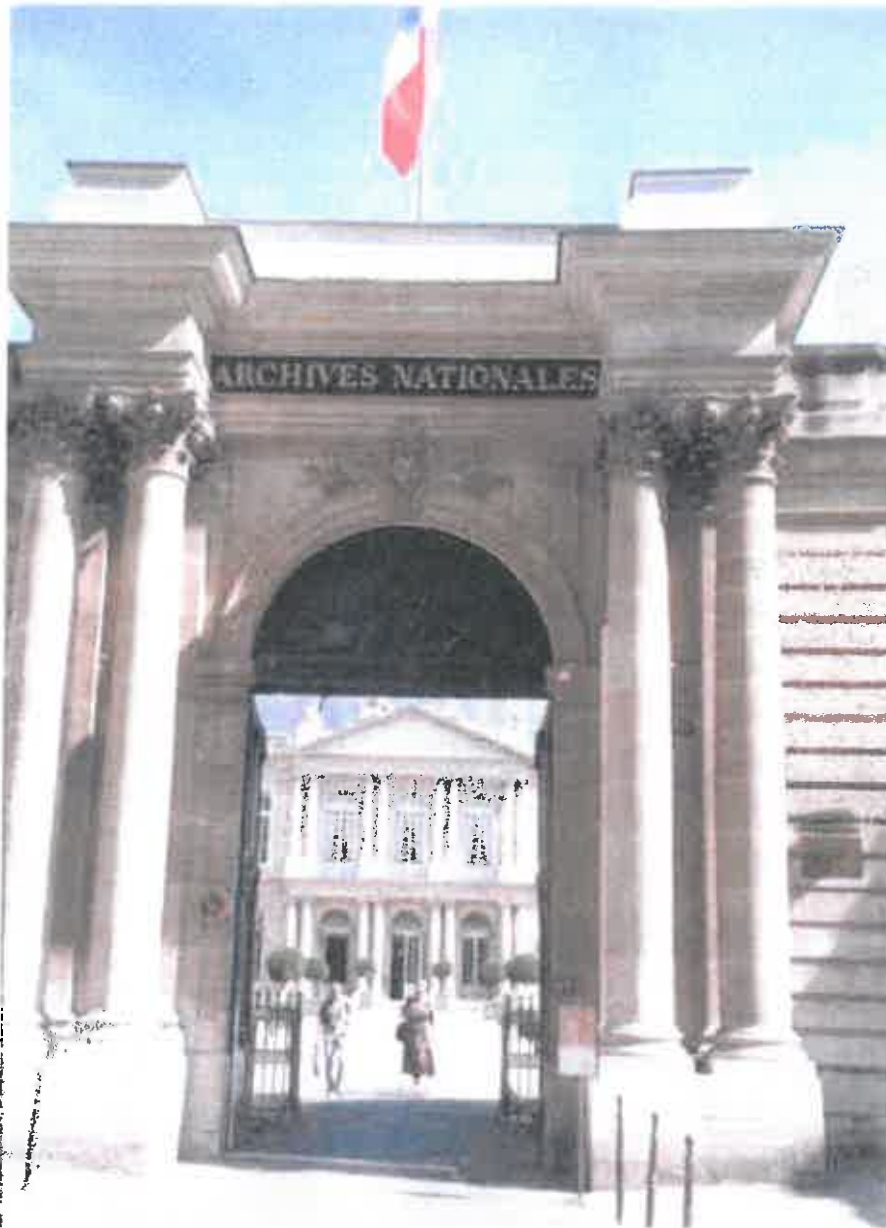


**Saint Aloüarn and the French Annexation of
Western Australia, 1772
Report on 1998 Overseas Research**



Myra Stanbury
Curator of Maritime Archaeology

**Report—Department of Maritime Archaeology, Western Australian Maritime Museum, No. 147
January 1999**

© 1999 Western Australian Maritime Museum
Department of Maritime Archaeology Report Series

This report is copyright. Apart from any fair dealing for the purposes of private study, research, criticism or review, as permitted under the Copyright Act 1968, no part may be reproduced by any process without written permission. Enquiries should be to the author.

Myra Stanbury
Curator
Department of Maritime Archaeology
Western Australian Maritime Museum
Cliff Street, FREMANTLE WA 6160
Tel: +61 (0)8 9431 8437
Fax: +61 (0) 8 9335 7224
Email: myra.stanbury@museum.wa.gov.au

Frontispiece: Archives Nationales, Paris. Photo: M. Stanbury, September 1998.

Contents

List of Figures	ii
Acknowledgements	iii
Proposal for overseas research	v
Diary of events: 29 August – 3 September 1998	vi
Expenses for overseas visit to Paris 29 August–3 September 1998	xi
Introduction	1
Issues arising from the archaeological discoveries on Dirk Hartog Island	1
Claiming possession of new lands	1
Written instructions	1
Accounts of discovery of a French bottle and annexation documents on Kerguelen Island:	
The Cook Journals	2
One or two bottles?	4
Summary and conclusions	5
Issues arising from primary and secondary sources	5
The Saint Aloüarn family	5
Saint Aloüarn: His name and status	6
The Saint-Aloüarn estates	8
Saint Aloüarn's offspring	9
The Berryer	10
The Boisguéhenneuc family	11
Summary and conclusions	11
French Wine Museum, Beaune	12
Potential for an interpretive exhibition	12
Context	12
Documents and maps	12
Family documents and heirlooms	13
Local Private Collections	13
References	13
Endnotes	14
Appendix 1: Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris	14
Appendix 2: Public Records Office, Kew, London	15
Appendix 3: Material relating to St Aloüarn held in the Royal Western Australian Historical Society Archives	15

List of Figures

Figure 1.	M. Tugdual de Kerros and Madame Monique de Kerros at Château de 'Malakoff', September 1998	5
Figure 2.	Louis XV (1710–1774), King of France in 1715, at the age of 63 in August 1773. Portrait by François-Hubert Drouais (1727–1755). Château de Versailles, MV 4438	7
Figure 3.	The Saint-Aloüarn Manor in Geungat, September 1998	7
Figure 4.	La Villeneuve at Plomeur, September 1998	8
Figure 5.	Hôtel Saint-Aloüarn, rue Saint-Mathieu, Quimper, September 1998.	8
Figure 6.	The Saint Aloüarn family tomb	9
Figure 7.	Gravestone showing the name of Saint Aloüarn's son Hippolyte and his grand-daughter Maria-Josèphe-Sylvie	9
Figure 8.	The 15th century tomb with stone sepulchre of Henri de Saint Aloüarn and his wife in the Church of Saint-Aloüarn	10
Figure 9.	Carved friezes on either side of the chancel of the Church of Saint-Aloüarn depict animals which are symbols of the Saint Aloüarn and Aleno families	11
Figure 10.	François and Bruno du Boisguéheneuc at the Manor of Minven, Tréogat (Finistère), August 1998	11
Figure 11.	Coat of Arms of the Du Boisguéheneuc family	12

Acknowledgements

I would like to thank all the people who assisted with this research, either by patiently listening to my queries; helping me to locate archival documents in unfamiliar repositories in Paris; directing me to other institutions and/or personnel who might be able to provide information; giving me access to the results of their own personal research; and, by tolerating my somewhat rusty French. In this regard I especially thank Ms Delphine Allanic (Documentaliste), Musée Maritime, Paris; and the staff of the Archives Nationales, Paris.

My very special thanks, however, go to M. Tugdual de Kerros and his wife Monique for sharing with me part of their valued family history about the Saint Aלווארns, and for their warm welcome and hospitality on my short visit to Quimper. Likewise, M. Bruno du Boisguéhenneuc, whose enthusiasm and willingness to seek and share information about his ancestor Charles-Marc du Boisguéhenneuc has been most inspiring.

Once again, my family and friends in England suffered my holiday visits to the Public Records Office at Kew, London, and I thank them especially for their continual understanding and support.

Finally, I thank Andrew Reeves, Executive Director, Western Australian Museum for agreeing to provide financial support for this project research.

Corrections:

Courtesy M. Tugdual de Kerros

page ix: The white hare is the symbol of Geungat (geun—blanc—white: gat—lièvre—hare) the Parish where the Manor of Saint Aלווארn stands. (See also pp. 6 and 11, Fig. 9).

page 5: The birth certificate of Louis says 'natural son of François Marie Aleno chevalier seigneur de St A. and of dame Marie Joseph Pélégie de Quilien Kerest Dame de St A...'

page 6: 'People who had money after the Revolution...' should read 'Before the Revolution people who had money, an important office or was in the army since two generations had the possibility to be ennobled.' [See also Goubert, 1973: 179 ff, 'The Modern Nobility'.]

page 8: Auguste, the Jésuit priest, the last of the Saint Aלווארn's died not in the Hôtel Saint-Aלווארn but in the house for the old priests in Quimper.

page 9: Aimé wrote the letter to the King but the cause of his accusation was other: when he was prisoner in Quimper in 1793, he was with the doctor Laroque Tremaria. Laroque wrote to his brother in Lorient, among other things, about Saint Aלווארn who was in Paris during the 'journeys' (marches?) of '10 août' and the journeys of 'massacres de septembre'.

At the end of 1793, according to an arrest of the Convention, the presence at these journeys was an offence against the law and punished by the 'guillotine'.

The letter of Laroque Tremaria was the evidence and Aimé de Saint Aלווארn appeared before the 'Tribunal Révolutionnaire' in Paris the first Thermidor an II; he was guillotined the same day and now lies in the 'fosse commune de Piopus'.

Myra Stanbury
9 March 1999

Proposal for overseas research

A proposal was submitted (and approved) on 6 August 1998 (File ref. MA-173/73) for further investigations to be undertaken with respect to the discovery of archaeological material on Dirk Hartog Island believed to be associated with the 1772 French exploration voyage of the *Gros Ventre* under the command of Louis-François-Marie Aleno de Saint Aloüarn. The opportunity for the proposed work (outlined below), was made possible through privately organised overseas Annual Leave during August–September 1998.

Aims

The main aims of the investigations were:

- to locate source material which might be of use in interpretative displays relating to the *Gros Ventre* voyage;
- to examine archival documents and other primary sources to confirm (or refute) conflicting information in secondary, literary sources concerning the French 'prise de possession'; and,
- to establish contact with persons who may be of assistance in providing research and/or personal information concerning the recovered objects and personnel on board the *Gros Ventre*.

It was proposed, therefore, to undertake the following:

Musée de la Marine, Paris

Contact: Virginie Serna, Conservateur

- Examine documents, lines plans, illustrations and objects held in the Musée de la Marine, Paris. These include the original *Journal de Bord* by Charles-Marc du Boisguéhenneuc, the second-in-command of the *Gros Ventre* and cousin of Saint Aloüarn.
- Inquire whether they hold any copper printing plates for imprinting annexation documents as appears to be suggested by John Dunmore (1965: 219); also lead bale seals (such as may have been used to fabricate the lead capsules found associated with the Dirk Hartog finds); and, any objects which relate to life on board French vessels of this period (mid-18th century).
- Confirm the location of the watercolour painting of the *Gros Ventre* at Port Louis, Mauritius, by Frédéric Roux and try to determine whether or not this is Saint Aloüarn's vessel. [The painting depicts a much larger vessel than the 20-gun *gabare* (storeship) of Saint Aloüarn.]

Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris

- Examine documents relating to the preparations for the Kerguelen voyage (of which Saint Aloüarn was a

part), in particular the orders that may have been issued concerning the annexation of lands of the *Terres Australes*. These would assist in determining whether there were any standard procedures for claiming possession of new territories and hence indicate whether there is a likelihood of further material (i.e. a third bottle) being located at the Dirk Hartog site.

Musée de la Compagnie des Indes, Port Louis, Brittany

- Examine sources that may be held in the Museum archives and collections.

Palais du Louvre, Paris

- Contact M. Guirec Querre, Laboratoire de Recherche des Musées de France re-identification of the Dirk Hartog Island bottle.

French Wine Museum, Beaune, Bourgogne

- Possible visit to make contact with the Curators who are currently investigating the origin of the bottle.

