

Flinders in Mauritius: 1803-1810

an abstract with comments

by Witgar Hitchcock great great great nephew

Matthew Flinders in Mauritius 1803-1810

1. *Settling In: the first three years*

Captain Matthew Flinders R.N. (henceforth termed Flinders) was a prisoner on the island of Mauritius for one third of his adult life, equal to all the time he spent off the coasts of Australia. He arrived in December 1803 at the age of 29 and left in June 1810 when he was 36. His time as a midshipman and naval officer had dominated his life, but this was to change dramatically as he commenced his parole on the island in August 1805 and it was during the subsequent four and three quarter years that, having learnt to speak French fluently by 1807, he became a much admired guest among the French gentry, especially the planters. In this position, he was able to visit much of the western half of the island which was to the south of Port Louis and to record and reflect on many of the most interesting features in social life, agriculture, commerce, and the economic consequences of Mauritius being a besieged island. The purpose of this memoir is to abstract and comment in particular on these features which comprise the most interesting entries in his daily journal of 235 pages, each 12.5" x 7.5" very well composed and written, that he commenced from the first day of his landing on the island.

It is first necessary to describe briefly the period prior to the commencement of parole. At 1am. on the morning of December 18, Flinders and his first mate Aken were taken ashore and put into a room at a tavern, *Cafe Marengo*, which contained two truckle beds and was guarded by soldiers. After the first day, the three daily meals were quite acceptable. On December 22nd, Flinders' able servant Elder joined them and subsequently a crew member from the Cumberland schooner in which the voyage from Port Jackson was being made, came to be with them as a source of domestic help. During the 15 weeks in this situation, Flinders' time was taken up in attempting to get the French Governor, captain general De Caen, to release him and, that failing, to return the books, papers, log books and charts that had been confiscated, so that charts could be completed and log books written up. With the exception of the final log book, No.3, all these were eventually restored and Flinders worked on them intermittently for some two years. A third feature of this period in the tavern was that of Flinders' health. A surgeon, M. Chapotin, was called for and accompanied by an interpreter, M Bonnefoy, made his first visit on December 24th. and found Flinders lame due to scorbutic ulcers on one of his legs. At least a further 20 visits were made by March 1st. and three days later, Flinders found his leg recovered and his health better than for some time. Then on March 7th., captain Bergeret, of the French navy, called. Although a member of the general's staff, he took a keen interest in Flinders and in later years became a most supportive friend. He probably played a part in enabling Flinders, Aken and Elder to move on March 31st. to the Garden Prison - the Maison Despaux, where separate rooms were available to Flinders and Aken. The garden did enable Flinders to get fresh air and exercise, both so essential for his health and the presence of up to a dozen or so other English officers, gentlemen and their ladies provided social company with its psychological benefits for his tormented mind, still struggling to come to terms with his misfortunes.

In addition, residence at the Maison Despaux afforded Flinders the opportunity of a much wider selection of visitors, mainly local French inhabitants of Port Louis which enabled him to have the benefit of a circle of French friends who were to be so helpful in launching him into the society of the farming gentry when he at length obtained parole in the countryside some 16 months later. Foremost among these visitors was M. Thomas Pitot, a shipowner, shipper and forwarding agent, who came with his brother on August 10th. 1804 and stayed to dine with Flinders, Aken and a Mr. Robertson, a prisoner from the recommencement of the war in 1803. The Pitots were impressed and lent books and music to Flinders. This was the beginning of a long association between Flinders and Thomas Pitot, which continued after Flinders' release in 1810. The two dined together again on August 20th, and the journal recorded that Pitot spoke some English and was very conversant with English books and celebrated men.

Earlier, on July 6th., Flinders had, after collecting by arrangement, most of the books, charts and papers, retained from the first by De. Caen, made his first visits, accompanied by the interpreter, to local people who had treated him with some attention; thus he dined with Chevalier Pilgrim, the Danish Imperial Consul, by whom he was received with politeness and given friendship. The Consul had on several occasions cashed Flinders' bills at par (about 4 US dollars to the pound) when the American Consul required a discount of a third. On May 5, Captain Bergeret also cashed a bill at par.

By the middle of May, Flinders had established a daily routine, commencing with a bathe and then revising his knowledge of Latin before breakfast and spending the rest of the morning rewriting damaged log books or working on his charts, apart from a mid morning session on his flute. After dinner, he joined the other prisoners at billiards, until tea. He would then walk in the garden till dusk and make one at Playels quartets till supper. A further half hour in the garden preceded a good night's sleep. While Elder had been with Flinders as his servant, since before Christmas, it was not until August 26th. that seaman George Alder joined them as a servant to Aken. Even in custody, every naval officer had to have a servant. Elder had continuous permission to go into the town on errands. One morning he was not back in time to lay the breakfast table for Flinders, so he had to lay the cloth and breakfast things himself and he ordered seaman Smith to bring in the tea kettle.

Music played a considerable part in Flinders' socialising. Thus on September 1st. Pitot and friend spent the evening at the Maison Despaux making up a party for a Pleyels quartet, with Flinders playing his flute. Pitot and his brother paid several visits in the following weeks, bringing books and newspapers, being keen to contribute to the amusement and happiness of the prisoners and on October 4th. spent a musical day with Flinders and others. On the 12th. he dined again, but on the morning of October 22nd. he was refused permission to visit by the sentry guard. However, on November 16th. Pitot was dining again and Flinders had by then begun referring to him in his journal as *my good friend Pitot*. On December 4th. Pitot sent Flinders a present of fresh fruit and fish sauce.

From the first, the French government had made monthly payments to the prisoners and on October 25th., the interpreter brought 105 dollars for Flinders, Aken and Elder, of which Flinders' share was 60 dollars. House rent of 4 dollars each had already been deducted. As Flinders later on told an official of the government, much could have been saved, at a time of economic difficulties, by releasing them! From these payments, prisoners had to pay for their sustenance. Only once did Flinders record any consumption of alcohol, namely on Sunday August 18th. 1805, when, after dinner at 2pm, he drank three glasses of Madeira, a very popular drink at that time among naval officers.

During these months at the Maison Despaux, Flinders recorded all the shipping that entered or left Port Louis, together with visits made by naval officers and correspondence with them. Much of this related to the possibility of his release for departure on the vessels concerned. After being at the Maison Despaux nearly a year, Flinders listed all the prizes brought into the Isle de France, listing 24 British ships with a total value of £948,000 in addition to a further £1m of damage to English commerce from the Isle de France since the war re-started till March 1st 1805. He also attached importance to recording the leading political changes. Thus on October 28th. he noted De Caen's proclamation that Bonaparte had been made Emperor Napoleon 1st.

On New Year's Day 1805, Flinders made his observations on those he termed as being the lower class of people who made a festival of the occasion. It was the one day in the year when slaves were at liberty. A band played music in the streets for most of the night and all the black people and servants ran about in the morning calling "*banana*", with flowers in their hands which they presented to all their masters and masters' friends, demanding money from them from a three sous piece to a piastre. Christmas Day was an ordinary working day!

First mention of Flinders' chronic symptom was made on January 17th, 1805, when he referred to his gravelly complaint which had given him more or less trouble for seven years and was never to be put right. That day, a visit from Dr. La Borde was followed by his certificate that both Flinders and Aken should be moved into the country for the sake of their health. The newly appointed Etat Major, Colonel Monistrol, refused to comply with it, returning it to the doctor with a request that he should not interfere with what did not come under his jurisdiction. However, within eight months, Flinders was on parole in the country but not before the good offices of many people had failed to obtain his release. Hopes were

continuously raised and then dashed, which prompted captain Bergeret to apply for Flinders to be given permission to reside in the country.

Typically of the French Administration no response was received in this respect, but the invitation from two officers, who dined at the Maison Despaux on July 25th., to all the gentlemen of the House to join them in a visit to the theatre, might have been seen as a good omen. Nevertheless, Flinders, true to form, at first declined: when he came to understand that the invitation had been sanctioned by the authorities, he finally accepted. So he attached himself to officer Reignier who behaved with great politeness and attention. Unfortunately, the house was so full that Flinders could scarcely see the stage and that was not surprising as the entrance fee was only one piastre for all seats which M. Reignier insisted on paying for the four of them. So Flinders concentrated on the audience. He was surprised by the number of handsomely dressed women, mostly the wives and daughters of tradesmen, whose costumes were more expensive and gay than those of the same class in England. Some of the younger women were very pretty and one, only 12, was a beauty, although modest by comparison. The older ladies seemed to be generally fat, but with dress equally gay and bosoms equally bare with the younger. Flinders considered that an equal number of women so undressed would raise an uproar in an English theatre. He went on to contend, the man of the world he certainly was, that the modest would be offended, the pruders would break their fans, the aged would cry shame, the libertines would exult and clap while the old lechers would apply their opera glasses! Clearly, confinement in Port Louis had neither dulled Flinders' perception nor his powers of description.

On his return to the Maison Despaux, Flinders did not have the company of the sedate M. Reignier, who was blessed with a private income, but only that of the other two officers who had to live on the monthly salary of 25 piastres: he found them too fond of swearing and bawdy conversation for his liking.

It took another three weeks for captain Bergeret to be allowed to signify that De Caen had given permission for Flinders to reside in the country. At that moment, Aken having been released on health grounds, only Flinders, Elder and seaman Smith, plus the sergeant in charge, remained at the Maison Despaux. At length, on August 20th., Flinders received permission to leave the Maison Despaux but to be out of the town within four days. Meanwhile, Pitot had been preparing for this occasion and had, as long ago as April 5th., selected The Refuge, the house of Madame D'Arifat, a planter in the Wilhelms Plaines. So he was all set to escort Flinders from the Maison Despaux that afternoon to his town house in time for tea, after which he engaged Flinders to make one in a musical party, but Flinders, true to character, insisted that his first mission after quitting the garden prison was to pay his compliments to captain Bergeret, who played such a large part in getting the parole set up.

