I would not forgive myself the slightest behaviour that appeared to be agreement. The Commander then leaves me free to discontinue the naval officer duties if they do not agree with me, but he refuses under any circumstances to agree to my not continuing the voyage as its engineer, and refuses to discharge me. The duties of a naval officer were to my liking and I had carried them out for three years, always with the same pleasure and with all the zeal of which I was capable. However I could not continue: I could not become the second officer after having been the first. While it may be said that the Commander had never made a firm pronouncement on this matter, my reply is that, in the first place, he had indeed done so to me in Port Jackson - verbally it is true, but in such a way as to leave me in no doubt. Secondly, all the various orders that I received from him are proof positive and such that I considered that there was no possibility of going back on his word. And lastly, when we arrived in Timor would the Commander have given me his authority just to see it retracted nine days later? I had...

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...to consider this decision to be a demotion, because in practice it is one, and any demotion is dishonourable. But who pronounced this judgment against me – sailors, foreigners, blacks. These people said to the Commander, “you had provided such and such an officer to command us when you are absent, because you considered that this was his due given his seniority. Well, you were mistaken, these claims are baseless, you have asked for our opinion and we are demoting him and replacing him with such and such other officer.” I dispute the grounds for the Commander's decision, but it is certainly true that very strong grounds are required for making an officer's honour the plaything of sailors' fickleness or capriciousness. The Commander had considered it appropriate to entrust me with regulations and discipline on board but then another officer puts in a claim quite contrary to the order he had given for



me to be solely responsible for granting leave to go ashore, and the result is an appeal to the crew and my demotion. Everyone will agree that after this I could not possibly play any further role on board. I should probably have immediately left the expedition, but my request for a discharge was refused. The idea of the misery I should have to endure, more than five thousand leagues from home and without acquaintances or money (as can be imagined after a voyage lasting three years) was less difficult for me to support than the idea of arriving back in France as a deserter from my ship. Moreover I feared that the Government would hold me responsible for any accident that might befall the *Géographe* during this last passage, which is a perilous one from what we have been told...

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...by Mr Flinders. I know how prudent the Commander is and am sure that no calamity will befall him. Moreover I am convinced that should anything untoward occur the Commander would not need me to get out of difficulty, and that if the ship went aground I would have nothing to do. Nevertheless, the Government had appointed me to be the naval engineer on the expedition, and would still say to me that “the Commander used all the resources available to him as a naval officer. If you had not left your post without permission you would have been able to use all the engineering resources available to you, and you may perhaps have succeeded.” All of these considerations have led me, against my judgment and against my strongly-felt desire, to continue the voyage as an engineer. This is a sacrifice I am making to my duty, one of the many I have continued to make since I took the decision to participate in this voyage. I hope that the Government will take this into consideration.

As soon as I had informed the Commander of my decision he gave orders for the way I was to be treated, offered that I dine at his table, put his dinghy at my disposal and declared that I was to be independent of everyone on board and that he alone would be able to give me orders. He had this promulgated officially the same day, in the letter that I have transcribed below:

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To Citizen Lieutenant Freycinet, on board the *Géographe*:

Citizen, you are hereby informed that Mr Ronsard, an officer of the naval engineer corps of the French Republic, will be continuing the voyage in that capacity and is exempted from any other duties on board. In view of the prerogatives attached to his rank as engineer in the expedition, he shall henceforth receive orders from me alone, and is entirely independent of the senior officers on board the corvette.

Whenever he requires the use of a boat and I am not on board, you are to make one available without his being required to explain the use to which it will be put. This boat is to be my stern dinghy, crewed by helmsmen or others should helmsmen be unavailable, so that the work done by the ship’s own dinghies is not interrupted.

This letter is to be entered into the logbook so that no-one is unaware of it. Signed, Nicolas Baudin. Entered into the ship’s log on 9-10 Prairial [Year 11, 29-30 May 1803]

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When I left the ship on the 25<sup>th</sup> [Floréal, Year 11, 15 May 1803] there remained only about 30 casks of water to be filled, and on the 26<sup>th</sup> [Floréal, Year 11, 16 May 1803] our water was complete. We provided a working party of three men to the American ship for as long as required. The Commander gave it the 7 English deserters from Port Jackson whom we had on board. He had the American’s sails repaired, etc. Mr L’haridon saw the captain, who was very sick, cared for him, provided from our stores all of the medicines he required, and

succeeded in nursing him back to health. The Commander provided wine from his own stores, plus whatever a convalescent could require. This ship, named the *Hunter*, was thus very happy to have come across us here. It had put in once before, about six weeks previously, and had taken on 70-80 half-tonnes of beeswax and some sandalwood, before continuing on to Dili to complete its load. From there it had planned to travel to Macau, but the whole crew had taken ill, due to what was thought locally to be the poor quality of the water. It had been obliged to return to Kupang, but would have been unable to make it to the anchorage without the help of the five men we had sent to take the pilot on board. There were only two men on the ship still on their feet.