Quimper, Brittany

Contacts: M. Serge Duigou, 49 rue Auguste Perret, 29000 Quimper

- Visit sites in and around Quimper which were the ancestral homes of the Saint Aloüarn, Boisguéhenneuc, Rosily and Maingaud families (all were aboard the *Gros Ventre*). Some of the buildings were destroyed during the Revolution but remains of several still exist.

Descendants of French explorers

- Establish contact with M. Tugdual de Kerros, Château de 'Malakoff', rue ar Poussou, 29120 Sainte Marine, France. Descendant of Saint Aloüarn.
- Establish contact with M. Bruno du Boisguéhenneuc, 13 Ville du Lac, 604 avenue Georges Pompidou, 06110, Le Canet, France. Descendant of Charles-Marc du Boisguéhenneuc.

[Both families have collected material about their ancestors.]

Public Records Office, Kew (London)

- Attempt to discover from British Admiralty documents exactly which American vessel recovered, in 1790, the French bottle examined by Cook on Kerguelen Island during his third and last voyage, with the aim of investigating its present whereabouts. [This event serves as a useful comparison.]

Funding sought

In view of the significance of the Dirk Hartog Island bottle discovery and its importance for the 'Southland' exhibition being developed for the new maritime museum, I would appreciate any financial assistance that could be made available by the Museum to enable me to carry out this research.

The main costs involved will be travel expenses London-Paris-London; Paris-Quimper-Paris; and accommodation. I anticipate that the work would take approximately 5-7 days.

Myra Stanbury

Curator, Maritime Archaeology

Diary of events: 29 August – 3 September 1998**Saturday 29 August 1998**

0845 Left home (north London) for travel to Waterloo Station.

1023 Departed by Eurostar (Train No. 9018) for Paris. Lunch and refreshments provided on the train.

1417 Arrived at Paris Nord.

Taxi to Timhotel Saint-Lazare, 113, rue Saint-Lazare, Paris 8e.

Hotel registration; lease of Security Box for tickets and valuables.

Fax from M. de Kerros advising available times for meeting in Sainte Marine, Quimper.

p.m. Orientation. Purchased Metro/RER/Bus carnet (20 tickets) for local travel; obtained TGV timetable and fare information for Quimper.

2000 Dinner at Le Bistrot des Augustins, 39 Quai des Gands, Augustins 75006, Paris.

Sunday 30 August 1998

0800 Breakfast at Timhotel.

0830 Telephoned M. de Kerros. Message left.

Telephoned Prof. Serge Cleuziou, University of Paris and Director of Archaeological Research, CNRS, Paris.

No reply from Paris number.

Withdrew cash.

0930 Train from St Lazare to Versailles R.D.

Visit to Château de Versailles. In the State Apartments portraits of Louis XIV the Sun King and Louis XV in whose reign the Kerguelen and Saint Aloüarn voyages took place form major permanent exhibits. Also portraits of the wife and daughters of Louis XV.

Several versions of the Cross of Saint Louis as worn by the monarchs were on display. Smaller versions of the Cross of Saint Louis were presented to members of the nobility in recognition of acts of valour or service to the King. Sometimes these would be presented by the King

in person (e.g. Kerguelen was a Chevalier de St Louis).

Purchased a number of postcards of the portrait paintings which give some impression of the 'privilege and artificiality of Versailles' in the Age of Enlightenment (see Dunmore, 1965: 109-110). [The portraits (oil on canvas) are permanent exhibits and range in size from c. 2.76 x 1.94 m to 0.73 x 0.59 m.] Photographic reference numbers are given on the postcards should colour images be required for display use (see illustrations). Also purchased a souvenir set of postage stamps depicting various images of Versailles and the collections.

1500 Lunch and visit to the park. A special display '*Les Grandes Eaux Musicales*' was a special summer event. The 32 pools and fountains of the park of Versailles have nearly 1000 water features and designs between them, a complex system of cast lead pipework drawing water from the monumental reservoirs constructed in the vicinity of the Château. These in turn are fed by the diversion of waterways of the neighbouring valleys. Conceived by Louis XIV, the ensemble could only be set in motion for only short periods at a time due to the massive water consumption of 3600 m³ per hour. Such an occasion would be the King's stroll around the gardens when a team of fountain tenders would wait in ambush for his approach in order to let the water progressively through the system, allowing it to gush forth onto the coloured marble and and gilt before the eyes of their Sovereign.

Return to hotel.

Rang M. de Kerros and Prof. Serge Cleuziou to arrange meetings.

2000 Dinner at Bistrot Romain.

Monday 31 August 1998

0800 Breakfast at Timhotel.

0930 Rang Virginie Serna at the Musée Maritime. [Letter of intent to visit and dates was sent from London.]

Advised that Ms Serna was on leave. Referred to Delphine Atlannic (Documentaliste) who was unfortunately too busy to see me due to work commitments. Discussed a number of issues re location of original documents, illustrations etc.

1. Original Log of the *Gras Ventre* is in the Archives Nationales, 11 rue de Quatres Fils, Paris. [Metro: Rambuteau or Saint Paul. Map F5.] Log: AN 3JJ 391
2. All original documents relating to the French Royal Navy are in the Archives Nationales (AN). Lines Plan: AN D1166
3. Watercolour painting by Frédéric Roux. Painted in 1826. Frédéric Roux lived in Marseille and painted an

album of works for Under Admiral Willaumez—all the vessels that he had served on from yachts to other vessels. The date of the wreck of the *Louise* (mentioned in the caption to this painting) was 1778. Thus, the *Gros Ventre* shown in the painting is probably Saint Aloiarn's vessel which has been wrongly depicted by the artist. Jean Boudriot is currently researching the Album of Admiral Willaumez and the Roux paintings. DA suggested contact via herself; not willing to supply contact address or telephone number. Original painting is held by the Musée Maritime. [Ref: J 1102]

4. Ms Allannic had no knowledge of and/or possible whereabouts of copper plates for printing the 'prise de possession' documents.
5. Ms Allannic had no knowledge of the location of Crosses of Saint Louis such as would have been given to officers of the French Royal Navy.

1030 Visit to Archives Nationales.

[Bus to Notre Dame; walk to rue des Archives.]
Officially closed. Spoke with one of the archivists who advised that I could see the original journals tomorrow morning.

1300 Lunch

Metro to the Tour Eiffel.
Visit to the Musée Maritime.

- Artefacts from the wreck of the *Juste* (1759).

[The *Juste*, a 70-gun vessel of marshal de Conflans' fleet, was lost during the battle of the Cardinals. The *Juste* was under the command of Saint-Aloiarn's father, François, and his uncle, Rosmadec, both of whom died as a result of the incident.]

The wreck was discovered and identified in 1968 during the dredging of a channel at Saint-Nazaire.

The ship was built by Geslain père in 1724–25 at Rocheford. It was already old when it took part in the Battle of the Cardinals under Conflans. It was damaged and taking in water but managed to reach Cape (...) and during the night was able to effect some repairs. Tried to reach the safety of the Loire but a storm arose and she sank. 22 iron guns.

The vessel was commanded by François de Saint Aloiarn and his brother as second in command. They were killed in combat.

Drawing of the *Juste* on its launching ramp in 1725.

Artefacts include:

- Wooden pulleys and sheaves
- Mast fittings
- Rifle

- Armament—grape shot etc.
- Felt hats (black)
- Knitted stockings
- Woven cover or blanket (? coarse wool)
- End of tusk

Juste: Work done by Musée Salorges in Nantes and the Musée Maritime, Paris.

- Shipbuilding Gallery

Display of 18th century shipbuilding includes:

- 30 kg section of the master cable from the *Juste*. Would have been used for the anchor of 3000 kg. Length ? 43 ft 4". Cable bound at intervals.
 - model of the *bassin* (dock) built by Groingnard at Toulon in 1779.
- illustrations of 18th century shipbuilding.

- *Superbe*

18th century; 74-gun ship.

Vessel of the fleet of Amiral Conflans which was lost off the Isle of Dumet in 1759 during the Battle of the Cardinals.

Artefacts include:

- mast section (*mât de beauprê*). A section of the mainmast was excavated and its structure found to consist of four trees which had been morticed together (see illustration). Circumference: 2.7 m; diameter: 0.9 m. This is the only known example to have been discovered. The resin (?) in the timber has aided its preservation. Parts reinforced by bands of iron.
- bronze guns around the gallery ? from this vessel. No labels.

- *Astrolabe and Boussole (Lapérouse)*

Large display of objects from the wrecks at Vanikoro, Solomon Islands. Some not very well conserved and not particularly well exhibited. Very dull and dark.

Artefacts include:

- Marble bust of Lapérouse
- Part of Royal pump (bronze) marked 'POISSON PERE MA FAIT A ROUEN'. (Inv. N^o 5 S0 2)
- Anchor (Inv. N^o 5 S0 30)
- Grind (mill) stone (Inv. N^o 5 S0 2[?]). (? one for grinding flour—no label.)
- glass beads—blue/white
- coins
- large blue and white porcelain bowl
- pewterware
- ship's fittings

Many of these objects are intact and are also representative of items carried on board late 18th century exploratory vessels.

- Special exhibition: Henri-Louis Duhamel du Monceau
Display of his ship models and books on 18th century naval architecture.

Including:

* 1757 *Elémens de l'Architecture Navale ou Traité Pratique de la construction des vaisseaux...*

- Amiral Willaumez

Jean-Baptiste-Philibert Willaumez (1763–1845)

Vice Admiral	1819
Pair de France	1837
Comte	1844

Accompanied d'Entrecasteaux on the expedition to search for Lapérouse. Noted for his precise navigation methods and astronomy.

* Portrait in oil on canvas by Pierre-Louis de Laval (1790) dated 1840. (Inv. No. 90A 67)

[Willaumez had an album prepared by Frédéric Roux of all the vessels he had served and/or sailed on. Roux's paintings were ? done from the descriptions (or sketches ?) of Willaumez.]

- Bookshop

Good selection of maritime books.

Purchased newly published book:

* Boulaire, Alain, 1997, *Kerguelen. Le phénix des mers australes*. France-Empire, Paris.

Alain Boulaire is a professor of history, born and still carrying on his profession at Brest. He has specialised in the 18th century maritime history of his native region and this book is devoted to the life and career of Yves-Joseph de Kerguelen-Trémarec—the commander of the expedition in which Saint Aloüarn took part.

Kerguelen is presented as a knowledgeable and erudite marine officer and perfect representative of the Age of Enlightenment, where highly technical achievements were accomplished—in this regard, navigation, cartography, shipbuilding etc.

Good background context of maritime life in the 18th century with reference to the Kerguelen/Aloüarn expedition. Based on archival documents and personal research and contact with Kerguelen's descendants.

2000 Dinner at Bistro Romain.

Tuesday 1 September 1998

0800 Breakfast. Raining!

0900 Bus 29 from Saint-Lazare to Archives Nationale.

Interview with archivist to check availability of documents required (normal procedure). Personal details entered on computer. Discovered Driving Licence taken for identification had been taken from

my handbag. Returned to hotel to search for licence and obtain passeport from Security Box.

1230 Rang Prof. Serge Cleuziou to confirm dinner appointment for 2000.

Lunch

1300 Returned to AN to complete registration. Security Pass issued with passeport being held as security.

First floor: Inventories

Second floor: Reading Room

Third floor: Microfilms

Examined Microfilm 3 JJ 391 (Carton 117, No. 1) which contained the Log of the *Gros Ventre* to confirm contents. Unable to view the original document as the Curator-in-charge was on leave.

(See later notes.)

Searched through Inventories, particularly the Marine documents for references which may be significant.

1700 Archives closed.

Returned to hotel.

1800 Rang Bruno du Boisguéhenneuc in the south of France. Discussed the sources of various documents and the status of his research concerning Charles-Marc du Boisguéhenneuc.