Apart from the visit to the theatre and the earlier dinner with Chevalier Pilgrim, this was Flinders' first day in the town. However there was business to be done: the details of the parole had to be settled with M. Monistrol at the bureau of the Etat Major. Flinders insisted on it being in writing. He was required to keep within 2 leagues of Madame D'Arifat's habitation, where he was to reside and to answer for the proper conduct of his two servants. Excursions outside the limits were to be subject to De Caen's special permission. From that day, August 21st., Flinders' integration with the plantocracy of Mauritius commenced. After dining at Pitot's, he was in the evening taken to a superior musical party and that was followed by supper with a large party at M. Deglos'. At this occasion, Flinders was plunged in the deep end, in so far as, being given the post of honour, he had to conduct Mme. Deglos to the table. This was an embarrassment, unaccustomed as he was to female society and understanding so little French; but natural politeness of the assembled company ensured that everyone took it seriously.

The next morning Edward Pitot (brother to Thomas) attempted to take Flinders to the summit of the mountain La Pouce 812 metres high and some three miles from the town. Unfortunately, the day was wet and the rain prevented them from reaching the summit. With their umbrellas open, they reached the foot of the immediate ascent, about three quarters of the way up, where they breakfasted. Leaving the servant at that point, they soon entered a wood of small trees with an undergrowth of ferns and raspberries. Owing to the recent law forbidding deforestation at this level, the path to the summit had been lost through lack of use and that feature, together with the persistent rain caused them to about turn. Interestingly, the reason for the new law was that where deforestation had taken place, rainfall was much reduced to the detriment of agriculture at lower levels, a theme which has its parallel in North Korea today.

Social activity continued with a large party dining at Pitot's that afternoon. This must have been an incredibly exciting day for Flinders, for there he met M. Chazal whom he described as an intelligent and respectable man, whose country place was very close to that of Mme. D'Arifat. In the evening he was introduced to Chazal's wife and mother and later he went with the Pitots and the Chazals to the theatre, where several short pieces were performed.

The significance of breakfast as a social meal was impressed on Flinders the next morning, when he accompanied Pitot to breakfast with M. and Mme. Deglos, Pitot's relatives. That was followed by dinner with Pitot's sister, Mme. Brunet and an evening musical party at M. Frobervilles. Later, after being introduced at captain Bergeret's to M. and Mme. Saulnier who invited Flinders to dine the following day, they waited on Madame D'Arifat, who was waiting for the return of her son from Bourbon before taking her family back to the country residence where Flinders was due to reside during his parole. He found her three daughters amiable and was happy to find that the eldest spoke some English. The long day of engagements ended with supper at Pitot's accompanied by the party playing at Bouillote.

To dine with the Saulniers the following day, Flinders was accompanied by captain Bergeret and Edward Pitot. Flinders noted that he was treated with civility and attention together with an offer of service. It is understandable how Flinders could but dwell on how he was received when, in the midst of French speaking company, of whose conversation he would have understood almost nothing, the emphasis for him was on the importance of the few remarks made to him in English. It was to take two years for him to be conversant with conversational French.

Flinders, always punctilious over etiquette, then called upon M. Chazal to take his leave before going into the country. Finally, at 4pm, he was ready to make the 15 mile journey and the party, including nearly all of Pitot's family, set off, but later, by one day, than that allowed by the Etat Major. In two to three hours time they reached Pitot's country house, *La Chimere*, about five miles south of the town, where they remained all night, passing the evening with Bouillote, into which Flinders was initiated.

The following morning, after an early rise, Flinders accompanied two younger members of the family on a shooting excursion. Sunday sport was not prohibited as in England, but in spite of the dogs being sent into the woods, while the shots stood at the border with the lower open country, the party returned home empty handed. After breakfast, the journey southwards was continued on asses over roads that were mostly bad and very circuitous. Five miles along the way, the party stopped at Le Reduit, the government country house, which was then being repaired for De Caen. So they took the opportunity of walking over the extended premises around the house, which had housed as many as 35 people, besides servants.

Following a picnic dinner, the journey was continued with just Pitot and M. Beyard accompanying Flinders. A stop was made to meet M. Plumet, formerly an officer in the Mahratta service. Flinders noted that they were received with the hospitality, which was only then beginning to vanish from the Isle de France. Walking over the 400 acre plantation, they saw coffee and clove trees, fish ponds together with improvements being made. The evening was spent playing billiards, for it was taken for granted that they would stop the night. Before breakfast the next morning, they walked over the garden and also that of Madame Frappee, M. Plumet's neighbour, which Flinders found to be laid out in superior style, with large fish ponds supplied by an artificial cascade. Although, by now, Flinders wanted to reach his destination, M. Plumet insisted that they should all stay to dine, the remaining time being spent at the billiard table. So it was 4pm before the journey was resumed. The asses found it hard going on the slippery roads, and surprisingly, neither Pitot nor M. Beyard knew the way. So as darkness fell and the rain increased, they had to seek a guide. Although they were expected at Madame D'Arifat's habitation, they pushed on to M. Chazal's, since Elder and the baggage were not in sight, but were instead at M. Chazal's, where they arrived at 8.30pm and stayed the night on beds.

The following morning, the overseer sent a number of blacks on with Flinders' baggage while Flinders and his two friends followed, stopping at the smallholding owned by Jean Barrow, a free black man with a mulattress for his wife. Flinders noted his decent house and plantation worked by 25 slaves and also the large number of his children, a third of whom were white. Arriving at Mme. D'Arifat's, Flinders took possession of two small pavilions, one for himself and the other for his two servants, in preference to the principal house which had

been ordered for his reception. As might be expected, Flinders was keen to put himself under as little obligation as possible. The house, later demolished, was situated by La Marie, 3 miles west of Curepipe.

Having arrived, Flinders was able to sum up the situation with considerable aplomb. The journey had made him realise that the island had no villages, the land being divided into plantations. What they did not provide, had to be obtained from Port Louis, with which all the large planters had daily communication, both to take their produce to the bazaar and to bring back what was needed over roads impassable for carriages.

Before leaving, Pitot introduced Flinders to Madame Couve, whose plantation bordered on that of Mme. D'Arifat. M. Couve was away, as usual in town, but the two daughters of around 15 years delighted Flinders on account of their good voices and musical abilities. Mme. Couve invited Flinders to come as he pleased, without ceremony, to dine or sup or spend the morning or evening in a neighbourly way. Then, after dinner, Pitot and M. Beyard left for the town, Pitot taking with him a list of food items which Flinders would need to obtain from the town, with delivery made by the habitation's conveyance on its daily run.

Two days later, Flinders made an afternoon call on Mme Couve and made the acquaintance of M. Murat, who had been a commander in the merchant marine. After being shown round the garden and the plantation, he stayed to drink tea. The next morning he walked over again to invite M. Murat to dine with him. As the latter spoke no English, Flinders was keen on his company, so that he could practice what little French he knew. In the event, M. Murat stayed till the evening, passing the time walking and conversing upon nautical subjects. The supreme importance of making progress at French was not lost on Flinders and it was most fortunate that he had the ability and perseverance to succeed.

Flinders had six weeks at Madame D'Arifat's before she and her family returned from town. He soon developed a daily routine which commenced with a bathe in the stream behind the house, followed by shaving in time for 8 o'clock breakfast of coffee, tea, bread and butter with eggs and sometimes a salad. He would then explore the near neighbourhood considering the French phrases and grammar he had read over breakfast. The remainder of the time before dinner at 2pm. would be spent in writing or reading French interspersed with music. In the afternoon, he would make a call or just walk about. After tea, he would again be reading and playing on his flute till supper at 8pm. By this time, it would be dark and thus he would go early to bed. The principle part of his main two meals consisted of puddings, vegetables and milk, with the occasional chicken, which he thought to be a healthy diet. Most of these edible items he obtained from M. Barrow, whose typical farm was planted with coffee trees, cloves, maize and vegetables.

It was on one of his afternoon walks that he met M. Murat with the two daughters of Mme. Couve gathering wild raspberries. The two girls were embarrassed as they had come out without stockings. However, M. Murat insisted that Flinders went back to drink tea with them. Flinders took the opportunity of telling Mme. Couve that in St. Helena, which he visited when a midshipman on Blyth's second breadfruit voyage, the women frequently went without stockings and sometimes without shoes, when in the country. Flinders clearly was comparing the working women of St. Helena with the French gentry of Mauritius, but undoubtedly Mme. Couve did not wish to contradict him and he stayed on to play vingt-et-un. The sequel to this incident occurred 18 days later, when Flinders, with the idea of calling on the Couves one evening, met the whole family going out to pay a call. Madame and her youngest daughter were in a palanquin, with M. Boistel walking by its side. The eldest daughter, Ann, and her younger sister were astride an ass, while the second daughter rode M. Boistel's horse. Three black servants carrying an umbrella and a lantern made up the rear. Flinders noted particularly that the two elder daughters had stockings on, but were a little ashamed of meeting him and so made sure that their coats kept well down to their ankles - no easy task. As the tracks were so poorly maintained, there was no other way of making the journey and so the planters did not have carriages for such purposes.