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During the rest of the time we spent in this harbour we did other things than simply load our stores as they arrived alongside. The breeze was usually variable E-SE, and sometimes (although rarely) from the north. The strongest breezes were always easterlies.

On 30 Floréal [Year 11, 20 May 1803] the bosun's mate Lebeau broke his leg while ashore. This was the only accident we had during the stopover. The barometer was steady at 28.2 almost every day. Sometimes it varied marginally to 28.1. The thermometer ranged from 22 to 24 degrees.

When we arrived in Timor, Governor Lofftet, who had received us during our first visit to the settlement, had been dead for some nine months and had been replaced by the former Secretary Mr Guisseler [Joanis Giesler], who now had the responsibility as *aupros* [Governor].<sup>2</sup> He was very ill when we arrived, but thanks to the attentions of Dr L'haridon he was in reasonable health by the time we left. A number of Dutch soldiers had also died, but there were no other changes and we were reunited with Madame Van Este, Captain Tilleman, Mr Joannis and all of our other acquaintances. The Malays were happy to see us return. They had seen Mr Flinders shortly before our arrival, but I was told that the welcomes the Malays gave to the two nations were very different. They had remained armed all the time Mr Flinders was in harbour, and Mr Flinders had been the only one to go ashore...

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...and had never stayed there overnight. For our part, not only were we ashore day and night, but we roamed the countryside alone and unarmed. I took advantage of my time ashore to renew my acquaintances. I frequently called on Madame Van Este, who still lived in the style of Asian luxury that we observed during the Commander's first call on her. She owns over two thousand slaves, and when she has foreigners call on her there are never fewer than 24 or 25 of them to serve tea. This year she is living in a newly-built country house in the same grounds as the one she occupied on the previous visit. The design of this house, like all those in the settlement, is very simple. There are three large rooms on a single level, with the middle one being a sort of hall, with a room on each side. In front and behind the house are two galleries, which run the full length of the house except for a small room at each end. The front gallery is used as a salon, one end being occupied by women and the other by men. The place of honour is up against the house, near the door, with other seats being placed...

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...behind this one, as one moves away from the house. If you should be offered tea or coffee, and if you accept, the lady of the house gives the order to bring tea and immediately a dozen women slaves, who were standing in a semi-circle behind her, leave and return immediately, all carrying a small footstool on which one has tea, another coffee, a third milk, a fourth

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<sup>2</sup> See below, p. 306.

sugar, and seven or eight others all manner of pastries. Another carries a towel for wiping your fingers. As soon as you have finished, one of the male slaves – who were also standing behind, on the men’s side – brings water for you to rinse out your mouth. More or less the same thing occurs in all Malay private houses, except that since none is as rich or has as many slaves, the same degree of opulence is not encountered. Madame Van Este has no children. She is 58 years old and her brother, Captain Tilleman, will inherit her wealth except for some donations she has made to relatives whom she treats and feeds as if they were her children. She also has four adopted daughters to whom she is very attached. When we arrived they had gone for an excursion to Turtle Island, taking some tents with them. They were on a picnic and had taken along many slaves and musicians. Some days later, in the middle of the night, we heard them returning in their dinghy, to the sound of musical instruments. I remarked to Madame Van Este, in relation to this event, that I...

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...very much regretted not having known that the *nonas* were all alone on the island, because I would have gone there at night in a dinghy, would have kidnapped them and we would have got under way immediately and taken them back to France. She replied, ingenuously and with feeling, that she would soon have died if her daughters had been taken from her: “what would I do in this world without them?” One of the young people present engaged me in conversation and replied wittily and in a lively manner to everything I said to her during our conversation, which lasted a quarter of an hour. I addressed her by her name – Andrina – and everyone present was very surprised at this, asking me how I had known it. I replied that French men remembered the names of beautiful women in every country they visited (I could perhaps have said more on this). And indeed Andrina, while a little dark-skinned, is pretty and would not displease in France. She pleased one of our gentlemen very much indeed, but I do not know what transpired. What is certain is that she seemed coquettish to me, absolutely after the fashion of European women. Madame Van Este was very ill when we left Timor; if she should die, her brother told me there would be a large sum to be paid to the Company, which places a 5% impost on estates and 10% on donations. This law is...

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...recent and did not exist before Commissioner Loftet. The Malays apparently find it quite onerous.