Bruno had recently visited Quimper and had been in communication with the *Musée Maritime*, Paris and the *Musée de la Compagnie des Indes* in Port Louis (near Lorient). Bruno informed me that:

- documents relating to Maingaud (who carried out the 'prise de possession' on Dirk Hartog Island) and François-Etienne de Rosily (a lieutenant on the *Fortune* and then the *Gros Ventre*) are in the Bibliothèque Nationale (BN). (Rosily went ashore at Dirk Hartog Island with Boisguéhenneuc and drew a map of the north end of the island showing Turtle Bay. After a brilliant career, during which he became a Vice-Amiral, count of the Empire and associate of the Academy of Sciences, he died at the age of 84.)
- it is possible that a portrait of Charles-Marc exists. Serge Duigou (a friend of Bruno's father in Quimper) thinks it likely.
- Serge Duigou will be sending photographs of family properties in Quimper.
- there is a reference to the *Gros Ventre* voyage by Napoleon; Bruno trying to locate the book. He apparently referred to the expedition as a good example to follow.
- Bruno has commenced a Newsletter to circulate to family relatives. His wife's family who are from

Mauritius and Madagascar are searching for information.

2000 Dinner with Serge and Annie Cleuziou. Discussed Serge and Maurizio Tosi's archaeological work in Oman (with which Tom Vosmer is associated) and potential joint French/Australian Centre of Excellence projects.

Wednesday 2 September

0530 Depart hotel for Gare Paris-Montparnasse.

0615 Breakfast at Montparnasse.

0710 TGV to Quimper.

1122 Arrive at Quimper.

Met by M. de Kerros who had organised a programme for the day.

- Visited the Hôtel de Saint Aלוֹארן, rue Saint-Mathieu, in the old part of Quimper (see illustrations). This 17th–18th century stone house was the town dwelling of the family and where the last of the Saint Aלוֹארן (a priest) died. Well preserved.

1200 Lunch at a Breton *creperie*. Special flour used to make the crepes; short plant with triangular-shaped grain producing flour of dark brown colour. Used by the 'peasants'. Discussed (in french) various issues relating to the Dirk Hartog Island discoveries and the history of Saint Aלוֹארן over lunch.

- Drove to Château 'Malakoff' to meet Madame Monique de Kerros and have coffee. Beautiful property built during the Crimean War (1854) on the Pointe de Combrit in the Anse de Bénodet (Bay of Benodet) at Saint Marine.

- Shown a variety of family memorabilia including St Louis crosses belonging to the Saint Aלוֹארן; an early 17th century book giving notice of the name change through marriage of 'Aleno/Aלוֹארן'; and, another giving the Kerros origins. Viewed a copy of a Masters thesis written by Marc Canevet in 1996–97 (obtained copy through a contact). [I had been in Email communication with Canevet and knew of the thesis.]

- Discussed the portrait of Saint Aלוֹארן held by the family. Originally thought to be Saint Aלוֹארן and his young wife, but no longer deemed to be the case. A family member has had the back of the painting removed and found a different name for the lady—possibly another family member as the painting was done at the time of a family gathering. [The painting was in a store in Paris so could not be viewed.]

- Visited the family tomb (see illustrations). The gravestone contains the names of Saint Aלוֹארן's offspring and their families.

- Continued to La Villeneuve in Plomeur (south-west of Quimper)—the Château where Saint Aלוֹארן lived with his family when he was not in Brest or at sea. It was from here that Saint Aלוֹארן left for Mauritius on the Kerguelen expedition. Now under private ownership. 18th–19th century and earlier sections (at the rear). Old section very dilapidated. M. de Kerros' grandmother stayed there (see illustrations).

- Proceeded to the Saint Aלוֹארן manor in Geungat (16 km west of Quimper; 15 km from Plomeur) where Louis de Saint Aלוֹארן was born. This is now a private farm. The 16th century tower still stands but the building is very dilapidated (see illustrations), though in better condition than La Villeneuve. M. de Kerros' grandmother made a pencil sketch of the *château* which he still has.

- Finally visited the Church of Saint Aלוֹארן. Has the 15th century tomb with stone sculpture of Henri de St Aלוֹארן and his wife. The carved friezes on either side of the chancel have a number of animals which are symbols in the family coats of arms :

- (a) a white hare (*lièvre*) (?)
- (b) a fox (*renard*) (Aלוֹארן family)
- (c) a boar (*sanglier*) (Aleno family)

and other figures (see Fig. 9). The St Aלוֹארן sat in the transept to the right of the altar.

1721 Return via TGV to Paris

2140 Arrived Gare Paris-Montparnasse.

Metro to Sainte-Lazare.

2230 Arrived at Timhotel.

Thursday 3 September 1998

0830 Breakfast at hotel. Teeming with rain.

0900 Bus to Bibliothèque Nationale. Closed until October for cataloguing and renovations.

New Library—François Mitterand Library.

Several Numismatic shops in the vicinity of the Bibliothèque Nationale. Enquired about availability of Louis XV *écus*.

Received a complimentary coin catalogue of a recent coin auction from Claude Burgan Numismatique, 68 Rue de Richelieu 75002 Paris. Contains colour illustrations of '*Monnaies royales françaises*' including coins of the Louis XIII to Louis XVI period.

Several coins of the reign of Louis XV are illustrated ranging from 1726–1774.

Cat. Nr 078—an *écu aux branches d'olivier*, shows the head of a young Louis XV. Dated 1726. Mint: Orleans. (See also: Cat. Nr 109 [1730].)

Cat. Nr 115—an '*écu 'au bandeau' et aux branches d'olivier circulant*'; 6 livres; dated 1760; mint—X = Amiens. This figurehead is similar to that on the Godard/Cramer *écu* dated 1766.

Estimated value 700/1000 Fr.

Cat. Nr 082—an *écu* dated 1774 with the '*vieille tête et aux branches d'olivier*' (old head and with olive branches) of Louis XV. Minted at Bayonne (as was the Godard coin discovered at Dirk Hartog Island) this was the last year of the Louis XV mint. Estimated value 6 000/8 000 Fr.

1300 Lunch: La Madeleine.

Returned to Timhotel to pack.

Bus to Paris Nord.

1710 Eurostar to Waterloo.

1913 Arrive Waterloo.

Underground/bus to Alexandra Park.

Expenses for overseas visit to Paris 29 August–3 September 1998

Exchange rates applicable at time of visit:

GBP £: A\$ = 2.79

FFr: GBP £ = 9.698

FFr: A\$ = 3.35

1. Travel

Item 1: Travel	GBP £	FFr	A\$
Taxi-- North London to Waterloo	13.50		37.66
Eurostar London Waterloo-- Paris Nord	49.75		
Eurostar Paris Nord-- London Waterloo	49.75 [99.50]		277.60
Taxi-- Paris Nord to Timhotel Saint Lazare		55.00	16.41
Local travel Paris-- Bus/Metro/RER (2 x 10 tickets: 12 tickets used)		115.00	34.33
Saint-Lazare - Versailles R.D.		19.50	5.82
Versaille R.D.-- Saint-Lazare		19.50	5.82
Bus Château to Gare Versailles Chantiers		6.40	1.91
Bus Chantiers to Versailles R.D.		12.80	3.82
TGV Paris Montparnasse-- Quimper (Visa)		368.00	
TGV Quimper-- Paris Montparnasse (Visa)		368.00 (736.00)	221.66
Underground Waterloo-- Bounds Green	2.00		5.58
Bus	0.60		1.67
Sub-Total A			612.28

2. Accommodation (excluding meals other than inclusive in Hotel tariff)

Item 2: Accommodation	GBP £	FFr	A\$
Timhotel Saint-Lazare: 5 nights + Voyages Vacances booking fee (VISA). Room and breakfast inclusive.	175.00		481.13
Security Box		90.00	26.87
Telephone calls		74.00	22.09
Sub-Total B			530.00

3. Entrance fees to museums

Item 3: Entrance fees to museums	GBP £	FFr	A\$
Musée Maritime (Ticket No. 218783)		38.00	11.34
Chateau de Versaille (Musée)		45.00	13.43
Sub-Total C			24.77
TOTAL A + B + C			1167.05

Myra Stanbury

Introduction

The January 1998 discovery of a French coin encapsulated in a lead closure at Dirk Hartog Island, Shark Bay, by a group of private individuals (Godard, Cramer *et al.*) pointed to an event which had taken place more than two centuries previously. Minted in the reign of Louis XV, the date on the coin—1766—pointed to an association with a French exploratory expedition to the west coast of Australia in 1772. Under the command of Louis-François-Marie Aleno de Saint Aloüarn, the *Gros Ventre* sailed along the Western Australian coast from its point of contact, south of Cape Leeuwin, to the north-west and on to Timor. Anchoring at Turtle Bay on the north coast of Dirk Hartog Island in March 1772, Saint Aloüarn ordered an officer ashore to claim possession of this part of Australia.

Although many other groups had searched for tangible evidence of the annexation site with the aid of the ship's journals, officers' diaries and contemporary maps, none were successful. The archaeological record of the event, if it existed, thus remained elusive.

Using the same archival records, but armed with more sophisticated remote sensing equipment, the Godard/Cramer team made their discovery at a site on the top of the steep (c. 60 m) cliff overlooking Turtle Bay (see McCarthy, 1998). Located close to the base of a small tree (now completely dead), the site appeared to correspond with a description of the '*prise de possession*' given in the *Gros Ventre* log. This indicated that a prepared document, after being read aloud, was placed in a bottle and buried at the base of a small tree; two coins (*écus*) were buried nearby.

Believing that further significant material might be located in the vicinity of the 'Coin Site' (as it became referred to), and conscious of the vulnerability of the site to potential further disturbance, the WA Maritime Museum launched a small-scale archaeological expedition to reinvestigate the site in March–April 1998. On 1 April, a complete wine bottle, sealed with an almost identical lead closure to that found earlier, was discovered and excavated from a 30–40 cm uniform deposit some 8 m SSE from the Coin Site (Harrison, 1998). The bottle, which was lying horizontally, contained a quantity of sand with little clear evidence of a document, though it appeared that the tightly fastened lead closure encapsulated a coin of similar diameter to the 1766 *écu*.

While non-invasive investigations of the bottle were undertaken to try and determine the exact nature of the contents, and a conservation strategy was prepared, copies of translated archival documents held in Australian archives and related secondary literature were obtained. Communication was established with various museums, institutions and private persons in Australia, Canada, France and New Caledonia with the aim of obtaining a more positive identification of the artefacts—the bottle, lead closures and coin(s)—and investigating the location

of original material relating to the *Gros Ventre* voyage, and the personnel involved.

This report identifies some of the main issues arising from the archaeological investigations which the overseas research aimed to address and a summary of the findings from consulted sources. It also provides information on original documents, illustrations and other material which may assist in the development of an interpretive exhibition about the *Gros Ventre* voyage and the historical context in which this exploratory expedition was undertaken.

Issues arising from the archaeological discoveries on Dirk Hartog Island

Claiming possession of new lands

The archaeological discoveries on Dirk Hartog Island raised significant questions as to the actual procedure for claiming possession of new lands—whether there were specific orders as to what the proclamation document should say or instructions as to how the proclamation site should be marked? The *Gros Ventre* log mentions only one bottle, but the archaeological evidence strongly suggests there were at least two, with some persons hypothesising that there might even be a third—still remaining *in situ* or located by station hands many years ago.

Only through a comparative study of the various Log Books, Journals, Diaries and accounts of the *Gros Ventre* voyage, and other archival documents giving accounts of similar annexation practices could an assessment be made as to whether there was a standard procedure.

In order to pursue this question, a number of documents in French and British archives were consulted (see below). A summary of the findings is given as follows.

Written instructions

The practice of marking the place where claims of possession of newly discovered lands took place appears common to English explorers as well as the French in the 18th century. Journals of officers who accompanied James Cook on his voyages of discovery report instances where they were sent ashore to claim possession of 'the Country in His Majesty's name' placing a bottle in which there was a piece of paper containing the ships' names, date, etc. in a prominent or obvious place (e.g. the highest point) where the surrounding land could be seen (e.g. Cape Newenham, Alaska, 16 July 1778: see Beaglehole, 1967: 399–400). The 'usual form' on such occasions appears simply that a flag was raised, a claim of possession following the wording on the parchment was read aloud, the location named, its position recorded (i.e. latitude and longitude) and the place marked in some manner.