As would be expected Flinders was keen to visit the sights of the neighbourhood that were within the limits of his parole. First, he got M. Murat to accompany him to the district commandant, M. Giblot, taking a black man offered by Alaise, Mme. D'Arifat's overseer, as a guide. On the way they called at M. Plumet's and stopped to dine. Later, they found the commandant, an elderly man, in bed, but pleased to see Flinders. The round trip was 14 miles long and made them heartily tired. After dining and staying overnight with M. Chazal, Flinders was shown round the 1000 acre plantation with an ascent to get a view of the sea and, from another point, a view of a deep valley with a cascade.

The next excursion was to Mare aux Vacoas also in company with M. Murat and a planter as a guide. Flinders was keen to circumnavigate the lake, but this was considered to be impossible as the borders were at the time very wet. With scientific precision Flinders noted that the lake, 1870 feet above sea level, was the origin of the three rivers, Tamarin, Rempart and Papayes. It was branches of the two latter which ran through the plantations of Mme. D'Arifat and M. Couve. With characteristic caution, Flinders gave a range of depths for the lake, namely 120 to 150 feet and at the same time suspected it to be the crater of a volcano, but contended that he had not examined it sufficiently to form a decisive opinion! His acute observations also extended to the forest, where he found a species which had a greater tendency to sur-racinate than others and in this one, the roots were not round but 8" high by 2" thick.

Flinders also recorded his observations on birds. One evening, walking out, he passed a site by the side of a stream where tall bamboos were growing near some tall trees in which a great number of martins had collected for the purpose of passing the night. With scientific caution, he estimated the numbers to be of a range from 2,000 to 10,000, rather than a single approximate figure. What was surprising was the fact that birds were very scarce in the woods and plantations in the island, so where did they pass the time of day?

The geology of the island had most appeal, and on September 18th. Flinders walked over to M. Chazals with Elder and got M. Pierre, the overseer, to accompany them to a viewpoint for the cascades of the Tamarin River, today a source of hydroelectric power. Flinders described the view as one of the finest he had ever seen, noting the three principle cascades, which he cautiously estimated at 20 to 50 feet. The next morning, again with M. Pierre, he went to visit the cascade of the Tamarin River, a walk of nearly three miles. His description is most detailed. The shallow but fast flowing water led to the upper cascade, where it fell 75 feet into deep pool. From that point, it was possible to see that there were four cascades in all, the uppermost not having been seen the previous day. He attempted to measure the fall of the second cascade by dropping a stone of three pounds in weight from the top in two experiments, finding that three seconds were taken to reach the pool below, giving a height of at least 200 feet. From this figure, he revised his reckoning of the height of the two lower cascades to be 70 feet for the third and 150 feet for the fourth. He concluded that, at flood time, the volume of water must be as much as 50 times as great and that the total fall in two or three miles was 1100 feet, followed by a mere 100 feet as the river pursued its way in the course of some eight miles to the sea. The source for all this water was the Grand Bassin, entering above the first cascade and the Mare aux Vacoas entering between the first two cascades.

By this time, Flinders was keen to engage in country sports and three days later he went to Mare aux Vacoas, equipped to fish and shoot, in company with Elder. After trying several places along the bank, without a bite, he retraced his steps to the pools below the cascades, but with no better luck; but he had managed to shoot, for the first time, a dove and a martin on the way to the lake. The following day, he tried his luck again, this time in the river above the cascades, with hooks and lines, but caught nothing. Alaise managed to snare three chevrettes (large shrimps). Meanwhile, a joint party with the Couves had been arranged for September 26th. for a day at Mare aux Vacoas. Once again, no fish were caught; but dinner under the trees was much enjoyed by all.

That excursion came to be the last full day with the Couves, for on October 9th., Madame D'Arifat, accompanied by her three daughters and two sons, arrived at the habitation termed *Le Refuge*. Flinders dined with the family that day by invitation and the following morning received a proposal from Madame D'Arifat to live with her family, which, with a characteristic spirit of independence and a desire not to be under an obligation, he declined. However, later in the day, he accompanied the family on visits to Madame Couve and also to the Chevreau family, neighbouring planters. In the following days, as Flinders got to know the D'Arifat family better, and had had the opportunity, after receiving a letter from his wife, to explain to them his family circumstances, he made his own proposal to Madame that he would pay her 40 piastres per month for being at her table. Two days later on he received an affirmative answer and began right away by dining with the family that day, thus commencing on the most remarkable association of his whole life, one which was to last for four and a half years.

This change in his circumstances prompted Flinders to record his daily life. After an early morning bathe in the rather cool river, he accompanied the ladies in a walk round the plantation to visit their hen houses, or, alternatively, he read till breakfast time at

7.30am. He would then retire to his pavilion to read and write for two or three hours, after which he would take his French dictionary, grammar, paper and a French book and translate French into English and vice versa under the correction of Mademoiselles Delphine and Sophie and they would do the same in English to him until dinner at 2pm. From then till 5pm. he would read and write or sometimes walk or sleep till 5pm., when he would join the ladies again, either for a walk or in conversation in front of the house. Tea would be served at 6.30pm. after which the family would retire to the parlour (*petit salon*) for an evening of reading French and English, conversation and occasionally singing and flute playing or cards. Supper would be at 9pm. followed by bed at ten. The emphasis on language learning by both nationalities followed from Flinders' determination to be fluent in French, an aim which took him nearly 18 months to fulfil. Unknowingly, Delphine and Sophie, by increasing their ability at English, were preparing themselves for the forthcoming capture of the island by the British in 1810.

It was now that Flinders began to enjoy a really eventful social life among neighbouring planters and their families, together with a deepening acquaintance with the upper social circle of Port Louis. Apart from De Caen and his officers, everyone wanted to entertain him, not just once, but over and over again. His journal only recorded in the briefest manner most of these occasions and rarely did he give details of conversations. Nevertheless, it is possible to conceive these individuals and summaries are given in Appendix 1.

Meanwhile Flinders was still keen to explore the country within his parole limits. Thus on October 15th. he set out with M. Murat to visit the Grand Bassin, accompanied by Elder, with Alaise as a guide for the seven mile journey southwards, and two blacks. The road was very bad after the first three miles when habitations ceased. He recorded the Bassin as being nearly circular and, with his usual caution, one third to half a mile in diameter. The small island in the middle provided a sanctuary for deer that were chased. After breakfasting, the party ascended the 2300 feet high Piton to the SW from which there was a view of the sea over 270 degrees and one half of the island appeared to be afforested. After examining the rocks, Flinders concluded that the Bassin was of volcanic origin and he had been told that it was 480 feet deep at one point and full of huge eels as well as chevrettes.

After making a circuit of the lake and dining, the party sought to shoot some game but only got three pigeons and a monkey, while the blacks found some chevrettes. They all stayed the night and did not start on the homeward journey till noon the next day, taking four hours on account of the dogs barking after the monkeys.

The following day, Flinders spent a full day at the Cascades of the Tamarin River, while Edward Pitot recorded the scene artistically. Flinders found the top two cascades to be only half the height, about 100 feet each, from the bottoms that he had reckoned from the tops. With time to spare, after reflecting in detail on the formation of the cascades, he turned to a period of introspection, one of the many recorded in the journal.

As a member of Mme. D'Arifat's household, Flinders accompanied the family to social events. The first of these was on Sunday November 3rd, when they joined four or five other families at dinner with the Chazals, when later, the evening was spent in dancing French dances and waltzes. Flinders found himself unaccustomed to the high vaulting manner of the dancing used by the French and it did not appear to him to be so graceful nor so decent. In respect of the dress of the ladies, he noticed the same singularity that he had observed at the theatre in Port Louis. He concluded, that while it was delightful to behold, it was not what he would choose for members of his own family and thus showed himself to be a true Puritan! The evening's entertainment inspired him to write of the eldest daughter, Delphine, that she had become daily more interesting, exhibiting a strength of mind, a resolution and a degree of penetration of which few men could boast. To these qualities she added activity, industry and desire for information. This undoubtedly represented the highpoint in their relationship, which later on became quite formal, particularly as Flinders was ageing prematurely and had only admitted to being married twelve days earlier. Sad to relate, Delphine in a few years became rather delicate and died at a youngish age, unmarried.

Eight days later, Flinders went with M. Murat to dine with the Chazals for the purpose of conducting Amelie and Delphine Couve home, but found that they would not dare to trust themselves with them for half a league, not because the girls thought them mischievous, but for the fear of the scandal of their society in the district. Flinders could not reconcile this attitude with their dancing with naked bosoms, but, of course, that was in the privacy of the Chazals' residence.

Then on Saturday November 23rd., Flinders accompanied the family together with Thomas Pitot, who had come to stay the weekend, to *un The* given by Mme. Couve, where afterwards there was a little ball among the six couples. Dancing continued till midnight when, contrary to strict Catholic rules in England, a good supper was served, and even that was followed by a final dance before the party broke up at 2am. One can imagine the romantic scene in the warm air of the lamp-lit night. The following Wednesday, Flinders spent the day with the Chazals, walking round the viewpoints with M. Chazal in the morning and accompanying Mme. Chazal, with her harpsichord, on his flute. The harpsichord was an English instrument taken by the French navy as a prize and sold to Madame for 1000 piastres. Flinders found Mme. Chazal to be one of the most agreeable women he had ever met and also an excellent performer on her harpsichord

For the following Sunday, a shooting party, to which Flinders was invited, had been arranged by M. Labauve, the eldest son of the family. It was to be at the Grand Bassin and, after setting out at 8am. with three brace of hounds, the lakeside was reached by 10.30am. The rest of the morning was spent building a hut. After dinner, two blacks were sent round the woods while the guns, to whom the deer were supposed to be so driven, waited by the shore, all without effect. From the conversation later that evening, it appeared that deer had become much scarcer than before the Revolution, during which blacks and mulattos forsook their labouring duties and went out to hunt for their subsistence. Intensive efforts followed on the next two mornings, during which ineffectual shots were made at one or two deer. Most of the party left after dinner on the second day. That evening, Flinders kept silent as M. Labauve, M. La Chaise and M. Frichou interspersed their conversation upon hunting parties with tales of their love-life, a subject Flinders thought would have been kept secret by English gentlemen.