I saw a lot of Captain Tilleman in Timor. After the *gnogna bessar* he is the principal personality in the country, and we had become friends during my first visit to the island. He is the military commander of all Malays in Kupang and surrounds, and is called the “bourgeois captain”. He played a major role when the Malays threw out the English after the Governor had given them the keys to the fort. Mr Joannin often told me, in relation to this incident, that for his part he had not wished to participate in this act of hostility because, having signed the act of capitulation to the English, it was not proper to attack them without warning. I did not discover the reasons for Captain Tilleman’s conduct but I rather suspect them, and what is certain is that had he wished to be English then the Dutch would no longer be in Kupang, and there are no peace treaties on which one can count in such circumstances, because as long as the Kupang settlement remains what it is the Malays will choose whomever they wish to rule them, and I do not believe that if the Dutch were to leave the Malays would want them back. Captain Tilleman had formerly known a French engineer named Mr Pillon and had a high regard for his knowledge; this regard reflected...

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...on to me. The Malays are aware of the usefulness of the arts, but are extremely ignorant of

them. Those who are of a status above the people complain about the Dutch, who have taught them nothing. It is true that they do nothing with what Nature has provided for them. I spent an entire night at a wedding, in company with my friend Tilleman. We arrived at 7h00 in the evening to find the bride rigged out exactly like a virgin at church and placed at one end of a large room, on a sort of stage, two steps high. Above her was a sort of [illegible] and to the left and right were two maids of honour dressed more or less in the same way, although much less lavishly. The bride had diamonds on her head, in her hair, on her ears, around her neck, etc. At her feet was a carpet on which fifteen to twenty slave women were seated, all very properly dressed. As each person arrived he or she advanced to the foot of the bride's throne and made a deep bow. The bride did not rise for the men, simply responding with an inclination of the head which was echoed...

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...by her two assistants; the guests then retired to the other end of the room, where all the men were seated. When women made their bow the bride rose, returned the curtsy and left her seat to embrace them all, even the children. The women were then seated on the bride's side, and everyone began chewing betel. The men talked amongst themselves or else remained silent, as did the women – each on their own side of the room. Mr Tilleman and I were in the front row, that is to say near the door, and we spent an hour in this way, chewing the betel leaves, lime etc, and watching all the guest successively make their bows and being embraced when they had the honour of being women.

After an hour, music started up. It was provided by twelve slaves whom Madame Van Este had sent to Batavia for tuition and who play various types of instrument. It is true that in my opinion the person who received money for teaching them really should be obliged to return it, but for all that it was music, and it made a lot of noise. I was invited to dance; I was told that we were to do quadrilles and I did not take much persuading. I invited the bride; the orchestra played an English dance, everyone got into two lines and we danced. When the English dance was finished we performed a minuet, then another English dance and so on. Finally towards midnight an immense table was set, everyone was seated and we ate. When dessert arrived all I saw was...

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...the food appear and then disappear from the table. In a trice all of the guests' plates were full and the table was bare. I was not familiar with this custom of stripping the table and of piling on one's plate ten times more than could possibly be eaten, but a moment later I noticed that all the guests were emptying their plates into handkerchiefs, carried by slaves. I asked why, and was told that each of the guests had a wife or children who had not been at the celebration, and that part of the dessert was being sent home for them. Many toasts were drunk, which I did not understand, but then the Malays drank to their good friends the French, and I returned this salute. After supper the dancing began again and lasted until dawn. Most of the men went home drunk because throughout the evening slaves went about the room offering liqueurs. The next evening the celebration started up again, but I did not attend, and after the next day there was no further mention of any of this and the bride was considered married. I omitted to say that on the morning of the first day the marriage was celebrated at the church; all of the bourgeois Malays are Christians and are of mixed Dutch and Malay extraction.

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Some of them are white, others are of mixed Chinese and Malay blood, and are paler in complexion than indigenous Malays. Having described a wedding, I shall now provide

details on a funeral ceremony. An old man, who was the brother-in-law of the Emperor of Bacauassi, lost his daughter. I went to his residence in the afternoon and came across one or two hundred persons, dressed in black and seated in rows under the gallery. Further inside the house the dead woman was in a coffin covered with a pall, as is our custom. I went out to the rear of the house, where I saw the owner very busily occupied: on one side he had over a hundred slaves preparing a large meal, and on the other a grave was being dug within the grounds of the house for his daughter's body. He told me that this was his property and that he did not wish his daughter to be placed anywhere else. I was not present for the burial but I had occasion to return in the evening, and saw everyone seated at table. The owner was not present. After supper, people began to play cards and this lasted until two or three o'clock in the morning. Three days later a mourning visit was paid and another meal was served, similar to that on the burial day.

I also had occasion to witness a funeral ceremony involving Malay Muslims. A woman from Solou, who had belonged to Madame Van Este, died and her body was displayed on a bed in the shape of a [?], draped in white and covered with flowers. The body was wrapped in a...