The French East India Company (*Compagnie des Indes*) issued a *Modèle de Prise de Possession* with which De Lozier Bouvet, Commander of the vessels *Aigle* and *Marie*, had to conform as part of his general instructions; if he found places where the Company could establish a post, he was to survey them and take possession. The model states that:

...il faut marquer le lieu, un pavillon blanc, etc., un croix [de pierre] sur la Base de laquelle, du côté le plus apparent, nous avons fait mettre l'inscription suivante en langue Latin...

Translated:

...the place must be marked, a white flag, etc., a cross [of stone] on the base of which, on the most obvious side, we have put the following inscription in Latin...

A French language version was put on the opposite side. The inscription was engraved on the stone at the Company headquarters with appropriate spaces left for details such as dates to be added (Marine 3/JJ/391 [Microfilm], Archives Nationales, Paris).

I was unable to view the documents concerning instructions given to Kerguelen for the voyage to Mauritius and the *Terres Australes* as the Bibliothèque Nationale where these documents appear to be housed was closed for cataloguing. A list of potential sources of these instructions is given in Appendix 1.

In his book *Kerguelen. Le phénix des mers australes*, Alain Boulaire (1997: 105) suggests that the Ministry of the Marine supplied Kerguelen with inscribed copper plates for his second expedition to Kerguelen Island which were 'destinés à être déposés sur les terres découvertes, pour établir la possession' (...destined to be deposited on the discovered lands to establish possession) (see also reference to copper plates in Dunmore, 1965: 219).

It is possible that the engraved copper plates were for use in printing the proclamation wording on a parchment (especially if the wording was to be in Latin) which was then placed in a bottle. On this second expedition in 1773–74, two bottles were deposited on the north of Kerguelen Island by Rochegude—one being buried and one placed in a 'prominent position'. The latter was subsequently found by one of Cook's sailors during their sojourn at Christmas Harbour in 1776 (Cook, 1776, Vol. I: 32–33) and rediscovered by 'an American ship' in 1792 (Campbell, 1936: 238).

Accounts of discovery of a French bottle and annexation documents on Kerguelen Island: The Cook Journals

Accounts of the discovery of a bottle left by members of Kerguelen's second expedition to Kerguelen Island in 1773–74 (to investigate the apparent loss of the *Gros Ventre*) are given in the journals of various officers on board Cook's ships *Resolution* and *Discovery*. Not only do these accounts provide interesting information about the bottle and the document it contained, but also illustrate the way in which a single event is variously reported by the individual scribes. For the 'faithful historian', therefore, such differences can pose significant queries (see Beaglehole, 1967: 32–33 fn. 2).

William Lanyon the Master's Mate on the *Resolution*, made the following entry in his journal on Saturday 28 December 1776:

PM one of our People found A Bottle With a Note in it in latin that informed us A Ship had been there in 1772 & 1773.

AM put the Bottle in Nearly the Same place with the note in it... (Lanyon, W., 1776: 75, ADM 51/4558/196. Public Records Office [PRO], Kew).

Cook's entry for the same day is far more detailed:

Sat 28. P.M. Little wind at SE hazy fair weather. In the evening one of the Seamen brought on board a bottle he found hanging to a rock in which was the following inscription written on parchment.

*Lodovico XV galliarum
rege et d. de Boyne Et
rege a Secretis ad res
maritimas annis... 1772 et
1773.*

From this inscription it is clear we were not the first Europeans that had been in this Harbour [Christmas Harbour], I supposed it to have been left by the ship which accompanied M. de Kerguelen when he discovered this land. After writing [sic.] the following inscription on the back of it, I put it again into the bottle together with a silver two penny piece of 1772 covered the mouth of the bottle with a lead cup and placed it in a pile of stones on a little eminence on the North side of the harbour and near to the place where the bottle was found.

*Navis Resolution
& Discovery
de Rege Magna Britannica
December 1776*

(Cook, J., Journal, 28 Dec. 1776, ADM 55/111 folio 38. Public Records Office [PRO], Kew).

Lieutenant J. King of the *Resolution* provides additional information on the location of the find stating that:

One of our Men discovered near the Jetty Head a Bottle... (King, J., 28 Dec. 1776, ADM 55/116, folio 38. PRO, Kew).

Lieutenant William Anderson further adds that:

One of the people when walking on shore found a quart bottle fastened with a piece of wire to a projecting rock which contained a piece of parchment with this superscription, *Ludovico XV galliarum rege et d de Boynes regi a secretis ad res maritimas anis 1772 & 1773*, to which I gave the following interpretation, Under (i.e. this expedition made) Lewis the XVth King of the Gauls and the Duke de Boynes secretary to the maritime affairs to the King in the years 1772 and 1773 (Anderson, W., 28 Dec. 1776 in Beaglehole, 1967: 768).

although W. Harvey's Log says that:

PM Gave part of the Ship's C^o leave to go on shore, in the evening they return'd with a Pint Bottle containing a Note wrote in Latin... (Harvey, W., 28 Dec. 1776, ADM 55/110, Public Records Office [PRO], Kew).

Interestingly, John Williamson, Third Lieutenant, *Resolution*, adds that following the replacement of the bottle

...the Island was taken Possession of according to the usual Form (Williamson, J., 28 Dec. 1776, ADM 55/117, folio 32. Public Records Office [PRO], Kew).

But, Anderson, also remarking on the event is highly critical, stating that:

At the same time [that the bottle was replaced] a flag was hoisted as I believe to signify our taking possession of this place for his Majesty, a circumstance not only contrary to the law of nations but if seriously meant to the law of nature as being in itself not only unjust but truly ridiculous, and perhaps fitter to excite laughter than indignation (Anderson in Beaglehole, 1967: 769).

Beaglehole (1967: 769-770 fn. 1) gives an extensive footnote on the issue stating that

...Cook had his instructions [and]...there was nothing 'unjust' or contrary to the law of nations in the act. Kerguelen's discovery gave the French an 'inchoate' title to possession which could be made good only by settlement, so that a British claim would be no worse—or better—than a French one unless followed by settlement.

According to the famed international lawyer of that time, the Swiss Emmerich Vattel (1714-67):

All men have an equal right to things which have not yet come into the possession of anyone, and these things belong to the person who first takes possession. When, therefore, a Nation finds a country uninhabited and without an owner, it may lawfully take possession of it, and after it has given sufficient signs of its intention in this respect, it may not be deprived of it by another Nation. In this way navigators setting out upon voyages of discovery and bearing with them a commission from their sovereign, when coming across islands or other uninhabited lands, have taken possession of them in the name of their Nation: and this title has usually been respected, provided actual possession has followed shortly after.

But, it is questioned whether a Nation can thus appropriate, by the mere act of taking possession, lands which it does not really occupy, and which are more extensive than it can inhabit or cultivate. It is not difficult to decide that such a claim would be absolutely contrary to the natural law, and would conflict with the designs of nature, which destines the earth for the needs of all mankind, and only confers upon individual Nations the right to appropriate territory so far as

they can make use of it, and not merely to hold it against others who may wish to profit by it. Hence the Law of Nations will only recognize the *ownership* and *sovereignty* of a Nation over unoccupied lands when the Nation is in actual occupation of them. In fact, when explorers have discovered uninhabited lands through which the explorers of other Nations have passed, leaving some sign of their having taken possession, they have no more troubled themselves over such empty forms than over the regulation of Popes, who divided a large part of the world between the crowns of Castile and Portugal (Vattel, 1758 [1916: 84-5] quoted in Beaglehole, 1967: 769-770 fn. 2).

The accounts by Cook and his officers provide some interesting information about the bottle left by the French in 1773, the wording on the parchment inside, the method of closure and the place where it was found which serve as a useful comparison with the Dirk Hartog Island finds. However, as Beaglehole (1967: 31-32 fn. 1-5) comments in his footnotes to the reproduction of Cook's account of this episode, the descriptions given in the various journals are not always compatible—the referral to 'a Pint Bottle' by Harvey and 'a quart bottle' by Anderson being an example (Beaglehole, 1967: 31 fn.2).

The Cook Journals and Beaglehole's monumental work document several instances where the English navigator ordered officers ashore to claim possession of new lands, accompanied by the burial or placement of a bottle containing a written document and silver coins. The latter, as Beaglehole (1967: 32 fn.1) points out

...must have been Maundy money. Twopenny pieces were struck for Maundy money in 1772, though, apart from the needs of this festival, and a few shillings in 1763, no silver coins were struck in England between 1760 and 1787. Cook got his money from his friend Dr Kaye [Richard Kaye] (see Beaglehole, 1967: 32 fn.1, 341 fn 5).

Of significance here is the fact that the date of the coins (1772) is the same year as the Saint Alouarn voyage.

One or two bottles?

Microfilms of the original French documents relating to the *Gros Ventre* voyage were examined in order to see whether any further information emerged concerning the act of possession on Dirk Hartog Island.

The Journal of the *Gros Ventre* (30 March 1772, Marine 3/JJ/391, Carton 117, No.10, Archives Nationales, Paris) indicates that orders were given to 'M^r. de Mings' to take possession and refers to only '*une bouteille*' (one bottle). This is consistent with the transcripts made by Madame Robert Hérouin in 1922 and held in the National Library of Australia (MS 11/Folder 22). An additional '*Extrait du Journal du vaisseau le Gros Ventre commandé par St Alouarn*' on the same microfiche has lots of scribbles in the margin and many crossings out, giving the impression that this may have been a draft of the final version of the Journal. There is no indication of who the writer was.

A copy of the 'Journal de bord du Gros Ventre' by Charles-Marc du Boisguéheneuc was obtained from his descendant M. Bruno de Boisguéheneuc (Archives Nationales de la Marine B4 317). (This appears to be an official transcript and is not easy to read.) The Journal consists mainly of remarks concerning the weather, navigation observations and recordings, sailing details etc. with occasional personal remarks, in particular concerning the inadequate clothing supplied for the crew.

After arriving at Dirk Hartog Island, Boisguéheneuc (30 Mar. 1772) reports that:

... à 8 heures du matin M^r de Mingau a été nommé pour aller à terre dans le grand canot Et prendre Connaissance de L'Endroit ou nous Étions à midy M^r De S^t Allouarn ma envoyé avec M^r de Sosminil, Rosilly, Et plusieurs de les messieurs. Nous nous sommes informer de Deux Canotiers que M^r De Mingaux avait laissé pour garder Le Canot. Le bord que M^r de Mingaux avoir pris nous avons (passerons?) L'autre a trois Lieues Et Demy de terrain sans avoir aucune connaissance d'habité nous Eusses cependant eu Connaissance de trace humaine, quelques anîmeaux que nous y avons trouvé ressemblant à des maques. nous ont persuadé quer [?] Les chamois quelquefois par leur Vitesse a sushaper [?] .Nous sommes arriver a la chaloupe a la nuit fermée. Le terein n'est pas absolument Eleve. Cetout des Dunes de sable Couvertes de broussaille Et joue pareilles a Celles que nous avons deja Vu nous y avons trouvés de ces broussailles brûlées ou nous avons ramener plusieurs morceaux de charbons. trouvé beaucoup de (...) tortues sur la virage Et ramené Cantité D'oeuf; Les Découverte de Mr Mingaux sont Les memes que le notre: il a seulement trouvé le long du virage plusieurs... A 5 heures... il Est arrivé a bord. Le soir Envoye Le Canot a terre... d'avoir de la tortue ils y ont passé La nuit Et non rien pris.

There is no mention in this Journal of the annexation ceremony at Dirk Hartog Island. However, Boisguéheneuc clearly went ashore at Kerguelen Island on 14 February 1772 to claim possession, although again, he makes no mention of any bottles being left on this occasion:

... j'ay fait mettre à terre. En y arrivant j'y ay fait aborer Le pavillon Et pris possession au nom du roy mon metre En faisant Crier trois fois vivre Le roy, Et tirer de charger de mousqueterie (Boisguéheneuc, 1772, Journal de Bord, 13-14 February).