Christmas Eve and Christmas day passed by without celebration or attendance at divine service. All that Flinders recorded was that he made an evening visit on Christmas Eve to Madame Couve and joined the family in a similar visit on Christmas Day. In the following evenings, he taught the family to play whist. New Year's Day was the occasion for presents. Flinders had a fan for each of the three daughters. The day was the only holiday in the year for the blacks who assembled from neighbouring plantations and danced and sang away the previous night and most of the following day to the music of the tom-toms. At breakfast time on New Year's Day, 1806, all the slaves paid their respects to their mistresses, presenting them with nose-gays and wishing them a happy New Year. Flinders took the opportunity of making presents to those slaves who had done him any service and threw coins for which the children scrambled. By the end of the day, the greater number of the black men were drunk. Some, however, had walked up to ten leagues both ways to visit distant friends.

On the last day of the month, Flinders accompanied M. Labauve as he took Madame Allies, who had been staying with the family, on to the civil commissioner, M. Suasse, in the quarter of Tamarin. They went by the short cut over the hills, descending suddenly onto the hot low plain, where cotton was the principle crop. Mangoes also grew there, as did the more widespread maize and manioc. Returning by the longer route, they passed by the habitations of Mme. Merle and M. Perichon in the lower part of the Wilhelms Plaines. The latter's residence, named Palona, had one of the prettiest and best ordered gardens in the island.

On February 20th. a hurricane ripped the roofs off all thatched buildings, i.e. native huts, fowlhouses, granaries. Many trees were torn up by their roots and others lost all their branches. Peach trees were destroyed and a plantation of clove trees were similarly affected. Indian corn was laid flat. Rain had overfilled the rivers and vastly increased the noise of the cascades. Nearly three weeks later, heavy rain caused bridges to be swept away, so that all communication with the town was cut off and even that between neighbouring plantations was difficult.

On March 25th., Flinders set out to visit M. Plumet with whom he had dined the previous September. M. Labauve lent him his horse, but when he got there he found that M. Plumet had gone to the port. However, he stayed to dine and then visited M. and Madame Airoilles on his way back, where he stayed the night. Included in the estate was the habitation formerly belonging to the French explorer, La Perouse. Situated in the middle of the island and surrounded by springs and streams, the idyllic setting caused Flinders to expound on the happiness which La Perouse must have found there prior to the miserable fate that ended his life. Suitably impressed, M. Airoilles promised to erect a stone monument to him on the very

spot. Nearby, Flinders was shown a 17 acre hole 200 feet deep, the crater of an extinct volcano.

Thomas Pitot made his monthly visit on April 5th, stopping over the weekend. On the Sunday, M. Cap-Martin came to dine and the following day Flinders visited him at Palma, by invitation. Unfortunately, the magnificent garden had been very much damaged by the recent gales. He rode there with M. Labauve and M. Boistel, the latter lending him a horse. On the way back, they supped at M. Chazal's playing music and tric-trac.

On April 10th., seaman Smith, his release having been granted, left to board his ship, accompanied by Elder and one of Madame D'Arifat's slaves to carry his things. Smith was due to join the Martha sailing for Boston, U.S.A. Flinders gave him \$10.

M. Labauve, who was to have his own plantation in the quarter of Tamarin, took Flinders on a visit to that area, calling at M. Curtat's residence at Keroan on the way and staying to dine. Later, they rode on, and stayed overnight at another habitation of M. Curtat's. The following morning, they rode down to the shore at the Bay of Tamarin, where the two rivers Tamarin and the Rempart had their estuaries. Later, they visited M. Curtat's sugar and cotton factories and played *tric-trac a ecrire*. The next morning, they breakfasted at M. Ducas and visited the subterranean channels near his house, which were formerly The Refuge of 33 maroon Negroes.

As it happened, Flinders had recently received his first permission to spend a few days in town, and so he took the opportunity of riding in with M. Labauve and M. Curtat. The latter lent him a horse and invited him to stay at his town house, but Flinders had already arranged with Thomas Pitot to be lodged in a three roomed pavilion belonging to M. Rouillard, brother in law to M. Pitot, who took him to sup at M. Brunet's.

While in town, Flinders always spent his time paying calls and waiting on ladies. Nearly every day he would write to Mme. D'Arifat who might be expected to receive the letters by post at noon the following day. He would take his meals at the house of Thomas Pitot, whenever he was not being entertained elsewhere.

Breakfast time was often for meeting people of account. On April 14th, he met M. Dunierville at Thomas Pitot's who accompanied him back to his pavilion. Flinders learnt from him that the pilot who brought the Cumberland from the Baie du Cap to the North port had not fully complied with M. Dunierville's orders and, as a consequence, was put on active service when he lost an arm and was retired without pension or reward, on account of which Flinders requested M. Dunierville to give him \$20. Then, the next morning, he breakfasted with captain Bergeret in company with Messrs. Cap-Martin, Morcau and Charles Baudin, all three of whom had been officers on Nicholas Baudin's two ships, the Geographe and Naturaliste, exploring the Australian coasts at the same time as Flinders. The next two mornings found him meeting M. Charles Baudin and M. Deverinnes.

However, the general De Caen was determined to exercise his authority and through M. Monistrol, ordered that Flinders should only have four days in town. He had already had six, but was made to leave by the following afternoon. So, after taking his leave of Madame Pitot and M. Deverinnes and dining with Mr. Bickham, he finally left at 4pm. on a horse lent by M. Curtat with a black man to accompany him, arriving at Chimere, the Pitots' country house, to stay the night with the family. Leaving after breakfast, he set off for Moka, conducted by a black man belonging to M. Renou Desvaux. He called on M. Frobervilles where he dined and afterwards the latter took him to see Madame La Chaise, Mme. D'Arifat's aunt. Finally, M. Frobervilles sent a black man with him on the way back to Le Refuge, where he arrived at 6pm. only to find that Elder had already arrived with his trunk. Flinders found himself glad to be back among his kind and affectionate friends.

A few days later, dining with M. Chevreau, Flinders met M. Lachenardiere and also M. St. Susanne together with M. de Basajue. Thus it was that Flinders, in the first ten months of his parole, had got to know of at least thirty people of substance, from half of whom he had received varying amounts of hospitality. Thoms Pitot kept him supplied with newspapers, the local Gazette as well British and French newspapers six months late. In addition, word came by the arrival of ships: thus one which sailed from Lubeck on February 12th, and arrived from Falmouth on June 11th., with the news of Prime Minister William Pitt's death, as noted by Flinders in his journal. Then, with the arrival of colonel Kerjean from India, he received seven months of gazettes from Madras up to March.

At this point, Flinders became exasperated with his situation to an extent that overwhelmed his good sense, with two results. First, he considered making his escape in spite of the fact that such action would put the safety of all his charts and log books in

jeopardy. He took M. Pitot into his confidence on this matter, but Pitot appeared to have slowly but cautiously edged him off the idea. Second, by the middle of June, his first winter, in higher regions of the island, had exposed him to the cold climate that caused many of the neighbouring planters to depart for their town houses. So Flinders thought of going back to the Maison Despaux for the following months. However, it became evident that he could not do that without losing his freedom to visit and receive friends without restrictions. Eventually, he seems to have given both ideas up, but still determined to go to town to talk to M. Monistrol about residence at the Maison Despaux as an excuse for going to Port Louis.

So on June 27th. on a horse lent him by M. Labauve, Flinders, having previously sent Elder forward, made for the town and took up his lodging, as before, in M. Rouillard's pavilion. After dining at the Pitots', Flinders and Pitot first visited M. Kerjean, and then captain. Bergeret and M. Curtat. After taking tea with M. Pitot, where he met M. Plumet, he attended a musical party at M. Deverinnes, but was too tired to stay to supper. The next morning, he was visited by M. Monistrol and captain Bergeret. After the former had vouched his opinion, that no relaxation of the regulations at the Maison Despaux would be made for him, Flinders declared that he would remain at Wilhems Plaines, whereupon, he was told that he could stay in town till the next day.

Social life continued with dinner at M. Brunet's, where he met Madame Rouillard and her three daughters, the eldest of which he noted as playing prettily upon the pedal harp. Then, after being visited by M. Boand and calling on Mr. Bickham, he went with M. Pitot to spend the evening at M. Chazal's, where they made a little concert, supped rather elegantly, and did not come away till 1am. after a most agreeable time. After breakfasting with M. Pitot, Flinders returned home on what was an exceedingly fine day in contrast to the three following which were so cold that he could not write for many hours at a time. One pastime he had was to go out shooting with his young friends in spite of the fact that they never got anything of note.