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...white cloth. It was almost midnight when I entered, and many torches were lit. A dozen or so Malays were seated quite close to the bed where the body was lying in state, singing and reading books written in Arabic. They had a great number of books and notebooks close at hand, and when one had been finished the person holding it immediately took another and began to chant. It seemed to me that their books were not identical and that the chanting by one person bore no relationship to what was being uttered by the others. Other Malays were seated at nearby tables, some of them playing cards, others drinking and still others chewing betel; no-one seemed in the least sad. This ceremony lasted all night and throughout the next morning. In the afternoon the body, still on its couch, was taken to be buried amid much pomp and chanting. I should not forget to say that before thus exposing a [illegible] for lying in state, the precaution was taken of washing it, with immense care, and of wiping it with very white linen cloth. I saw the same washing down of a man who had just drowned; there is no doubt whatsoever that this person was sufficiently purified by water.

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I travelled several times into the interior, and saw the Emperor Pittar of Bacauassi again. However I was not as pleased with him on this second voyage as I had been on the first. When I first arrived at his residence he was ill and lying on his bed. Two women were behind, supporting the emperor's thin shoulders on their chests and massaging him from time to time. I asked how many women he had in his service and he informed me that there were a little more than thirty of them. Soon afterwards I went into the courtyard where I saw a recently-slaughtered young bull, then a little further away a pig on a spit, and elsewhere poultry of all sorts. The courtyard was the scene of a frightful massacre and there was enough food to feed a hundred men. Everything was prepared and served in copious amounts on a large table, and I was informed when it was ready. I dined alone, however, because the emperor was ill, and I dined with all his servants standing behind me. I departed in the evening, after having offered a number of gifts. At this time the former emperor of Bacauassi had not yet been buried. I went inside the house where his body lay in state and saw it, in a coffin covered by a pall and surrounded by lighted torches. Malay kings remain sometimes four or five years in their residences before they are buried. Their caskets are hollow tree trunks, closed with a board and hermetically sealed with mastic made from lime and (I believe) sugar. The bodies do not give off any odour inside the house. There are several versions of the reason for this practice but I have discovered the true explanation, which I

found out in circumstances that leave me in no doubt, both...

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...when this *kesser* of Bacauassi was buried, some time after our first departure from Timor, and also when the *raya* of Amabi died in the period between our two visits to Timor and was still in his residence when I returned there for a second time.

The funeral ceremony for a Malay king is a very pompous occasion. Not only do all of his subjects attend, but all of the other kings on the island are present and send along some of their subjects. The Company agents and the prominent citizens of Kupang never miss the occasion. The ceremony can last up to a week, during which time everyone is fed, so as can be imagined a great many buffaloes, pigs etc are required. In addition, however, the occasion requires a great deal of gold, for the following reason. Each person attending the ceremony – beginning with the Company’s Principal Agent – receives a gold plaque. These exist in several sizes according to the importance of the person receiving the gift; I saw some that must weigh about the same as a five Louis piece, and there are others weighing three Louis, and still others two. The more people attend the ceremony, the more gold is required. The other kings do not receive a gold piece, but one is given to every prominent citizen present. And who provides all of this food and gold?

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The answer is the subjects or *maucia* of the deceased king, who are each obliged to supply a certain number of buffaloes, pigs and gold. Getting all of this together requires time – the more so if the *maucia* are very poor – and the king remains unburied until his subjects have made their contributions to his burial. The deceased’s family places gold in his coffin, in proportion to their means. Almost all the kings have their burial vaults where they lived, and it is there that they go to rejoin their ancestors. The vaults are well maintained and guarded day and night. However some kings have their vaults in Kupang itself, and it is considered a great honour for them to have the right to be buried in Kupang. The *kesser* of Becauassi is one of these – it should be noted, however, that whether they are buried in their vault in Kupang or on their own lands, the ceremony is exactly the same.

The *kesser* of Bacauassi was not on good terms with the Company when I visited him for the second time, and this was for a rather intriguing reason. A Malay from the interior of Timor had claimed to be a god; he owned two shabby sets of theatre clothes that he had probably purchased in Dili, and used them to impress the local populace. One set was made from light blue material, doubled with white satin and trimmed with (false) silver. The other was in bright red silk, dotted with medusa heads ~~all in silk~~, serpents, devils etc embroidered in silk. Within a very short time he had gathered a considerable sect about him.

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He promised miracles, such as superb fields of rice and maize that would appear without the need to plant them, etc. The Malays, who are simple folk and lazy by nature, found this all very fine and began to express considerable veneration for their god. The Governor, however, did not see the divine protector hidden within this adventurer and began to be concerned about all his devils and serpents. He wanted to have him arrested, and requested this of the *kesser* Pittar, to whose property he had withdrawn. But the *kesser*, ~~perhaps~~ not daring to lay a sacrilegious hand on the divinity, had not turned him in. The adventurer was, however, apprehended with some assistance from the other kings, and throughout our last stay was a guest at the fort, with irons on his legs, hands and neck. It was a case of saying – “get out of this, if you are so powerful.” However the Governor had remained annoyed with the *kesser* Pittar and kept saying that he was not a trustworthy man. He was also annoyed with me for

having paid him a visit. He was perhaps no less unhappy that I paid a visit to the *raya* of Amabi, although he had no grounds for complaint with him. I arrived there quite late one evening, and I planned to travel to the interior early in the morning...