By contrast, a handwritten draft prepared for the *Gazette de France* by a correspondent in Port Louis, Mauritius (n.d., Marine B⁴ 317-Pièce N^o 144, Archives Nationales, Paris, supplied courtesy of M. Philippe Godard), indicates that 'le S^t Maingon [sic]' was ordered ashore at Kerguelen Island and took possession of this uninhabited land in the usual manner. Following a verbal declaration he

... fit enterrer des bouteilles dans lesquelles il enferma des inscriptions avec les armes du roi...

This document, therefore, appears to imply that more than one bottle was buried ashore. However, the undated manuscript bears a very close resemblance in terms of content and wording to an article published in 1774 in the *Annonces, Affiches et Avis Divers Pour Les Colonies Des Isles De France Et De Bourbon* of Tuesday 26 January 1774 (Annonces... P 8695 pp 3801ba, British Museum, courtesy Bruno de Boisguéheneuc).

This article gives an account of the Kerguelen expedition and the voyage of the *Gros Ventre* based on information supplied to the French newspapers by Rosily (Enseigne de Vaisseau of the *Fortune* and later the *Gros Ventre*) on his return to France on the *Marquis de Taleyrand*. This account clearly identifies Boisguéheneuc as the officer sent ashore, not Maingaud:

Arrive par le travers d'une Baye, à laquelle on donna le nom de la Gabarre, le sieur de Saint Allouarn fit mettre son canot à la mer & envoya le sieur de Boisguéheneuc, l'un des Officiers de son Bâtiment, prendre possession de la terre. Le sieur Rosily tenta inutilement de le suivre avec sa Chaloupe; le Canot même, quoique plus léger, ne put aborder qu'avec beaucoup de peine, la côté étant fort escarpée. Le sieur de Boisguéheneuc mit cependant pied à terre & en prit possession dans les formes ordinaires, en faisant arborer le pavillon du Roi; après quoi il se rembarqua, avec tout son monde, & revint joindre le Gros Ventre qui lui faisait signal de retour, parce que la nuit s'approchait & que le vent devenoit encore plus impérieux... (Annonces, 1774: 17).

No mention at all is given in this published account of any bottles being taken ashore and buried. The question arises therefore as to which of these accounts is accurate and/or whether they both have elements of the truth.

If Cook's information is to be trusted, then he was clearly of the opinion that it was Boisguéheneuc who landed on Kerguelen Island (though he was misled by Kerguelen's proceedings: see Beaglehole, 1967: 31 fns 3-5). Beaglehole (1967: 32 fn 5) further states in his footnotes that Boisguéheneuc landed at the *Baie du Lion Marin*, as he named it, (now *Anse du Gros-Ventre*) for 'a quarter of an hour on 14 February 1772, and buried a bottle with an inscription in it taking possession', while two bottles were left by M. de Rochegude at Christmas Harbour (*Baie de l'Oiseau*) on the subsequent expedition—one buried and one in a prominent position (see also Dunmore, 1965: 231).

Summary and conclusions

While the burial and/or placement of bottles containing annexation documents appears to have been a common practice for English and French explorers, the documentary evidence so far consulted concerning the number of bottles which may have been left on Dirk Hartog Island by comparison with other situations remains inconclusive. Indeed, the documents themselves demonstrate comparative inconsistencies which is often the case between official, edited versions and original

manuscript Logs, Journals and personal diaries. As the Cook and *Gros Ventre* documents demonstrate, accounts of the same event can be variously interpreted and described by different writers—some writing from their own experience and others clearly obtaining and repeating the information third hand. Only by a close comparative analysis of all available manuscript documents can a valid assessment of events be made.

Other French explorers of the same period also performed Acts of Possession, for example Bougainville (see Dunmore, 1965: 76-77, fn 3, 81, 92, 103-4) and Baudin. These too, might help to determine what the frequently referred to 'usual custom' actually meant.

Issues arising from primary and secondary sources

The Saint Aloüarn family

My meeting with M. Tugdual de Kerros in Quimper enabled me to benefit from his vast research into the history of the Saint Aloüarn family. [He is descended from Maria-Sylvie, daughter of Saint Aloüarn's son Hippolyte.]

A respected local historian, researcher and writer, M. de Kerros has spent many hours in the French national archives and those of Quimper tracing the Saint Aloüarn family history and genealogy. He was able to clarify a number of issues which appeared inconsistent in both primary and secondary sources. While he expressed strong regard for some writers who had written about his ancestor, he was concerned that others may have misinterpreted some of the documentary evidence.¹

M. Bruno de Boisguéheneuc (descendant of Charles-Marc du Boisguéheneuc) provided a copy of the extract from the *Dictionary of Mauritian Biography* (Toussaint et al., 1941-1993: 1895-96) which he had obtained from the Musée de Lorient and which has an entry about 'SAINT-ALLOUARN, Louis François Marie Alleno de (1738-1772)' compiled by Raymond d'Unienville. A summary of the entry is provided in dot point as follows:

- Born at the manor of Saint-Aloüarn on 28 July 1738, son of François Marie Guénolé Pantaléon d'Aleno and of Marie Joséphe Pélagie de Quillien.
- 4 July 1754—Guard of the marine at Brest.
- 19 December 1755—Lieutenant.
- 11 November 1755—He was serving in company with his uncle Rosmadec de Saint-Aloüarn on the *Espérance*, commanded by Louis Alphonse Jubert de Bonvillé, when this 74-gun ship, returning from Canada armed with only 22 guns was attacked and destroyed by the 70-gun HMS *Oxford* in the Gulf of Gascogne. Wounded, the two Saint Aloüarns were taken to Plymouth and remained as prisoners in England for almost two years.
- November 1757—Louis returned to France.
- 1758—served in Martinique on the *Défenseur*, commanded by M. de Bompar.
- 1759—he had reached Brest when his father and uncle were killed on the *Juste* in the Battle of the Cardinals on



Figure 1. M. Tugdual de Kerros and Madame Monique de Kerros at Château 'Malakoff', September 1998.

- 20 November 1759.
- 1760—served under the orders of Comte Gabriel d'Oisy d'Assignies on the pram *Cunégonde*, armed at Nantes.
- 1761—served on board the *Epale (compagnie de rade)*.
- 20 January 1761—married Marie Jeanne Corentine Dronallen (died 1769, leaving him a daughter and three sons).
- Jan-July 1761—at Brest.
- 5 Aug. 1762-15 Oct. 1763—on the *Royal Louis* of 116 guns commanded by Louis Joseph Beauissier (went to repossess Martinique after the peace and touched at Saint-Domigue).
- 1 Oct. 1764—promised a position as Lieutenant. Served at Brest until his embarkation for Martinique in 1766 and 1767 on the frigate *Infidèle* commanded by Guy Louis Moëlien de Gouandour de Penze.
- 6 Oct. 1767—3 months at Brest then commnded the storeship *Ecluse*, employed for the transport of wood and laid up at Brest on 30 January 1769.
- 1769—served with Kerguelen on the *Aberwrach* to gain knowledge of the coasts, then commanded this vessel himself for five months in 1770.
- 1 May 1771—left Lorient as second in command of the *Berryer* under Kerguelen.
- 20 August 1771—arrived at Port Louis, Mauritius.
- 13 Sept.-8 Dec. 1771—the storeship *Gros Ventre*

explored the new route to the East established by Grenier. During this period Saint Aloüarn was ill and had to leave the command of the vessel to his cousin Charles du Boisguéhenneuc.

- 16 January 1772—the *Fortune* and *Gros Ventre* left Port Louis and sailed due south.
- 13 February—in area of Kerguelen Island:
- 14 February—Rosily dispatched to find an anchorage for the *Gros Ventre*. Saint Aloüarn sent one of his boats ashore to effect a landing. Boisguéhenneuc landed at Baie du Lion Marin and took possession. *Gros Ventre*, separated from the *Fortune*, set sail for New Holland.
- 16 March 1772—the *Gros Ventre* arrived at Cape Leeuwin.
- 29 March 1772—anchored off Dirk Hartog Island (*Baie des Tortues*). Claimed possession at Dirk Hartog Island.
- May 1772—reached Timor. Then to Batavia and Mauritius.
- 5 September 1772—arrived at Port Louis at the same time as Lapérouse.
- 27 October 1772—died of a fever contracted at Batavia.
- Aug. 1773—homage paid to him by the brigade of Saint-Malo—'full of valour, zeal and fearlessness'.

Saint Aloüarn: His name and status

Throughout the various primary and secondary sources relating to the *Gros Ventre* voyage the names of the officers and personnel on board are variously spelled. This clearly derives from the fact that spellings tend to vary both within and between the manuscript documents, which is not unusual. Discussions with M. de Kerros clarified some of the inconsistencies in respect to his ancestor.

The Log of the *Gros Ventre* (Marine 3/JJ/391, Archives Nationales, Paris), refers to 'M^r le Comte de S^t Allouarn or Allouarne'; and numerous other references give his name variously as: 'François Alesno/Alleno de Saint Allouarn...'

According to family records, the correct name is:

Louis-François-Marie Aleno de Saint Aloüarn

Saint Aloüarn was born at the manor of Saint-Aloüarn on 28 July 1738, son of François Marie Guénolé Pantaléon d'Aléno and of Marie Joséphe Pélagie de Quillien (Unienville, 1975–1993: 1395). The family was of ancient nobility (*ancien noblesse oblige*)² from Geungat, in Cornouaille (the south-west region of Brittany of which Quimper is a major city). Saint Aloüarn was a descendant of Geoffroy Aleno of Kersalic, a contemporary of Louis XI (Duigou, 1989: 6). In 1550, Pierre Aleno married Claude de Saint Aloüarn and added the name of his wife to his own—hence 'Aleno de Saint Aloüarn'.

[According to M. de Kerros (1998, pers. comm. to Peter Tannock, 14 Oct.) 'Aleno or Alleno is a current name in Morbihan (old bishopric of Vannes) and Louis had an homonym in the royal navy: Louis Alleno (1737–1794)

whose father was a "ploughman"—no nobleman; In the navy papers one write "Monsieur de Saint Aloüarn" for my ancestor and "Louis Aleno or Alleno" for the other.

The crest of Louis Aleno de Saint Aloüarn are the crest of family Aleno, "d'argent à 3 hures de sanglier arrachées de gueule"... "silver with 3 heads (black) of wild boar torn away (red)".]

Saint Aloüarn was never a 'Comte', and did not recognize this title. He was a 'Chevalier'—meaning that he was of a class or 'estate' of people who owned a horse, and could command money from the King to pay for horses for his household. If you carried arms but did not travel by horse you were classed as an 'Écuyer' (Esquire). Saint Aloüarn's uncle was an *Écuyer* and his father a *Chevalier*—an ordained title on a 'slightly higher plane' (see Goubert, 1997: 154). Either of these words placed before or after their name reliably identified a nobleman in nearly every province of France (Goubert, 1997: 154).

Goubert (1997: 156) states that

...at the height of the Middle Ages, the nobleman was usually the man who fought on horseback, hence the survival of the terms *chevalier* and *écuyer* as common designations for true nobles.

and further that

...the ancien régime nobility [saw] itself as belonging to a race apart, whose ancient virtues of honour and military courage run undiminished in its blood. This race has been passing on its superiority since time immemorial solely by virtue of birth, or so it believes...

...the French concept of a hereditary noble race is at once narrow and broad. Narrow because it is confined to legitimate offspring — only royal bastards are recognised as noble. At once broad and narrow, because only the man communicates the nobility and the woman is immaterial, a mere 'vessel' communicating her husband's status, not her own.