By the middle of September, Flinders returned to his charts, in particular that of the Gulf of Carpentaria, but found he was running out of large paper. Fortunately, an Irishman, Mr. Exshaw accompanied M. Labauve when the latter returned to The Refuge, and a few days later he sent Flinders three large sheets of chart paper. Nevertheless, in spite of all the goodwill shown to him, Flinders was still in a state of melancholy as the month reached a close. In an unstable state, he proposed to Mme. D'Arifat that he should retire into the house of a neighbour, so as to be alone when he felt unfit to take his place in society. Fortunately, Madame D.Arifat dealt with this episode very skilfully and in the course of three days had got him back to her table, from which he had absented himself. After a further two days, Flinders recorded himself as being better and hoping in future to escape the gulf of melancholy which he could not contemplate without horror. On October 3rd. he found his spirits much improved and so he enjoyed going with the family and that of Madame Meurville to the Chazals, where they supped, sang and played cards.

On October 8th. Flinders finished the chart of the west side of the Gulph of Carpentaria at a scale of 12 miles to a degree. Then in the afternoon, he set out with M. Labauve to spend a few days with M. Curtat, now returned from the town to his plantation in Tamarin. Staying in the house were the Abbe Carrier and his nephew, it being the law vacation, and, on arriving, they found that everyone was inspecting a fishpond being cleaned by M Curtat's slaves. After looking round the sugar factory the following morning, Flinders paid a visit with M. Labauve to M. Suassee where they enjoyed hearing Madame play the pedal harp. Finally, they called on the family Labat, before returning home to an evening of tric-trac. Not far away, lived Monsieur Lelievre who, as his son had served under Nicholas Baudin, invited Flinders to a breakfast by the sea, the next morning. On the way there, they put up two spotted partridges, but did not manage to shoot them. Returning to The Refuge in time for dinner the next day, the weather change was typical. Instead of a strong sun mitigating the wind in gusts and a temperature of 75F, they found a strong breeze with rain and haze and a temperature of 62F in the high Wilhems Plaines.

On October 21st. Flinders recorded a week of melancholy, in spite of the trip to Tamarin which was laid on to enliven his spirits. However, M. Curtat and the Abbe Carrier came to dine and the former invited Flinders to make a return visit to Tamarin at the coming weekend. The next day Flinders started on a survey of the limits of his parole and to that end obtained plans of the habitations of M. Chevreau and Mme. D'Arifat. Unfortunately, Madame Couve did not have such a plan.

As arranged he set off after dinner on the next Sunday for the quartier du Tamarin and found, on arriving at M. Curtat's, Messrs. Monneron, Martin-Monchamp, Laroche and the Abbe Carrier. With the two former and the Abbe, he made up a party at whist. After more whist the following morning, the whole party set off for the bay with two seines and blacks. With two canoes, and in the course of four or five hauls, mullet, *lubenis* and carp were caught sufficient for the house and neighbours. Evidently then in a better mood, Flinders recorded that they all had good appetites, good cheer and lively conversation, as they dined under a large Tamarind tree. In the evening, they were joined by Messrs. Herbecq and Defait, with whom the whole party was engaged to dine on the two following days. In the evening, there was more whist and again the next morning, before, as Flinders put it, dining *a la garcon* with M. Defait. This gentleman was the major of the quarter and formerly a chevalier de St Louis and captain of the grenadiers. For once, Flinders let himself go, eating much and drinking more as well as laughing a lot to an extent which enabled him to forget his unfortunate situation. Although no mention was made of his fluency in French, it was most likely that this event confirmed for the first time, his aptitude at understanding the language to an extent that enabled him to laugh at most of the jokes, as a result of over two years of consistent study and practice.

The party the next day with M. and Mme. Herbecq was a quieter affair from which Flinders returned home early enough for whist and tric-trac. After a further party at dinner the following day at M. Curtat's, Flinders returned home to The Refuge. He could not unfortunately accept the invitation of M. Genieve to stay two days with him at his excellent habitation at the Black River, as that was outside his parole.

On November 2nd. Madame Curtat and M. Charton came to stay a few days with the family. Flinders visited the Chazals who had just returned from the town for the summer. M. Chazal engaged Flinders to return to the house and join him in painting landscapes. That was the forerunner of Chazal's idea to make a portrait of Flinders: for Flinders himself was no artist. However, he did get to borrow a plan of Chazals habitation. At the weekend, Flinders accompanied M. Labauve to dinner at M. Palerne. M. Boand stayed Friday night, as he was about to depart for India.

Having failed to see M. Plumet on March 25th., Flinders set off with M. Labauve on November 2nd., and this time M. Plumet was there to receive them. After examining a house M. Plumet was building and the plan of its garden, they left, after dining, to go to Moka to the house of Madame La Chaise, where they supped and slept, having first visited M. Frobervilles, with whom they were to spend the following day. M. Frobervilles was keen to obtain Flinders' assistance in the transmission to France, with a view to publication, of all the papers given to him by M. Mayeur, who had travelled for over 30 years in Madagascar. There, he had in particular, obtained the history of the famous mulatto chief, Ratsimala-o, the son of an Englishman, who ruled a large tribe of Madicasses in the NE of the island and died 1756/57. After dining with M. Frobervilles in company with the family La Chaise, they returned home to find that their neighbour Mme. Chevreau had just been brought to bed of a daughter.

The next day, Flinders received a letter from Thomas Pitot, then in Bourbon, indicating how consistent the writer was to maintain contact even when out of the island. M. Chazal was now progressing with his landscape painting and Flinders went over the next afternoon to see how he was getting on and then stopping to supper. At the weekend, the Meurvilles, Frederick Pitot and Auguste La Chaise came to dine. Flinders made progress as far as he could with a sketch of the limits of his parole from an imperfect chart of the island. As the continental wars intensified, Flinders frequently noted the news that came to him, at that moment recording that France was said to have sent 45,000 men into Turkey.

Two days later, Flinders dined with M. Chevreau and later accompanied the ladies on a visit to M. Boistel and Madame Bouloc. The next morning, M. Murat breakfasted with them and later, Flinders dined with the Chazals and accepted an invitation to visit, with them, the habitation of Madame's mother at Mesnil. On December 7th. Flinders dined again with the Chazals and spent an agreeable day there, for once winning 28 fishes at tric-trac. The following Sunday evening, the family were visited by the Chazals, the Meurvilles and Frederick Pitot, who was shortly going to Batavia.

On December 16th. M. Labauve returned from his trip round the island bringing with him to stay overnight, Messrs. Regnadr, Goe, Ghrisolet, Floriot and Auguste La Chaise. The following morning, Flinders took the visitors to view the Tamarind Cascades.

Flinders had now been in Mauritius for three years. While it must have been obvious to all that he had become remarkably fluent in conversational French, he still

recorded the almost daily lessons from his two fair instructresses, whose studies in reading and writing English he regularly continued to superintend.

In the meantime, his social abilities must have been considerably improved after nearly three years of all male naval company. To that extent, it is possible to imagine a greatly changed individual, now much more at ease among the French gentry, who probably had steadily changed their opinion of him, from a man of great interest to a besieged island community, to a social asset. But those years must surely have done much to alter his general appearance as became clear from Chazal's portrait of him which was to be painted the following month.

2. Making the best of Life on Parole.

Nevertheless, Flinders was determined to keep his mind reflecting the sadness of his heart, and recording his stance on that score (December 20th.) he was still discounting his enjoyment of all social events rather as if it was necessary to do that in order to retain the preferred orientation of his mind. However, he did acknowledge that he had overcome his propensity to melancholy by reflection, so that he no longer experienced that anguish that oppressed him the previous September and October. Of course, as he admitted, a restoration of liberty and to his family, would be the only way out from his current mental straight jacket, which, fortunately, he kept to himself.

So social life continued with an invitation to dine with M. Chevreau in company with M. Labauve and M. Boistel. In the afternoon he called on Madame Couve and afterwards supped at the Chevreau's. The next day, Flinders got back to his exploration of the neighbourhood by going with M. Labauve to the Mare aux Vacoas. He described the lake as being 2 or 3 miles round, but with its muddy borders, six miles to circumnavigate. With his scientific mind, Flinders was determined to size up the volume of water entering the lake from the 5 or 6 small streams draining the higher uncultivable land surrounding it as compared to the one stream flowing out, the Riviere du Tamarin. As these two appear equal, he concluded that the lake had no springs. They had guns and dogs with them, but only saw two magpies and the marks of wild hogs. The lake was full of small red fish, the Madame Cere, brought from Batavia or China.

Christmas day, Flinders spent at the Chazals, where, in the morning, M. Chazal started to make his Flinders' portrait. The time was most agreeably spent otherwise in tric-trac, walking and music. On Boxing Day, Flinders received permission from Colonel Monistrol to go to the town for a few days. This was couched in very polite terms and that corresponded to the time being the acme in Flinders' relations with De Caen and his island government. Thereafter, the authorities became progressively less co-operative in such matters, until eventually no visit was permitted.

The next day, the son of M. Frobervilles came to pay a visit to his cousins and on Sunday December 28th., the family received a number of guests in the evening, Messrs. Edward and Frederick Pitot, P. Meurville, and Gravier together with the ladies Meurville, Chevreau and M. and Madame Chazal, the last two staying to supper.

At 10am. on the Monday, Flinders accompanied by Elder, and a black with the trunk, set off on horseback for the town. His object was to obtain cash for a set of bills and purchase New Year presents for the ladies. After arriving at 1pm., Flinders paid a short call on M. and Mme. Curtat and dined and drank tea with M. Pitot. In the evening, he visited Mr. Bickham and supped there. The next day, M. Boand called and offered to get the bills cashed at the rate of one guinea for \$4.5 Flinders then visited Mme Curtat to consult on presents for his hostesses. M. Monistrol was out when he called, but later the Abbe Carrier paid a short visit. Flinders dined with M. Curtat and afterwards went out with M. Boand to buy a box of chalk paints and some coloured paper designed for M. Labauve. To end the day, he supped with M. Brunet.