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...to hunt the green pigeons that the Malays call *Colconobé*. I decided to dine and sleep at Amabi. A young pig was immediately killed and dressed. I was accompanied by a hunting companion. We dined with the *raya*, after which he offered us some Chinese music. Those who are not familiar with Chinese drums, and to whom I would say that they are a sort of copper kettle, may perhaps be inclined to compare this music with the noise made with pots and pans in a number of parts of France when a widow remarries. However there can be no doubt that the din made with Chinese drums provides very pleasing harmonies and that this music, which can be heard from a great distance, gives much pleasure when it is well played. I expected to see the king's [illegible] arrive, but it was not the dancing season and they did not appear. Towards eleven o'clock I sought permission to retire. A bed was made up for me on the main table – that is to say, mats and pillows were placed on it, because Malays only ever sleep on mats. I slept under the gallery, with a *fetou* and a dozen slaves on the floor around me, keeping guard. The *raya* himself wished to sleep there, but I refused and when he persisted I was obliged to insist that he sleep with his wives. The *raya* of Amabi was housed in somewhat confined quarters, because the deceased *raya* had not been buried and thus still occupied the main residence.

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No sooner had I stretched out on the mat than the *raya* came and whispered to me, apologising for being unable to provide women for me for the night. I did not quite understand the reasons, but had no trouble accepting his apology.

The *raya* of Amabi had staying with him a young *raya* who was a neighbour and also the husband of his daughter. However, as the young man had been unable to date to pay more than 15 pounds of the thirty he had promised to his father-in-law in return for his daughter's hand, the young woman remained in the residence and the marriage had not been consummated. The intended spent the day in the residence, but did not sleep there. In France it would have been found amusing, in this situation, to appropriate the bride for the night while waiting for her husband to find his 15 pounds of gold, and it would have been thought especially amusing to receive her from her father. That would have been possible, but I did no such thing.

I also had occasion, in different circumstances, to spend a night in the residence of the *raya* of Amfour. He served me the best supper he could and gave me his residence to sleep in, while he spent the night in his children's house. As soon as I had retired he sent me a *fetou* to ask if I required a woman. I declined, but my hunting partner accepted and a moment later...

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...he received a princess covered in gold bracelets up to her elbows and rings down to her fingertips. The next day he placed a piaster in the queen's betel box, which ~~this girl~~ a slave had placed on our room the night before, and he gave another to the princess. He did not know a word of Malay and I was the one who told him what to do, after I had sought advice from a *fetou* who told me that a gift needed to be offered to the *gnogna bessau* and another to the *nona notes* – and all of this despite the fact that the king and queen who had offered their daughter for a night were both Christians. But I have on many occasions noted that Malays, irrespective of their faith, take from religions only what does not cause them any inconvenience. Christians are no more scrupulous than any others on the subject of women,

while Musulmans eat pork and drink wine whenever it is available. These people are, however, very superstitious. Married women are persuaded that, no matter how far away their husband might be, they cannot be unfaithful without his knowing it. I cannot say for certain that this belief is universal, but I can say that I was informed about it by persons who firmly believed it. Moreover I was able to persuade them very easily that I was as much a sorcerer as anyone else, and that I had the power to counteract any magic. I offered as proof of my power that I could transport them to Paris in a single night, etc. etc, and...

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...I was never required to prove myself. More evidence of their superstition was provided in relation to an affair I had had, which had caused quite a stir in the country. An old Malay who was very attached to me reproached me severely for not having told him about it, informing me that he would have given me a small piece of metal, which he showed me, that would have made me invulnerable. I could give a thousand other examples. For example, in the hinterland I saw a very deep crevice in a rock and was told that a river was to be found three or four hundred feet down. I wanted to see it but was unable to do so because, I was told, only women were allowed down there.

In another place (Pola) I saw a fountain emerging through a [illegible] 15-18 inches in diameter and immediately forming a sizeable stream. When it rains the fountain throws up a column of water some 5-6 feet high.