People who had money after the Revolution could buy titles; those who belonged to the *ancien noblesse oblige* had to show papers to prove their 'noblesse' (nobility) when they returned to France after exile. Goubert (1997: 161–62) indicates that three ways to 'prove' one's nobility are usually distinguished:

- (a) A small number of great and powerful families never have to prove their nobility, which is established 'since time immemorial'...
- (b) Various less illustrious or less powerful families may have to 'prove'... by means of authentic written documents deriving from recognized authorities such as court decisions, notarized deeds, royal decrees... which must usually extend over three generations or one century. These documents must prove that the family has lived nobly, without derogating from its rank, serving the king and always bearing the



Figure 2. Louis XV (1710–1774), King of France in 1715, at the age of 63 in August 1773. Portrait by François-Hubert Drouais (1727–1755). Château de Versailles, MV 4438.



Figure 3. The Saint-Aloüarn Manor in Geungat, September 1998.

prevailing noble designation in the province (usually 'escuyer'), when upon the 'race is assured of a century's legitimate continuity...

- (c) The third instance is the simplest, and became the most usual: the 'race' is young because the family has been ennobled at a known date by order of the sovereign, the sole creator of new noblemen... called 'modern'... in contrast with... the 'old' nobility.

Members of the nobility had certain privileges among which were the wearing of a sword; bearing a crested coat of arms; and being judged in civil courts by the chief magistrate, and in criminal courts by the *Parlement*—the penalties he incurs differing from commoners: he is never hanged, but beheaded (Goubert, 1997: 163).

The nobility also had access to 'reserved occupations': in the Navy

...all the ranks of the fleet were restricted to noblemen only. Commoners could only become administrative officers (who were utterly despised), otherwise they confined themselves to commerce and privateering (Goubert, 1997: 163).

Goubert (1997: 154) also discusses the use of the particle 'de' joining the true 'name', given at baptism, to the 'surname' which has become the patronymic and

usually indicates a family's place of origin. He comments that it 'proves nothing in itself' being frequently found among commoners, and especially among peasants. Many genuine noblemen did not use the particle or include it in their signatures.

Kerguelen's name originally took a 'de' and held an 'e'. He announced that if he was promoted to Admiral he would be prepared to drop the 'e' and the 'de' but his pronouncement to change his name was never officially accepted.

(A short but very succinct and comprehensive account of the period between Louis XIV's death in 1715 and the outbreak of the French Revolution in 1789 is given in: Sherman, J.H., 1995, *France Before the Revolution. Second Edition*, Lancaster Pamphlets, Routledge, London, New York.

Pierre Goubert's book *The Ancien Régime. French Society 1600–1750*, 1973, also provides a good background to the social, economic and demographic factors of that era: the nobility, the bourgeoisie, revenue and its sources, attitudes, cultures, popular belief, rural and urban societies. It provides a fascinating portrait of a complex and multilayered nation in a time of tremendous change.)



Figure 4. La Villeneuve at Plomeur, September 1998.

The Saint-Aloüarn estates

During the Revolution the Saint-Aloüarn estates were taken over and became national property. Saint-Aloüarn's children—Hyacinthe, Sophie, Aimé and Hippolyte—were cared for after his death at Mauritius by a curator. (Saint-Aloüarn's wife had died prior to his departure on the Kerguelén expedition.) In order to feed and care for them the curator began selling all the family heirlooms, furniture etc. The two sons who had gone to Jersey to escape the Revolution (Hyacinthe and Hippolyte) had to try and recover their personal possessions when they returned to Brittany. Peasants had occupied the house during their absence.

It was during the Revolution that many of the family documents were probably destroyed. Brittany has always been a volatile region. When 'revolts' occur, the first things that are destroyed are papers and documents which might incriminate people—indicate owed debts or how much money they might have. The practice is not uncommon even today.

The estates are now privately owned and operate as farms. The buildings have fallen into disrepair and the present owners appear to have no interest in restoring them. Brittany has a wealth of historic buildings and sites dating to the prehistoric era but there appears to be no



Figure 5. Hôtel Saint-Aloüarn, rue Saint-Mathieu, Quimper, September 1998.

official source of heritage funds for conserving those of particular significance.

Saint-Aloüarn Manor, Geungat

The place where Saint-Aloüarn was born. This is now a private farm. The 16th century tower still stands but the building is very dilapidated (Fig. 3).

La Villeneuve, Plomeur

This is the Château where Saint-Aloüarn lived when he was not in Brest or at sea (Fig. 4). It was from here that he departed for the expedition to the *Terres Australes* as second in command of the *Bermyer* under Yves Kerguelén. It was here that one of his sons, Hippolyte, was born in 1768. Louis' descendants continued to possess the property until the 1920s (Duigou, 1988: 20). In 1832, Hippolyte's daughter married Joseph Pascal at La Villeneuve.

Hôtel Saint-Aloüarn, rue Saint-Mathieu, Quimper

This 17th–18th century stone building was the town dwelling of the Saint-Aloüarn family (Fig. 5). It was here that the last of the Saint-Aloüarns, Hyacinthe's son Auguste, a Jesuit priest, died in 1893 at the age of 90.



Figure 6. The Saint Aloüarn family tomb.



Figure 6. Gravestone showing the name of Saint Aloüarn's son Hippolyte and his granddaughter Maria-Josèphe-Sylvie.

The Manor of Kerazan, Loctudy, south of Quimper

In the chapel of the manor, Louis de Saint Aloüarn married Marie-Jeanne Drouallen on 20 January 1761. The property belonged to Marie-Jeanne's uncle René Hyacinthe Le Gentil de Rosmorduc.

The Manor of Lestrémec, Tréméoc

The property in the 18th century of the Drouallen family. Madame de Saint-Aloüarn inherited the manor on the death of her parents.

Saint Aloüarn's offspring

Two of Saint Aloüarn's sons—Hyacinthe and Aimé—joined the Navy. Some accounts suggest that they were expelled (see Duigou, 1988) but a large volume of papers about them give no indication that they left under adverse circumstances (de Kerros, 1998 pers comm. 2 Sept.).

While two sons—Hyacinthe and Hippolyte—fled to Jersey to escape the Revolution, the third son, Aimé, is reported in one published account as having proclaimed his allegiance to the King in a letter in which he seeks access to the Tuilerie Palace to provide what protection he could to the monarch. He was accordingly arrested and guillotined ten days before Robespierre.

M. de Kerros claims that Aimé did not write any letter to the King. Rather, a prisoner sent letters to the Revolutionary officials denouncing Aimé and advising where he would be in Paris. He was accordingly arrested and guillotined. The documents relating to his accusation do not make any reference to him having written a letter to the Tuileries; his accusations would have indicated this if that were his crime.

Aimé's brother subsequently married his widow and had a daughter. (The family are in the process of compiling a genealogy.)

The Saint-Aloüarn family tomb bears the names of some of Saint-Aloüarn's direct line of ascendants:

Hippolyte Louis Agathe Aleno de S' Aloüarn
Chevalier de S' Louis
Né à la Villeneuve le 6 Aout 1768
Décédé le 6 Fevrier 1835
[Son of Saint Aloüarn]

Maria Joséphe Sylvie de Pascal
Née Aleno de S' Aloüarn
Décédée à la Villeneuve le 11 Juillet 1873
[Daughter of Hippolyte and granddaughter of Saint Aloüarn.
Married Joseph de Pascal at Villeneuve. Ancestor of M. de Kerros.]



Figure 8. The 15th century tomb with stone sepulchre of Henri de Saint-Aloüarn and his wife in the Church of Saint-Aloüarn.

Aline Marie Sylvie Aleno de S' Aloüarn
Epouse de Louis Charles de Pompery décédée à Quimper
le 4 Janvier 1822
à l'âge de 32 ans

Louis Charles
Hyacinthe de Pompery
Capitaine de Cavalerie
Veuf de Aline Marie Sylvie
Aleno de S' Aloüarn
Epoux de Marie Anne Marthe
de Saisy décédé à Brest
le 2 Mai 1854
à l'âge de 67 ans

Théophile Hippolyte Renan
de Pompery né au chateau de
Courcèlles Aisne le 7 Janvier 1814
Décédé au Manoir du parc Rosnoen
le 29 Aout 1880
à l'âge de 66 ans

Joseph Nicolas de Pascal
Mort pour la Patrie
Le 5 Aout 1916

Joseph Nicolas de Pascal
Maire de Plomeur
Conseiller General
Epoux de Maria Sylvie
Aleno de S' Aloüarn
Décédé à la Villeneuve
le 8 Decembre 1870
à l'âge de 69 ans

The Berryer

There are some documents relating to the Kerguelén expedition in the Musée de la Compagnie des Indes in L'Orient (Brittany). M. de Kerros has copies of the plans of the *Berryer* and drawings of the construction of the ship.

Documents held in the Royal WA Historical Society and published articles based on these and other sources suggest that Saint-Aloüarn was a resident of Mauritius and was already in Port Louis when Kerguelén's ship the *Berryer* arrived.

A letter in the archives in Mauritius (de Kerros, 1998 pers comm. 2 Sept.) indicates that Saint-Aloüarn was to be sent to America with spice plants which he was to look after. This may have given people the idea that he was already in Mauritius but M. de Kerros says this was not so—just another false interpretation of the documents leading to misinformation. He left on the *Berryer*, departing from the Château at Villeneuve to join the ship.

The Boisguéhenneuc family

M. Bruno du Boisguéhenneuc is a descendant of Charles-Marc du Boisguéhenneuc,¹ the second in command of the *Gros Ventre*. Bruno's father, François, still lives in Brittany and, together, they are trying to reconstruct the life history of their ancestor. A newsletter has been circulated to all members of the family seeking their assistance with information, memorabilia and so on, and giving up-dates on the investigations at Dirk Hartog Island. It is hoped that some information may derive from sources in Madagascar and Mauritius.

Charles-Marc was born in the manor of Kerguern in Dirinon, south of Brest, on 20 January 1740, a property which his mother, Ursule Furic,² had inherited from her first husband's chief, Olivier de Kerguern (Duigou, 1988: 10). The ancestral, country home of the Du Boisguéhenneuc family was the manor of Minven at Tréogat, Finistère (south-west of Quimper).

Charles-Marc would visit Minven from time to time to visit his uncle. From 1758 a 'Noir de Guinée' was living at Minven with the cousin Charles-Nicolas du Boisguéhenneuc (Duigou, 1988: 9).³

In 1768, Charles-Marc became the godfather of Saint-Aloüarn's son Hippolyte which signifies the close friendship the two mariners must have enjoyed.



Figure 9. Carved friezes on either side of the chancel of the Church of Saint-Aloüarn depict animals which are symbols of the Saint Aloüarn (fox) and Aleno (boar) families.

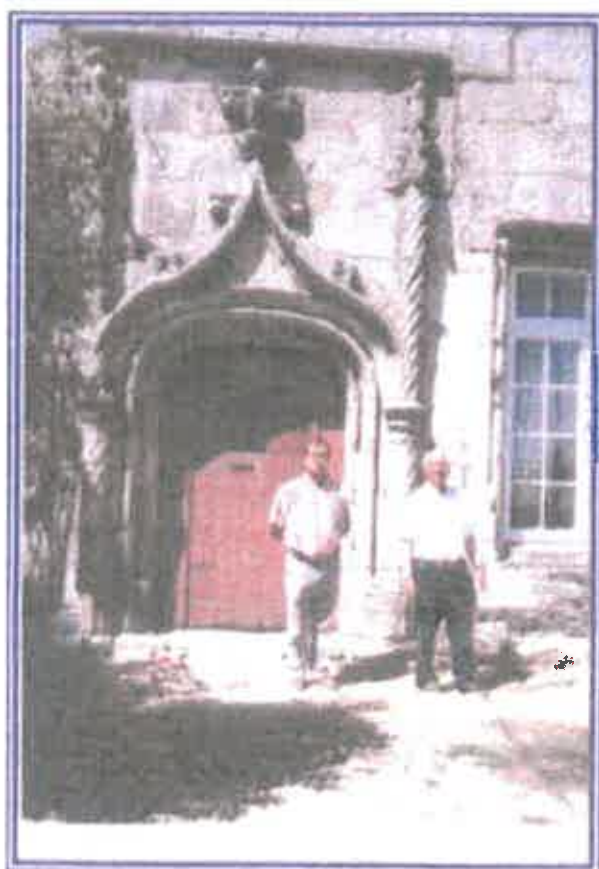


Figure 10. François (right) and Bruno du Boisguéhenneuc at the Manor of Minven, Tréogat (Finistère), August 1998. (Courtesy Bruno du Boisguéhenneuc.)