On New Year's Eve, Flinders called on M. Monistrol who received him politely and had visits from M. Gravier and M. Cap-Martin. He dined with M. Deverinnes and drank tea with Mme. Allies and M. Morin and in the evening walked out with M. Boand, calling on M. Monzere at his house, Cadais. On New Year's Day 1807, Flinders breakfasted as usual with the Pitots and visited Mme. Curtat to pay her \$52 for the presents she had bought for him. He dined with Brunets and supped with M. Deglos. In order to be ready to return the next day, he picked up \$283 for his bills amounting to £66.4 That enabled him to make a 5am. start the following morning so that he could breakfast with M. Chazal at 8am. He returned then promptly to The Refuge and, when his trunk had arrived, he handed out his presents: a pocket housewife of morocco containing various little instruments for Madame, fashionable hats and sweetmeats for the younger ladies together with a pretty needle case for Delphine,

pastels and drawing paper for M. Labauve, and, to Aristide and Marc, pocket-knives and sweetmeats. Flinders had the gratification to find them well pleased..

The next evening Flinders went to M. Chazal's and stayed overnight so that they could go together the next morning to visit M. Airolles at Mesnil where they found also M. and Mme. Chevreau. They were joined for dinner by the Burgesses and also M. Labauve who had come from Moka where he had been to celebrate St. Genevieve, the fete of his aunt Madame La Chaise. As Flinders did not wish to play Bouilotte, M. Chazal made a party with him in the evening at *piquet a ecrire*. The company called in at Mr. Barry's, an Irish officer in the French service where he met a M. Boand, lately arrived from India who returned with them for supper. The next morning they left in time to get home for breakfast.

The next two days, Flinders gave two sittings for his portrait by M. Chazal, dining and staying overnight. A third sitting followed the next day, after which Flinders went home to dinner to find that M. Malherbe, a friend of M. Labauve had arrived. The following morning, he returned to M. Chazal's for another sitting and, once again, stayed overnight. Then, finally the portrait was finished at noon on Saturday, January 10th. 1807. The portrait remained with the Chazal family, when they emigrated to Madeira, but was eventually sold to Mr. Alan Bond in the 1980s for over a million Australian dollars and subnuary 21st. He paid a visit accompanied by M. Labauve, pass
ing the evening in accompanying Madame in Stelbelts Sonatas whilst M. Labauve played tric-trac with M. Chazal. Two days later, the Chazals called at The Refuge for him and after a musical evening, he stayed overnight on account of the rain. The following day, Flinders took a long walk with M. Chazal along the summit of a ridge of hills bordering his plantation, from which they had fine views. With the rain falling they returned for dinner and an aftty generally read by married ladies.

Returning home, Flinders recorded that his time was generally being passed by correcting his narrative, in reading Grant's history of the Isle of France and translating into French the history of his cat, Trim. Apparently, he originally wrote it out in English without recording the fact in his journal, but with the sole object of translating it into French. It was not till 1974 that the English version was printed in the Australian periodical *Encounter* and subsequently published in book form.

The feared hurricane bypassed Mauritius, but in Bourbon, heavy rain drowned 600 blacks and some white families. Flinders called on the Couves and drank tea with them, the first time for many months that he had taken the initiative. Perhaps he was now feeling more himself and indeed, while walking for two hours or more one moonlight night, he considered the prospect he might have, once released, of regular service in the navy and how it would be necessary for him to take a three month assize in a frigate with a good captain and afterwards three months on board some admiral's ship in order to improve his knowledge of the service and good discipline, as well as to learn something of the duty of a captain commanding a ship of the line. He regarded the first period as being appropriate to a resumption of his explorations. Little did he realise how much his physical prowess had deteriorated and was unlikely ever to be regained.

Meanwhile, he continued to see much of the Chazals. On January 21st. He paid a visit accompanied by M. Labauve, passing the evening in accompanying Madame in Stelbelts Sonatas whilst M. Labauve played tric-trac with M. Chazal. Two days later, the Chazals called at The Refuge for him and after a musical evening, he stayed overnight on account of the rain. The following day, Flinders took a long walk with M. Chazal along the summit of a ridge of hills bordering his plantation, from which they had fine views. With the rain falling they returned for dinner and an afternoon of tric-trac. The next day even, the Chazals spent the day and evening at The Refuge and were joined by M. Murat. Notably, disputes arose over tric-trac.

The next day, M. Meurville visited with his daughters. He was in good form as his plantation in Bourbon had been spared the gales of the last year, with the result that he had reaped 240 bags of coffee while superior plantations there had not reaped as much as 90. For the first time, Flinders admitted to having, over these few days, a tranquillity of mind. On January 31st. he accompanied the family on an evening visit to the Chazals where Delphine had been staying for two days. The next day M. Cap-Martin paid him a visit.

On February 13th. Flinders made an afternoon call on the Chazals and was persuaded to stay to supper and then overnight as rain was again coming on. With similar weather the next day, he dined there only to get wet on returning home in the evening. It appeared that the Chazals always extended their hospitality when rain came down and, when

that was the case, Flinders so often remarked on getting wet. In view of the fact that the Chazals and D'Arifats only lived a mile and a half apart, the concern given to rain must have been the consequence of the complete lack of waterproofs.

It was at this time that Flinders commenced teaching navigation to the two younger sons of Madame D'Arifat. Aristide and Marc would have had to be taught this difficult subject in French and that, together with the fact that they were willing to accept Flinders as their instructor, indicated Flinders' heightened position in the family and in the plantocracy. It was not to be a passing phase, for the lessons were to continue for three years, during which time they took on branches of mathematics, especially algebra, and spherical geometry and trigonometry. The two boys were aged 12 and 9 respectively, so they did well to get to grips with those branches of mathematics, particularly as no suggestion was made as to how they and their older sisters obtained their elementary education while living in the sparsely populated countryside with no local clergymen to assist in this respect. Meanwhile, Flinders continued with his French lessons from the elder two daughters and in return teaching them English. He even began to give Elder French lessons and continued from time to time translating *Trim* into French. Thus his time for exploratory journeys was eclipsed by these sedentary occupations occupying most of the day. In addition, he was commencing to read assiduously French history, travel, science and literature.

At this time, Flinders had not begun to record the weather on a daily basis, but the violent storms at the end of February 1807 were an exception. By the 24th., no part of the house was dry, while in Flinders' pavilion the water only came in at the sides a little, so he was the best off. On the following day, many slaves who were at work on the other side of the Riviere du Rempart were unable to return save one, a strong black, newly arrived from Mozambique, who passed backwards and forwards by swimming, through choosing the widest and deepest part of the river where the current was least rapid. The effect of the continuous gales on the plantation had been dramatic: the maize crop had been destroyed and the manioc had to be dug up to save it from rotting. Many fruit trees had been blown up by the roots, the bridge across the Riviere du Rempart had been carried away, much of the surface soil of the vegetable garden had been washed off and the Negro huts made roofless. As for livestock, an ass, 21 turkeys and many ducks and fowls were found dead. Communication with the port from the south was cut off by the bridge over the Grande Riviere being carried away. Some individuals established a ferry with an initial charge of half a dollar for each passenger, reduced to two francs after three days, while slaves of the government built a new bridge.

In the midst of all this devastation, Flinders recorded the news just received of the death of the notable parliamentarian, Charles James Fox, whom he described as a great character. Although six months away from England by sailing ship, Flinders still revered the elite of the English establishment as if he really were cognisant of every individual he named, in spite of having spent so many years out of the country.

Social life had been negligible for three weeks on account of the weather, but on March 6th. Flinders called on the Chazals only to find them busy repairing the damage and making manioc cakes for the town, the price of manioc and maize having multiplied four times. For the poorer people, the high price of food compounded their own losses from the storms. Two days later, Flinders dined with M. Chevreau and commenced geometry lessons with Aristide and Marc, whom he termed thereafter his two young friends. The next day he called on the Chazals to find many relatives from both sides there. He stayed to supper and returned the following day to dine.

On March 12th, M. Andrew D'Arifat and M. Sauvegit came for a three days stay on the 16th. Flinders, for the first time, noted his birthday, his 33rd. The next weekend, he visited Madame Couve and then M. Chazal. A few days later M. Cap-Martin paid a visit to Flinders and they both joined the ladies in a visit to Madame Meurville. The following afternoon, they went to sup with M. Chazal and found Mr. Bickham there. Two days later, Flinders supped again there and dined and supped the following day as well. On March 31st. M. Cap-Martin breakfasted with the family and the next day M. Boand paid Flinders a visit and stayed two nights walking out in the afternoon and calling on M. Chazal. On April 3rd., Flinders and the family dined with M. Chevreau in company with M. Chazal and Mr. Bickham, and their ladies, where there was much argument concerning the continental war. Flinders contended that France had succeeded in rendering the British government odious by misrepresentation. Two days later, he accompanied the family to dinner at M. Chazals.

M. Labauve left to take up his new residence at Tamarin on March 31st. Six days later Flinders paid a short visit, leaving after breakfast and arriving at 11am., to find M. and Mme. Curtat there and also the Abbe Carrier. The day was spent in walking, tric-trac and conversation. After staying overnight, Flinders went back to The Refuge with M. Labauve to be present at a grand dinner party, including the family Chevreau and Mr. Bickham. On April 10th., Flinders called on the Chazals to bid them adieu prior to their returning to town for the winter. Meanwhile he had been employed making a chart of the whole of the Gulph of Carpentaria, abridged from the sheets that contained the different parts.