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The Dutch have a fort in Kupang, which they call Concord fort, located on a rock jutting into the sea to the south of the mouth of the small Kupang River. The fort has 10-12 guns mounted on rickety carriages, with a company of Malays to man them. The parapets are not reinforced and the fort would be unable to withstand even the feeblest attack, especially from the land side. The English took the fort in 1798 without encountering any opposition, although they were forced out by the Malays who lay in wait and fired on them when, not expecting any hostilities, they came to the river to complete their water. The English were forced to take to their ships and the captain of the second ship was almost assassinated while still ashore. The Dutch Governor and the country's main citizens had signed a capitulation. In Kupang the Dutch employ 10 or 12 soldiers who are under the orders of a Governor (whom they call *aupros*) and a Secretary who stands in for him if he is ill or dies. There are also two secretaries, normally young mixed-race Malays. The Dutch soldiers are spread around among the various kings who are allied to the Company, while guarding the fort is entrusted to Malays who work for the Company. Every year at the end of the western monsoon season a ship arrives from Batavia, returning at the beginning of the eastern monsoon laden with beeswax, sandalwood, slaves and sometimes horses. Each of the kings who are allied to the Company makes an annual gift of these articles. When the Company's brig has arrived the gifts are carried down by the king's subjects, who arrive fully armed...

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...and in great numbers. After having deposited their gifts at the fort – which is done with much singing and dancing – they set up camp nearby. They stay there for up to a month, doing nothing but eating and sleeping during the day, and dancing at night. They wait until it has pleased the Governor to reciprocate with gifts for their masters, and then they return home carrying these gifts. One of the kings of Solou, who is allied with the Company, also comes to offer his gifts. I saw him bring some grey amber and I know that he had given a certain quantity to the Governor, although I do not know whether this forms part of the Company's trade. I also know that he did not hand it over in its entirety, and that he sold the remainder to



the Chinese at 10 piasters an ounce (or so I believe), but this was done in great secrecy because the Governor – who did not pay for it – wanted to have it all.

I also saw gold dust in Timor. It seems certain that it exists in the island – every Malay to whom I spoke and who was somewhat educated told me so – but I was told that it is difficult to extract, that people did not dare descend into the caves where it exists because often the men who did so were asphyxiated, and that of course there are various superstitions attached to the whole business. However I believe that the caves are visited from time to time; I do not believe that...

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...all of the gold plaques and golden discs that the Malays manufacture come from melted-down European coins, and the same applies to the gold ingots that I have seen in the hands of one of the Dutch agents. But whether the Company itself trades in gold I am unable to say; I know only that gold is to be found with kings who are not its allies. The Dutch are not the sole traders in Timor. Some Chinese, who live in a special quarter close to the sea, pay substantial dues to the company in return for the right to buy and sell. They send off praus laden with the goods I have described above, but in addition they sell birds' nests and trepangs, which are highly prized in China. However they are obliged to send everything via Batavia, because the regulations do not allow ships leaving Timor to travel anywhere except to a Dutch settlement. Thus the island of Timor produces:

1. Sandalwood, which is priced according to its quality. The best is worth twenty piasters per *picol*, which equates to 125 pounds. I do not know how much is exported each year. It is taken to Canton, where it normally sells for 40 piasters per *picol*.
2. Beeswax, which is worth 25 piasters per *picol*, or about 20 [illegible] per pound. Timor produces some one thousand *picols* per year. It is sold in Batavia for about 50 piasters per *picol*.
3. Slaves: in Timor they are worth 30-40 piasters per man.
4. Horses: they are small but some are well-built and above all they have fine, slender legs.

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They are not shod, yet they venture confidently into the rocks and along the island's difficult pathways. The most expensive sell for five piasters.

5. Birds' nests, which are traded by the Chinese. Many of them are to be had in the islands around Timor. I do not know the price. I do not know if the sea cucumber, which the Chinese call trepang, is to be found in great quantity in Timor. The most prolific fishing takes place on the coast of New Holland, some 100 leagues south of Timor. Rice and maize are grown in Timor. The former is worth a little less than one piaster per *picol* if it is unhusked, and two reals if it has been threshed. Maize is worth one piaster per *picol*. The soil is suitable for almost all vegetables, but except for pumpkins very few are grown. Sugar cane is indigenous but is not cultivated because the Dutch do not allow the establishment of sugar refineries. The same applies to coffee.

Cinnamon is found in abundance in Timor, as is aniseed, etc etc. All types of spices would also grow there, but the Dutch are opposed to their cultivation.

Cotton is very common but is not traded at all, even though the quality is good. The natives use it for their loincloths and their fishing lines and nets. Great quantities are available simply for the picking, and would cost no more than five sous per pound.

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As for fruit, one finds grapefruit, oranges, lemons, mangoes, pomegranates, pineapples, star

fruit, two species of bread fruit, bananas, coconuts, etc, etc.

As concerns metals, Timor produces gold and iron; I do not know if there are others.