Summary and conclusions

Many of the well known 18th century French navigators came from ancient noble families (i.e. tracing their ancestry back to before 1500) of Brittany. Saint Aloüarn, his commander, Yves Kerguelen, second in command, Charles-Marc du Boisguéhenneuc and Rosily were all cousins of the same generation, living in the same vicinity along with friends Maingaud, Launay and others who were part of Kerguelen's choice of officers.

The history of the various families, therefore, is significant in that it presents a profile of a particular class or 'estate' of people in France's 'multilayered society' during the Age of the Enlightenment and the years leading to the French Revolution of 1789.

Alain Boulaire's book tracing the life and career of Kerguelen paints a detailed picture of a man whose thirst for life, his taste for adventure and his love of the sea and his country mirrors the background of other French mariners of his time, though not all had his intellectual ability, nor the same chequered career.

Both the descendants of Louis de Saint Aloüarn and Charles-Marc du Boisguéhenneuc are fiercely proud of their ancestry and have spent a considerable amount of time researching their past from archival and other sources. They have already made valuable contributions with respect to information and I am sure will continue to do so providing it is treated with the respect which it deserves. Concerns were expressed that attempts might be made to seek commercial gain from images and/or other material made available for research or exhibition loan.



Figure 11. Coat of Arms of the Du Boisguéheneuc family. (Courtesy Bruno du Boisguéheneuc.)

French Wine Museum, Beaune

There was insufficient time to make a visit to Beaune—some 2 1/2 hours train journey from Paris. However, I am informed by M. Guirec, Musée du Louvre, that the Curators are investigating the origin of the bottle and are preparing a report on their findings.

Potential for an interpretive exhibition

Context

The voyage of the *Gros Ventre* to Western Australia in 1772 fits into the general context of 18th-century European exploration to the Indian Ocean and the Pacific in the Age of Enlightenment. The underlying background of Anglo-French rivalry and the unending struggle for power and empire is ever present; James Cook's achievements of 1770 had not been equalled by an official French expedition into the Pacific, which stimulated hopes for a greater French content in respect to scientific exploration and discovery (Marchant, 1984: 3); and, the new naval administration was concentrating on improving France's strategic position in the Indian Ocean and on creating a

new empire east of the Cape of Good Hope (see Dunmore, 1965: 196 ff; Marchant, 1984).

From a social and cultural perspective, the expedition took place at a time when French society was undergoing significant changes which were to culminate in the Revolution of 1789. Many of the officers on board the *Gros Ventre* were part of the established *noblesse oblige* of France's *ancien régime*. Their social and cultural backgrounds, therefore, reflect the lives and careers of families of Breton nobility whose allegiances to King and country, together with their personal ambitions and sense of adventure, gave them the courage to embark on long distance voyages to little or unknown lands.

Documents and maps

Original documents and maps relating to the *Gros Ventre* voyage are held in various French archives:

ARCHIVES NATIONALE (MARINE), PARIS

Contact: M. Philippe Henrat, Conservateur, Service des prêts de documents au CARAN, 60 rue des Francs Bourgeois, 75141 Paris Cedex 03. Tel. 01-40-27-60-06

- *Gros Ventre* Log (AN 3 JJ 391)
- Boisguéheneuc Log (AN B4-317)
- *Extrait du journal du vaisseau Gros Ventre...Rosily* (AN B4-317)
- Maps and charts:
 - Rosily's map of Flinders Bay—March 1772 (AN B4-317)
 - Rosily's map of Shark Bay—April 1772 (AN B4-317)
- Lines Plan of the *Gros Ventre* (AN D1166)

BIBLIOTHÈQUE NATIONALE, PARIS

- Rosily, *extrait de mon journal*; *Extrait du journal du vaisseau Gros Ventre* (9438)
- (see also Appendix 1)

MUSÉE MARITIME, PARIS

- Boisguéheneuc Log*
 - [*Need to confirm if the originals are held here or in the Archives Nationales.]
- Watercolour painting of the *Gros Ventre* by Frédéric Roux from the Willaumez album.
- Artefacts from shipwrecks from this period (e.g. the *Juste* on which Saint Aloüarn's father and uncle served). (In particular the blankets and clothing which the crew would have had issued to them and appear to have been lacking in the case of the *Gros Ventre*: see Du Boisguéheneuc Journal.)
- Possible navigation equipment such as the *Gros Ventre* would have had on board. (Boulaire refers to French and English navigation instruments which were taken on board the *Oiseau* and the *Roland* for Kerguelen's second voyage to Kerguelen Island:
 - a quarter circle made by 'Rawsden [sic.]' (probably Ramsden), lent by Borda;

- an English sextant loaned by Lobe (who had been on Borda's expedition);
- an 'arc de cercle de douze pouces de rayon' made by Canivet, lent by Ferdinand Berthoud;
- an achromatic telescope by Bourriot;
- 'une pendule astronomique' (astronomical clock) by Berthoud;
- a pocket watch by Berthoud;
- 'lunettes astronomique'—for observing longitude;
- a barometer and a thermometer... (Boulaire, 1997: 100–101).

MUSÉE DE LA COMPAGNIE DES INDES, LORIENT

- Lines plan of the *Berryer*
- Drawings of the construction of the *Berryer*

ARCHIVES DE LA MARINE, BREST

- possible source of information.

Repositories in England:

BRITISH MUSEUM

- Annonces, Affiches... 26 January 1774, P 8695 PP 3801 ba

PUBLIC RECORDS OFFICE, KEW

- Cook Journals—relating to discovery of bottle at Christmas Harbour, Kerguelen Island. (Note: a 1784 edition of Cook's Voyages is held by the WA Museum.)

and Mauritius.

MAURITIUS MUSEUM

MAURITIUS ARCHIVES

Family documents and heirlooms

The Boisguéheneuc family are searching for a portrait, documents and other items which members of the family in France and Mauritius may have in their possession.

The descendants of Saint Aloüarn have a portrait of the mariner together with a female family member which they would be prepared to loan under specified copyright and other negotiable conditions. (This was unavailable for viewing as it was in storage in Paris.)

It was originally thought that the painting depicted Saint-Aloüarn and his wife but notations on the reverse of the painting indicate that it is not Marie-Jeanne. According to M. de Kerros, it appears as if the faces of the two people have been painted into pre-prepared paintings as a cousin has seen portraits where the people are depicted wearing similar dress and adornments, for example the ladies have wreaths of flowers in their hair.

A number of drawings and photographs of the family estates in and around Quimper are held by family members, local historians and

Local Private Collections

Ms Marie Louise Wordsworth has a large collection of original works relating to the French voyages to Western Australia which have previously been loaned for exhibition and might be negotiated again if appropriate. (See also Marchant, 1998.)

References

- Beaglehole, J.C., (ed.), 1967, *The Journals of Captain James Cook on his voyages of discovery. Volume III The voyages of the Resolution and the Discovery 1776–1780. Part II.* Cambridge University Press for the Hakluyt Society Extra Series No. XXXVI.
- Boulaire, A., 1997, *Kerguelen. Le phénix des mers australes.* France-Empire, Paris.
- Campbell, G., 1936, *Captain James Cook.* Hodder and Stoughton, London.
- Cook, J., et al., 1784, *A voyage to the Pacific Ocean... performed under the direction of Captains Cook, Clerke and Gore in His Majesty's ships Resolution and Discovery.* London, John Stockdale: 32–33.
- Cornell, C. (trans.), 1974, *The journal of Post Captain Nicolas Baudin Commander-in-Chief of the Corvettes Géographe and Naturaliste.* Libraries Board of South Australia, Adelaide.
- D'Unienville, J.R., 1975–1993, SAINT-ALLOUARN, Louis François Marie ALLENO de (1738–1772). In: Toussaint, A., Regnard, L.N. and D'Unienville, J.R., (eds.), 1941–1993, *Dictionary of Mauritian Biography, Nos. 25–48.* Société de l'histoire de l'île Maurice, Port Louis, Ile Maurice: 1395–1396. (*Bibliothèque Musée de Lorient.*)
- Duigou, S., 1989, *L'Australie oubliée de Saint-Allouarn.* Editions Ressac, Quimper.
- Dunmore, J., 1965, *French explorers in the Pacific. 1 The eighteenth century.* Oxford, Clarendon Press.
- Goubert, P., 1997, *The Ancien Régime. French society 1600–1750.* Phoenix Giant, London (Steve Cox tr.).
- Harrison, R., 1998, *Report on archaeological excavations at Turtle Bay, Dirk Hartog Island. Evidence for early French explorers and other European sites.* Centre for Archaeology, University of Western Australia. Unpublished report, prepared for the WA Maritime Museum, May 1998.
- Marchant, L.R., 1982, *France Australe. A study of french explorations and attempts to found a penal colony and strategic base in south western Australia 1503–1826.* Artlook Books, Perth.
- Marchant, L.R., 1984, The French opening of the southern Indian Ocean in the Age of the Enlightenment. A paper prepared for the Second International Conference on Indian Ocean Studies held in Perth, Western Australia, 5–12 December 1984.
- Marchant, L.R., 1998, *France Australe. The French search for the Southland and subsequent explorations and plans to found a penal colony in south western Australia 1503–1826...* Scott Four Colour Print, Perth.
- McCarthy, M., 1998, *The Turtle Bay coin. Maritime Heritage Site Inspection Report.* Report—Department of Maritime Archaeology, Western Australian Maritime Museum, No. 138.
- Rousseau, J.J., 1973, *The social contract and discourses.* Dent, London and Melbourne (G.D.H. Cole tr.).
- Shennan, J.H., 1995, *France before the Revolution. Second Edition.* Lancaster Pamphlets, Routledge, London.
- Toussaint, A., Regnard, L.N. and D'Unienville, J.R., (eds.), 1941–1993, *Dictionary of Mauritian Biography, Nos. 25–48.*

Société de l'histoire de l'île Maurice, Port Louis, Ile Maurice.
(Bibliothèque Musée de Lorient.)

Endnotes

- 1 Many of the archival manuscript documents are not necessarily in chronological order and unless they are sorted and read in the correct sequence it is possible to interpret things incorrectly.
- 2 See Goubert, P., 1997, *The Ancien Régime. French Society 1600-1750*. Phoenix Giant, London. (Steve Cox tr.): Chap. VII, 153 ff. The nobility: in search of a definition.
- 3 Note that there is a difference in the spelling of the earlier and present spellings of the surname.
- 4 The Furics were wine merchants: see Duigou, 1988: 3.
- 5 Bringing indigenous people back to Europe from expeditions to new lands was a feature of 17th and 18th century exploration and, when it occurred, caused more of a sensation than the flood of natural science specimens and other 'curiosities'. French explorer Bougainville returned with a Tahitian, Ahutoru, who 'caught the fashionable fancy' of Parisians. His arrival also coincided with the current vogue of Jean-Jacques Rousseau's two Discourses on the corrupting influence of society and on inequality (see Dunmore, 1965: 109; Rousseau, 1973).

Appendix 1: Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris

[Documents referred to by Dunmore (1965) in the footnotes to his text which it was planned to consult.]

Books and published works

- Dupouy, A., *Le Breton Yves de Kerguelen*, pp 119, (Boisguéhenneuc in command...)
- Kerguelen, Y., *Relation de deux voyages dans les mers australes et des Indes*.
- Kerguelen, Y., *Journal du Rolland*, 14 Dec. 1773.
- La Gazette de France* (from Mauritius) B⁴317-Piece no. 144 + 14 Feb 1772.
- Le Journal de Paris* -
- Rainaud, A., *Le Continent austral*.
- Rochon, A., *Voyages aux Indes Orientales*. (Alexis) pp.204-5 *Mémoire pour servir d'instructions...*
- Rosnevetz *Journal de la navigation de la frégate L'Oiseau*, 6 Jan. 1774.
- Rosnevetz, *Procès testimony of Rosnevetz* 14-17 Feb. 1775.