Flinders had applied on March 24th. for permission to pass a few days in the town, and, this having been granted by M. Monistrol, he set off on April 13th., having sent forward his trunk with a slave and Elder. He stopped for breakfast at the house of M. Larchenardiere and St. Susanne and stayed on to dine after Messrs. Desbassayns, Boutelier, Gerard, Rudelle and Madame Monistrol had come. Arriving in town in the late afternoon, he drank tea with M. Pitot and supped with M. Brunet in company with Edward Pitot and his future bride. The next day, after breakfasting with the Pitots he dined by invitation at M. Brunet's with a large party. The main purpose of this visit to the town was to try to get an audience with general De Caen, with M. Bickham as intermediary. The next day Mr. Bickham visited him in this respect. He also had visits from M. Desbassayns, M. Deverinnes, M. Baudin and M. Boand. Later, he dined with M. Pitot and drank tea with M. Chazal.

The next day, it was clear that he would not get his hoped for audience, but he dined with Mr. Bickham and drank tea with Madame Allies. On April 17th. Flinders got M. Desbassayns to accept his bills for 27 months pay at the rate of \$4.5 dollars for a guinea. Later, he dined at Genie's Hotel in company with 14 others, by M. Desbassayns' invitation, and played tric-trac with Col. St. Susanne and others. In the evening, Flinders attended M. Deverinnes' musical party. The following morning, when breakfasting with M. Pitot, he arranged to deposit money with him at 9%. He then dined with M. Deverinne and afterwards made a number of visits to M. Cobot, M. Desbassayns, M. Chazal and M. Perichon before supping with M. Brunet. On Sunday 19th., six people came to visit Flinders, after which he dressed and went out to dine with M. Sauveget, purchasing on the way a small present for his charming little girl. In the evening, he called on Mme. Saulnier and went on to sup with Mme. Morin and her family. The next day, Mr. Bickham confirmed that the general would not give him an audience, so Flinders prepared to leave the following morning and dined with M. Chazal and supped with M. Brunet, taking leave of the two families. He left with Edward Pitot his bills for 27 months pay up to April 13th. 1807 for which M. Desbassayns was to give him \$1273.5

Leaving at 8am. Flinders got to Mme. Lachenardiere for breakfast, where, as before, he was politely received. He arrived at The Refuge at noon, with a box of crackers to hand out to Aristide and Marc at the end of each daily lesson. The next weekend, Flinders rode out to Tamarin to see M. Labauve and Mme. Curtat. On the Sunday, there was a dinner party at the Curtat's, and the next afternoon he visited Mme. Herbecq and M. Defait. The following Saturday, he returned to stay a night with M. Curtat in order to meet Mr. McCartney who was unable to attend. So he got back to The Refuge in time for Sunday breakfast and spent the morning on his chart of NE Australia and the Torres Strait, visiting M. Chevreau and Mme. Meurville in the afternoon

On May 9th. Thomas Pitot, back from Bourbon and his brother's wedding at Poudre d'Or, came to visit Flinders, bringing with him Mr. John Exshaw. Likewise came M. Cap-Martin on the following day, when there was a big party for Sunday dinner. M. Pitot and Mr. Exshaw had not been gone long the following morning, when M. Boand came to visit Flinders, staying two nights, prior to his departure for Tranquebar.

Meanwhile, Elder had been in some state of melancholy rather worse than that Flinders himself was in the previous September. In a few days, he became so bad that Flinders brought him into his pavilion to live and sleep. When M. Labauve returned two days later, he managed to convince Elder that the D'Arifat family had no ill intentions in respect of him and Flinders and, since that had been the basis of his melancholy, he became much better for just a day. Flinders thereupon wrote to M. Monistrol asking for permission for Elder to leave the island. That evening, M. Grant, son of the Viscount de Vaux, author of the Isle of France, came to visit Flinders and stay three nights. Meanwhile, Elder was immediately granted permission by the general to sail for England via America, but in a day or two he began to torment Flinders and became almost incapable of doing anything.

The family were now for the first time able to pass the worst of the winter at Tamarin in the new home of M. Labauve. So after dinner on Sunday June 7th., on horseback or in palanquins, they set out, arriving at 5pm. Life there continued as before for Flinders. He gave his usual lessons to Aristide and Marc, went out fishing with M. Labauve in his perogue without any catch, mended a canoe and rendered it suitable for the ladies, and received M. Pitot on his monthly visit. He also helped M. Labauve by making up a table of his slaves. In the afternoons, he would accompany the ladies on visits to M. Lelievre and Madame Herbecq.

In the meantime, Flinders could not neglect Elder, and on June 21st., he returned to Vacoas to see him and found him in a worse state than ever, to an extent that made him return to Tamarin in time for dinner. Elder continued to write letters to him full of plots and conspiracies against himself and Flinders, to which the latter sent scolding replies. However, Elder was soon to leave and with that in mind Flinders went back to Vacoas to pack up a trunk with all his charts, books and papers for Elder to take with him and deliver to Mr. Standert, Flinders' London agent. After a brief return to Tamarinds, Flinders went back to The Refuge on July 2nd. to see Elder make his final departure on July 4th. by which time the prospect of liberty had at last put him in good spirits and a somewhat better state of mind, accompanied by sorrow at leaving Flinders behind.

The following day, Flinders received permission to go to town for one day. So after dinner, he set off from Tamarin and arrived at 6pm., in time to drink tea with M. Chazal and to sup with M. Brunet. He slept at M. Pitot's, but otherwise took possession of M. Rouillard's pavilion. The next day, he had to obtain an order from M. Monistrol to certify that Elder was to be permitted to embark on an American vessel. At the same time. M. Monistrol gave Flinders permission to be in town for two days instead of one, provided he was not too much in public. Flinders then dined with the Brunets and walked out with M. Boand, calling on M. Augustin Baudin. Later, he paid a visit to M. and Mme. Kerbalance, father in law and mother of Mr. John Exshaw, for the first time, and was invited to dine the next day. Then, after breakfasting with M. Pitot as usual, he saw Elder get his clothes and Flinders' trunk on board the fully laden 150 ton vessel, The Phoebe, which had only nine officers and crew. At 1pm. Elder finally said goodbye to Flinders and went on board for good, with \$100 dollars from Flinders. Messrs. Edward and Thomas Pitot accompanied Flinders to dine at M. Kerbalance's and in the evening, he drank tea and supped with the Chazals.

After three nights in the town, Flinders made for Tamarin after breakfast on July 8th., arriving at noon. The next day, the whole family made a fishing party at the mouths of the rivers Tamarin and Rempart. They caught several small fish with hook and line and dined under a tamarind tree, returning home just before dark. Meanwhile, The Phoebe sailed with Elder on board, thus relieving Flinders of much care. The whole family spent the following day with M. and Mme. Suasse. The next day was Sunday and the two families met at the Bay of Tamarin in time for breakfast under the trees and, later, dinner. Besides small fry with hook and line, the seine was hauled in several times at the mouth of the Rempart catching several fine mullet and lubine. M. Palerne joined the party, and three canoes were in use for servicing the seine and amusing the ladies on the water. This last feature might well be Flinders' very proper way of recording that the girls had much fun splashing about with their paddles, giggling and laughing!

On Saturday July 18th., Messrs, Curtat and Pepin came to celebrate the fete of St. John at the nearby Freemason's Lodge the following day, as M. Labauve prepared himself to enter the Society, which the whole company witnessed on the Sunday.

At this point, Flinders recorded a little quarrel with his friend D - presumably Delphine - that had kept them at some distance for 5 or 6 weeks. Flinders contended that he was the party that had the right to be offended at what was said to him and wished to pass it over, for which he was punished by opposition and neglect as if the case had been the reverse. Perhaps the underlying cause was Delphine's delicate constitution and negligible chances of marriage.

On July 20th. Flinders noted the red flag being hoisted, for the first of countless times thereafter. It signalled an English ship in sight. That evening, Messrs. Froberilles and Sauveget arrived for a visit and the whole party called on the La Butte family. The next day, Flinders went with the visitors to the Bay of Tamarin and the day following, the guests left, and M. and Mme. Suasse spent the day with the family. On July 24th. M. Boand walked from the town to pay Flinders a visit and walked back. M. Pitot arrived the next evening for the weekend and on the Sunday they went down to the Bay and took a row in a

perogue, afterwards walking along the bank of the Tamarin river where they got a pretty view from a hillock. On returning, they found Mr. Exshaw and M. Duguilis. After M. Pitot and Mr. Exshaw had left the next morning, the La Butte family and M. Mallac came to dine.

At 8pm, Flinders received by express post a packet from M. Monistrol enclosing a copy of a letter dated March 21st. 1806 from the French minister of marine, from which it appeared that he should be set at liberty as approved by the Emperor on March 11th. 1806 with the Cumberland restored to him. However, M. Monistrol added that, as soon as circumstances permitted, Flinders would be able to enjoy the favour granted by the Emperor. That rider precluded his early release, as Flinders himself clearly realised. However, that did not stop Flinders writing the next day to Messrs. Suasse, Curtat, Cap-Martin, Boand and Morin, informing them of the news and later visiting the neighbours Herbecq, La Glen and Defait for the same reason. M. Curtat wrote and congratulated Flinders the next day just as he was teaching his young scholars Middle Longitude Sailing.

On July 30th. Flinders dined with Madame La Butte and, calling on M. and Mme. Suasse on the way back, he was entertained with music on the harp by Madame and by Mlle Azemar who sang and played so prettily. Following the prospect of release, Flinders sought permission to go to town to arrange his affairs, but M. Monistrol promptly replied that when the date of his departure had been fixed, he would be informed and permission for a sufficient number of days in town for that purpose would be granted. In other words. as suspected, Flinders was to remain a prisoner of general De Caen as long as he desired. Receiving congratulatory letters from Messrs. Exshaw and Morin must have then been disheartening. M. Boand wrote with advice that Flinders should positively demand a passage on board the cartel for India.