Timor's climate is hot and Europeans are obliged to conserve their energy. They are unable to do hard physical work during the heat of the day, so the best times for work are the evening and the morning. During the wet season the water in the river is unhealthy, and foreigners must avoid living in lower Kupang as much as possible. At the mouth of the river there is a sort of marshland, not covered over by the sea during the neap tides, which gives off a stench that brings on a dangerous fever, especially when there are also blood flows.

Timor has available all the stores that navigators could wish for, including buffaloes, cattle, sheep, goats, pigs, poultry etc, all of which are plentiful and cheap. The buffaloes that the Governor sold to the Commander of the expedition cost ~~him~~ the latter about a piaster and a half each. Deer are also very common, as are wild boars, wild buffaloes, etc. etc.

Timor's inhabitants are of medium build, well proportioned but not as strong as Europeans. They carry themselves nobly and have open faces, although they are warlike. Their dress, which consists of a white loincloth with a red border, goes around their waist and falls down to their knees. They wear a similar cloth over their shoulders, and together...

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...with their war gear this gives them a truly martial appearance. They appear to be all in uniform, and long plumes decorating the hilts of their swords simply add to the effect of all of these black men, draped in white and red. Even their dances are warlike, involving a sort of march, and the precision demonstrated in all of their movements and chanting is very pleasing to witness. All the men, with their swords under their left arm (which is how they are always carried), form a large circle, standing so close together that they are all touching. Two or three women are in the circle and begin to chant, whereupon the men respond while they dance – that is to say they march in a block, turning towards the centre of the circle without breaking it at any point, each man stamping the ground with his right foot, in unison. They then make a sort of swooping gesture, each body inclining slightly forwards, at each beat of the rhythm. The dance begins in a slow and serious manner and then becomes livelier; the same steps are taken more quickly and feet are raised higher during the stamping. Should a foreigner arrive, and should he be an honoured guest, the circle opens to admit him and then closes again as soon as he has entered.

In former times the Malays armed themselves with lances, but nowadays few if any are without a rifle. One might perhaps think, from what I have just said, that they are a difficult and quarrelsome people. On the contrary, I have never seen milder men than the inhabitants of Timor; they are good and hospitable, and I have very rarely...

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...witnessed any quarrels between them. While sometimes one man may appear angry and there is lengthy and lively discussion, I have not seen them fight, even when they are drunk. They are sober in their habits, eating twice a day. Their normal food is rice or maize with pumpkins, and they rarely eat meat. Their drink, which they call *laru*, is made from a root that they ferment in water. It is pleasant and healthy – which cannot be said for another drink they call *calu*, which they obtain by making incisions in palm trees.

Their houses are all built to the same plan, which is a rectangle forming three rooms, end on end. The walls are no more than trellises, made from the stalks of coconut leaves. Some stone houses exist but they are rare; others just sit on stone bases, about eighteen inches high, while the remainder is built with trellises such as I have just described. Their beds are normally racks made from rods of areca palm wood, although sometimes from slats. They spread a few palm mats across them and sleep with their heads resting on a small bolster. As

for their furniture, these people have had too much contact with Europeans to have been able to retain their ancient ways. The kings normally have several residences, each with large sheds where their *maucia* sleep when they gather around the king. I have seen some of these sheds built in a circular shape, supported by roughly decorated pillars. I forgot to say that with the exception of houses in the town, and of those belonging to some of the *rayas*, all are covered with straw, and the roofs always jut out in front and behind so that each house has a sort of lean-to on each side.

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The Malays are generally lazy and spend their life chewing betel. If there is nothing to force them to venture out they will remain in their houses for days or even weeks (perhaps even years) on end, doing nothing but sleeping and chewing their betel. Cultivating their land does not burden them much, since the minimum amount of work is sufficient to provide their means of existence. Without needs and without passions, their souls are forever subject to an inertia that absorbs all of their faculties. For this reason they have forgotten by evening what you asked them in pressing terms in the morning, and if you do not make them move they will stay doing nothing. However, once aroused they are direct and go straight for their target. I have often seen them desirous of learning our arts and if the occasion arose, and if they were pressed, they could no doubt make good use of the opportunity to do so. But as soon as we are out of sight they return to their natural state of apathy. One day, when I was staying in the countryside, two young and healthy Malays sought me out to ask me about the possibility of travelling to France on board a ship. Their conversation was very lively and they said they passionately wished to see France, but were unaware of what needed to be done on board a ship. On hearing my responses, they told each other that they could soon have sufficient knowledge to be of use. They kept me up half the night and I had trouble getting rid of them. I saw them the next day, and they seemed no longer...

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...at all interested in what they had said to me. Be that as it may, the Malays are generally skilful and would be especially suited to work requiring patience.