Documents: BN-NAF

9341-

? Grenier voyage 9438-
or *Gros Ventre* 9439-

Emmanuel, Marthe La France et l'exploration polaire, 307
(Re spellings of Alouarn....)

Journals

Fortune
Gros Ventre
Saint Alouarn
Boisguéhenneuc
Rosily

BN-NAF

- 9341-117 Bonnet-Additions au mémoire présenté en 1735 à la Compagnie des Indes. [Plans made in 1708 to dispatch an expedition to the south from Nantes under Captain Duvier.]
- 9341 Kerguelen to d'Aprés, 1 April 1770 re plan/pretext for a voyage of exploration.
14 March 1772—discovery of 'Southern France'.
- 9438 - 86, 100, 102, 103, 104, 105* .
- Orders for 2nd voyage: clothing, copper plates etc.
- 9438-147-148. Details from *Gros Ventre*—country not worth returning to!!
- 9438-12 15 June 1735—Summary of the voyages of Gonneville and Quinos, and of Australia.
- 9438-174/9 Kerguelen's appeal against his imprisonment during the Revolution—Y-J-Kerg à ses Concitoyens...
- 9438-118/9 Instructions particulières pour le Sieur de Kerguelen, dated 1772

- 9438-111 Instructions particulières (2nd voyage).
 9438-141 19 Mar. 1773—No news of the *Gros Ventre*.
 Audá to Ternay.
 9438-78 Minne Rosily de Montecler to Minister 20
 July 1772
 9438-86: 10 Mémoire sur l'établissement d'une colonie
 dans la France Australe. (see Dunmore, 1965: 216-
 217).
 9438-107 8 Nov 1772 Maillard to Minister. Re: return
 of *Gros Ventre* to Mauritius.
 9438-147/148 (New instructions to Kerguelen following
 return of *Gros Ventre*).
 9438-105 8 Nov. 1772 Minister to Ternay and Maillard.
 9438-93: 2 Réflexions sur les avantages que peut
 procurer la France Australe.
 9438-100 Armement pour les tenes australes. (See
 Dunmore, 1965: 216-217).
 Orders - 102 Minute de la feuille pour le Roy remise
 Orders - 103 à Monsiuer le 2 août [1772]
 9439-34/39 1738—Instructions de la Compagnie des
 Indes pour M. de Lozier Bouvet...*L'Aigle et Le Marie*
 destinés à la découverte des terres australes.
 Lettre secrète—article 30 of the instruction.
 9439-90 Anonymous note on the *Gros Ventre* voyage.
 9439-91 Poivre to Minister, 21 Mar. 1772.

Appendix 2: Public Records Office, Kew, London

Cook Journals

- ADM 51/4531 A Journal of His Majesty's Sloop
 Discovery Capt. Charles Clerke Esq. Commander. From
 the Cape of Good Hope on the Voyage to the South
 Seas by John Henry Martin, Midshipman begun
 December the 1 st 1776.
 ADM 51/4561 Resolution 2 Dec. 1776—17 July 1777.
 Remark Book.
 ADM 51/4558 Resolution. 10 Jan 1779— William
 Lanyon (Master's Mate)
 15 Feb.—23 Aug. 1779 — Clerke
 William Lanyon 10 Feb. 1776—15 Feb. 1776
 ADM 55/110 W. Harvey Log.
 ADM 55/111 James Cook Journal. 1776 Feb. 10—
 1777 Sep. 1 Remarks in Christmas Harbour. Includes
 sketch plan of Christmas Harbour.
 ADM 55/116 J. King Journal. Folio 38. Remarks in
 Christmas Harbour, Kerguelen's Land.
 ADM 55/117 J. Williamson (Third Lieutenant)
 Journal. Folio 32: Remarks & c. Wednesday Decem.r
 25th 1776. Includes sketch of the Rock which appeaed
 like the 'beautiful Ruin of a Castle'.

Beaglehole, J. C., (ed.), 1967, *The Journals of Captain James
 Cook on his voyages of discovery. Volume III The voyages of the
 Resolution and the Discovery 1776—1780. Part II.*
 Cambridge University Press for the Hakluyt Society
 Extra Series No. XXXVI.

**Appendix 3: Material relating to St Alouarn held in the
 Royal Western Australian Historical Society Archives,
 Stirling House, 49 Broadway, NEDLANDS WA 6009**

Box 24 - 1973/11

Caldwell papers: Correspondence between Kate Caldwell, William Caldwell and RWAHS

- Letter from William Caldwell, Geneva to Kate Caldwell.
 29/5/33. Re research into St Allouarn's voyage.
- Note from W. Caldwell, Geneva, dated 20 March 1934
 re information from the Ministry of the Marine.
- Extracts from personal diary (incomplete) of St
 Allouarn, commencing Tuesday, 17 March, 1772 - 3
 April, 1772. Compiled and translated from information
 and documents supplied by the Ministry of Marine,
 paris, by William Caldwell, international Labour
 Bureau, League of Nations, Geneva, 29th May, 1934.
- Translation by Kate Caldwell of article appearing in *Le
 Temps* of Paris of 17 November, 1934. Written by
 William Caldwell, Geneva, in French.
- Extract from the journal of St Allouarn & log of the
Gros Ventre, Voyage of 1772 pp. 38-39.
- Piece No.1. *But et Historique du voyage de M.M. de
 Kerguelen et St. Allouarn dans les mers Australes.*
- Objects and history of the voyage of Mm. de Kerguelen
 and St Allouarn in the Australian seas. Information
 supplied by French Ministry of Marine.

Box 24 - 1973/11

Caldwell Papers: Correspondence between Kate Caldwell and Canon Henn

- Letter to Canon Henn from Kate Caldwell re translation
 of some of the St Allouarn data, Fremantle dated 3 July,
 1935
- Razeux by Wm Caldwell (Letter 19.8.35 to his sister).
 (William Caldwell, 5 Avenue Bertrand, Geneva).
- Letter to Canon Henn from Kate Caldwell re sending
 certain details to the *Cape Otway* lighthouse ship which
 was leaving that day for Dirk Hartog Island, dated 4th
 July, 1934. [*Cape Otway* was to look for traces of St
 Allouarn's expedition. Includes queries about the
 Latitude.]
- Letter to Canon Henn from Kate Caldwell, 23 July,
 1934 (address on letter 29 Louisa St, Fremantle)
- Letter to Canon Henn, Kate Caldwell, dated 2 August,
 1934. [Has no copy of Rosily's diary, only that of St
 Allouarn, the log of the *Gros Ventre* written by another
 person & a later account compiled by Buache.
 Reference to Cook finding a bottle on Kerguelen Is.
 The *Cape Otway* did call at Turtle Bay but the weather
 was too boisterous to permit of a thorough search of
 the coast being made...but that the part was denuded
 of timber by fishermen & possibly previous
 lightkeepers.]
- Letter to Canon Henn from Kate Caldwell, dated 8

August, 1934 including

- Rough map of Dirk Hartog Island and neighbourhood - From Canon Henn's notes on Captain St Allouarn.

Box 24 - 1973/11

General RWAHS Correspondence relating to acquisition of information from Mitchell Library on St Allouarn

- Letter from Maitland brown to Dirksey Cowan dated 2 June 1933.
- Letter from Maitland brown to Dirksey Cowan re visits to the Mitchell Library and reading through St Allouarn's notes in French, dated 16 August 1933.
- Letter from Bertha Lawson to Mr Maitland-Brown re material dealing with Saint Allouarn in the Mitchell Library. Includes list of references. [nvd c. 1933]
- Letter from cousin of Maitland-Brown [Ms Dirksey Cowan] to Miss Lawson dated 25 August 1933 requesting material from Mitchell Library.
- Letter from Bertha Lawson to Maitland-Brown re request for documents from Mitchell Library dated 15 October 1933.
- Letter from Maitland Brown to Dirksey [Cowan] re references to early voyages dated 21 October 1933.
- Letter from Maitland Brown to Dirksey [Cowan] re references to early voyages dated 15 November 1933.
- Letter from Bertha Lawson to Miss Cowan re obtaining copies of documents n.d.
- Letter to Mr Boullanger from ? dated 22 November 1933 re Boullanger.
- Letter from Canon Henn to Miss Cowan dated June 1937 re enclosing three extracts from French sources about St Allouarn's Expedition to Dirk Hartog Is. Same as Ms Caldwell procured but a little more extensive and copied by a Frenchman ... [There was supposed to be a translation included.]

Box 24 - 1973/11

Correspondence relating to other French voyages.

- Letter from George Fletcher Moore to Editor of the *Perth Gazette* re voyage of the *Géographe* and *Naturaliste* and wrecking of their boat on the beach north of Cape Leeuwin, dated 5 May 1838.

Box 24 - 1973/11

Other information about St Allouarn

- Data regarding house in Quimper, France called the St Allouarn house with the date 1611 over the doorway. Western Australian Historical Society.
- 4 x Photographs of the Old Mill on the St Allouarn Estate.
- Hon Keeper of Records for WA Historical Society, Letter to Senator E.B. Johnston, The Senate, Parliament House, Canberra dated 7 November 1933. Heading:

re Captain de St Allouarn's visit to WA in 1772.

Box 24 - 1973/11

Royal Western Australian Historical Society

Newspaper Articles:

- Letter to the Editor from Dircksey C. Cowan, Hon Record Keeper, Western Australian Historical Society, *The French Navigators, St Allouarn's Part in 1772*, *The West Australian*, Saturday, November 4, 1933.
- *The West Australian* 4/8/1939 - French Navigators - 1818: A Woman Voyager. Trip to coast of WA. Madame de Freycinet's Journal

Box 24 - 1973/11

- George Fletcher Moore, Letter to *The Perth Gazette* dated 5 May 1838. Royal Western Australian Historical Society
- Thomas Dunbabin, Royal Society of Tasmania: Papers and Proceedings, 1921. France and Australia. *The Prise de Possession*. A new chapter in our early history. (Issued separately 28 October, 1921.
- Caldwell, Kate, *The Voyage of François Alesne de Saint Allouarn, 1771-72* in *The Western Australian Historical Society Journal and Proceedings Vol.11 part XVI*. Perth 1934
- Henn, Rev. P.U. French Exploration on the Western Australian Coast. In *The Western Australian Historical Society Journal and Proceedings*, Vol. II, Part XV, 1934.

Box 24 - 1973/11

- D.C. Cowan, 30/7/1930. Notes of exploration of...Swan River by the members of the French Expedition of 1801 under Captain Hamelin of the *Naturaliste*.

Box No. 11 - 1921 998A

- Dunbabin's Book
- *The West Australian* 18/1/36
Frenchmen on our coast
William Caldwell, Voyage of St Allouarn
- *The Sunday Times* 21/1/1979
- *The West Australian* 7/12/1946; 9/2/1980 The French Connection

Box No. 39 - 1981/35

- *The West Australian* 14/1/1989
- John Sellenger—French Connection in a champagne bottle.

Box 39 - 1981/35

- Letter to Canon Henn from Eric J. Merryweather 27/6/33 including: looked at St Allouarn's journal and found it 'extremely dull, and for the most part gave little beyond details as to latitudes and longitudes, the wind etc. He did not once land on the coast—unless I am mistaken, which is most improbable, even though the MS was difficult to read...

No. 3 Hand written notes. *Extrait du Journal du Vaisseau Le Gros Ventre Capitaine St Allouarn. En Janvier 1772 du Mardi 17 Mars 1772...*

RWAHS Newspaper clippings file

- Letter to Miss D. C. Cowan from John G. Camm, Surveyor general, dated 6 April, 1934. Re: inaccurate Latitudes and Longitudes...

Map 39/9 - Shark Bay 1801-1803

- *Carte de la Baie des Chiens-Marins* (Shark's Bay de Dampier)