The ships to be found in Timor have nothing special about them, being either sampans or praus. The sampans are sharp-bottomed vessels, similar in shape fore and aft although the stern topsides are raised in the manner of Chinese vessels. The praus are of similar construction but are smaller and less raised at the stern. Some have rudders on each side, fixed to two cross-pieces jutting out on each side of the vessels. I did not see the two rudders used at sea. There is a single square sail, made from matting and shaped like the foresail, fore topsail and fore topgallant joined together. This sail is hoisted to the masthead, that is to say to the top of some shear legs made from three bamboos, with a piece of wood at the top curved a little towards the stern, through which a sheave-hole has been drilled to allow a halyard to pass through. When sail needs to be shortened, the halyard is lowered and the sail is furled down. There are occasional shrouds to keep the sail taut and ensure its surface remains smooth. All of these vessels can enter the Kupang River at high tide when lightly loaded, and are then beached in the mud. The praus are very poorly constructed and armed. They are caulked with bark from trees and have wooden anchors; in general it is hard to see anything in them that might be of interest to civilised nations.

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Ships are able to spend the entire eastern monsoon season in Timor, because during that time the harbour is safe. The anchorage is in 20-25 fathoms water, a little to the north of the fort. I believe that is best to moor N-S so the two cables take the strain from the easterly winds,

which are strongest and sometimes make ships drag their anchors. However this harbour needs to be abandoned during the north-west monsoon period, when I have heard that it is unbearable. This monsoon begins in Vendémiaire and the south-easterly takes over towards Germinal; each lasts six months. When approaching Timor during the south-easterly monsoon one should head for the southern part, a little to windward of the Semau Strait, then skirt westwards until the easternmost part of Roti – which must inevitably appear if this course is followed – bears south from the ship. At that time the strait is open and can be entered, although care needs to be taken to avoid a reef joined to Timor at the southern end of the strait entrance. Two exposed rocks mark the channel end of the reef, and by passing between Semau and these two rocks one enters the channel. From that point on there is not the least danger right up to Kupang harbour. If the passage through the strait is a concern, however, it is possible to continue...

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...on between Roti and Semau and then round the latter island; the variable breezes are always favourable for entering the harbour.

The Dutch settlement in Timor is only useful to them while it serves to prevent other European nations from setting up there and from exploiting the spice trade - which the Dutch certainly do not do. If Timor were to fall into French hands it could be useful in the following ways. In the first place, it would enable us to have substantial relations with the Moluccas. Most of these islands belong to kings who have very few [illegible] with the Dutch. It would be easy to establish commercial relationships with these rulers and thereby, very quickly, to win a share of all the trade with the Moluccas. If a settlement were to be established in New Holland or Van Diemen's Land, Timor would also be useful, especially for trade with China for which it would serve as an entrepot port. As is well known, seal pelts from Bass Strait bring a very high price in China. Vessels with loads of pelts could stop over in Timor where they could take on trepangs, birds' nests and sandalwood, all of which are sought after in China. Thus France would obtain a double advantage from possessing Timor - trade with the Moluccas and trade with China. I would not suggest that a maritime arsenal be established in Timor, along the lines of what the Spanish have in Manila. That would be impracticable given the location: all that could be done might be to provide shelter...

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...for frigates in case of need. Thus Timor would be simply an entrepot, as Isle de France is for us at present, but it would have the great advantage of supplying metropolitan France with spices and goods from China without our having to purchase them second or third hand. All of the outgoings for goods returning to France in these ships would be systematically paid in goods or material manufactured in France - so tea, cloves, nutmeg, etc would be purchased with iron and hardware made in France. My comments about Timor would apply to any other settlement in the Moluccas. There may even be ports or harbours that are preferable to Timor – these islands remain unknown and indeed the whole geography of the region needs to be redone. However I can only speak about what I have seen, and I know that in Timor French traders, given freedom to trade, would make rapid and substantial fortunes. I know also that in Timor colonists who set their minds to cultivating the soil would soon have superb properties that [one word crossed out] produce sugar, coffee, indigo, nutmeg, cloves, etc.

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Completed on board the *Géographe* and submitted to the Commander of the expedition on 17 Thermidor, Year 11 of the French Republic [5 August 1803].

[Signed Ronsard]

In submitting my journals to the Commander I requested a receipt, which he promised to let me have. However on the morning of the 18th [Thermidor , Year 11, 6 August 1803] he sent his secretary to inform me that he would not give me a receipt and that I could take my papers back if I so desired. I went to see the Commander, who again refused to let me have a receipt. Soon afterwards he sent to inform me of a note he had placed in the ship's log, stating that everyone had submitted their papers to him, and he asked me if that satisfied me. I replied that since I might return to France separately from the *Géographe* I was requesting a personal receipt [one word crossed out] that I could use in dealings with the Government, and by means of which I could seek the return of my papers if necessary. A quarter of an hour later a helmsman returned my papers to me – they had only been with the Commander for about twenty hours.

18 Thermidor, Year 11[6 August 1803]

[Signed] Ronsard