On Saturday August 1st. Flinders went to The Refuge after breakfast to air his books and clothes - the sign of a damp climate. On the way he called on the black neighbour, Jean Paul, to tell him of the promise of release, in spite of its limitations. Jean Paul expressed his great pleasure and good wishes, adding that he often prayed to God for Flinders. On the way back, Flinders made calls on Madame de Bullac, an ex viscountess, M. Boistel, and at Palma where he found M. Cap-Martin and M. Perichon. Two days later, M. Cap-Martin returned Flinders' visit and the next day M. Lucas and the younger brother of M. Desbassayns came to stay for two nights. Flinders had discussions with M. Desbassayns on the changes that the variation of the compass underwent on altering the direction of the ship's head.

Flinders and the family passed the following Sunday with the family La Butte and the next evening, Henry and Charles Desbassayns looked in on their way to the Riviere Noire. A few days later, Flinders had the opportunity of communicating his observations to M. Charles Debassayns on the changes in the variation of the compass, that take place on altering the direction of the ship's head. M. Desbassayns found Flinders' observations in accordance with his studies in Paris of natural philosophy. These scientific discussions were continued the next morning while they both walked to the Bay of Tamarin. M. Charles left in the afternoon to accompany M. Labauve to town where the fete of St. Napoleon would be celebrated the following day. In two former years, the fete of St. Napoleon had been celebrated on August 16th. and that of the Lady Virgin on the 15th. but in 1807, the days were reversed in spite of the fact that the Lady's saint day was fixed for the 15th. by Louis IX.

M. Boand paid Flinders a visit on the first fete day and returned as usual after dinner. In a daring entry for the same evening, Flinders recorded how Madame Argenteil, the divorced wife of M. Dunierville, frightened the family by coming to stay the night, but unexpectedly, she conducted herself with moderation. That Sunday afternoon, Flinders took the two young scholars afishing in the bay. Two days later, M. Charles Desbassayns came to pass a few days with the family, and the next afternoon, Flinders accompanied him and M. Labauve on a visit to admiral St. Felix, whom Flinders described as a brave old seaman who had lost his fortune in the revolution apart from the small habitation at which they found him. On the way back, as they went to meet the ladies who had gone fishing in the bay, M. Charles communicated to Flinders a project relating to the family that gave Flinders the greatest pleasure. That was Flinders' way of recording that he had been informed that M. Charles was engaged to Mlle Louise, aged 14, the youngest of Madame D'Arifat's daughters!

On August 21st. Flinders received a letter from M. Monistrol, inviting him in the name of the captain - general to go to town to receive his books, papers and other articles. Consequently, he wrote to M. Pitot requesting the use of M. Rouillard's pavilion. That morning, M. and Mme. Suasse had breakfasted with the family and in the evening M. Curtat arrived for a day or two.

M. Desbassayns accompanied Flinders to town on Sunday following. M. Pitot had just left for the country to dine, so Flinders called on M. Chazal and accompanied him to dinner at M. Chevreau's. Later, after calling on captain Le Blanc and Mr. Stock, Flinders was accompanied by M. Pitot to sup at M. Chazal's. After breakfasting with M. Pitot the next morning, Flinders was visited by Mr. Stock and captain Le Blanc, and later, M. Boand and M. Deverinnes. At 11 am he went to see M. Monistrol who gave him the time of 4pm. for receiving his books and papers. After dining with captain Le Blanc and Mr. Stock, Flinders went to receive his trunk of books and papers, but found that the third volume of his log book was retained for extracts and the despatches from governor King and colonel Paterson were altogether refused him. Not feeling like company, Flinders chose a quiet evening with the Chazals rather than the party to which he had been invited, at the Deglos'

The next day, Flinders found that rats had played havoc with the papers in his trunk, so he sorted them out in readiness for the trunk to be sent to the habitation. He had breakfasted with M. Brunet, and after receiving several visitors, went to dine with M. Pitot at M. Deverinnes'. The next morning, a man from Tamarin arrived with his mare and took the trunk back with him. Flinders followed after breakfasting with M. Deglos. On the way, he learnt of the death of Madame Allies, a very particular friend of the family; so it was judged necessary to hide the death from the extreme sensibility of Madame D'Arifat for a little longer. It was this sad event which temporarily shook Flinders out of a renewed burst of melancholy on leaving the town.

M. Charles Desbassayns was still staying with the family as were the Sauvegits and M. Andre D'Arifat. M. Labauve told Flinders in the most guarded terms that his sister Louise had given her consent, with the approbation of her friends, to her engagement to M. Charles and two days later Madame D'Arifat conversed with him on the proposed union. That evening, M. Pitot arrived for his monthly weekend visit, accompanied by his brother Edward. Mr. Exshaw came also to visit Flinders, who took them all on an excursion to the Baie du Tamarin the next morning and that afternoon they returned to town.

Flinders took many opportunities to discuss with M. Charles Desbassayns, sometimes till late in the evening. One day, they walked to the Bay together and there read a part of St. Purre's *Etudes de la Nature*, which Flinders considered to be a most superficial work. The next day, the family dined with M. and Mme. Suassee as M. Charles returned to town. That was their last day at Tamarin where they had spent 13 weeks of the winter. As on the way out, they travelled back to The Refuge on a Sunday. with horses, asses and palanquins. Flinders, back in his pavilion, took the first opportunity of packing his trunks in case he should be required to be ready to leave the island at short notice, in spite of the fact that he saw no prospect of early release when last he spoke to M. Monistrol.

On September 10th., Flinders walked to the Cascades, but the much colder weather after that at Tamarin, gave him a fever and headache, followed by an attack of Thrush, which he cured with immediate effect, by the age-old remedy of taking an emetic. M. Boand, true to form, arrived one morning on his monthly visit, at 7.30 am. having walked from town and returned in the afternoon. Not forgetting Australia, Flinders, imagining his days on the island were numbered, made notes of all the animals, plants, root vegetables and trees that would be most valuable to that continent. Then, having made all the preparations he could for an early departure, he went on September 21st. to pass the day at Tamarin with M. Labauve. After playing tric-trac nearly every evening at The Refuge, he was by then sufficiently accomplished to win 15 fish on playing with his host.

The following day, Flinders recorded translating the second chapter of his narrative into French. Meanwhile, it transpired that Madame Chazal had lost her last child, as also her mother, throwing them and their friends into the deepest affliction and causing them to remain longer in town than they otherwise would. Flinders then referred to the conduct of one of his friends in the family that had given him much pain over the past four or five months. Most likely, he was referring to Delphine, as he did on July 18th., since he went on to note that his warmest friendship was first attracted by kindness and aimiability of conduct almost unparalleled, that was by then changing to the opposite, but just keeping within the rules of decency. It would seem to be another manifestation of Flinders' sensitivity. However, Mlle. Delphine gave him the next day a translation of *Atala* for his wife, and in return, Flinders presented her with a model for broidery of his own drawing that was approved and received.

Still enthused by navigation, Flinders made some precise observations on the comet which had been visible throughout the second half of September and continued to be so till October 5th. That day, Flinders wrote to M. Boand in French, indicating how much at

ease he then was with that language. To that extent, he was able to appraise Mlle. Sophie's gift to him of her brother's translation into Mauritian creole of the story of the Marquis de Carata. The translation not only exposed the genius of the language, but also the character of the slaves who invented it. On October 12th. Flinders went to dine with M. Chevreau, who had returned for the coming summer nine days earlier. His host, when he and M. Chazal came to dine on October 16th, gave him some sound advice in respect of his parole, which Flinders had been thinking of redemanding so as to return to the Maison Despaux. The next day, M. Pitot arrived for the weekend and on the Sunday, M. Chazal dined again with the family. Accompanied by Flinders, M. Pitot took breakfast with M. Chazal the following morning on his way back to town.

On October 21st, Flinders went to pass the day with M. Chazal, but meeting M. Boand on the road, stayed only to breakfast. At dinner, they were joined by Mr. Cap-Martin, who gave Flinders the same good advice that others had, namely, not to redemand his parole as that would not abridge the term of his detention. The next day the family dined with the Chevreaus by invitation and in the evening were visited by M. Chazal and M. Airolles. The following day, Flinders went to Tamarin to pass the day with M. Labauve. where he met Messrs. Suasse and Morin.

With M. Boand departing for India, Flinders had given him letters to forward from that country. Once on board the *Waldemar*, a police officer came to inspect M. Boand's trunks and seized 11 letters, four of which were Flinders'. This action was taken in spite of it not being a condition of his parole that all letters had to be sent open, in the first place, to the town major.

Flinders, it seemed, had an open invitation to M. Labauve at Tamarin and on October 27th. he went there to meet M. Curtat and stayed overnight. Two days later, Flinders recorded that his young scholars were sufficiently advanced to calculate the variation of the compass by azimuth and amplitude. and that he was translating a part of his journal into French. On the 31st., M. Pitot and Mr. Exshaw came to stay overnight. Some days later, M. Pitot procured for Flinders, from captain Motard, the Army and Navy List for February 1807, which stated that the pay of naval captains was increased, his own by 50%, but subject to Income Tax. The war had clearly increased inflation in England!

Meanwhile, Flinders had been seeking permission to go to town, having written to M. Monistrol on October 31st. and again on November 10th. Three days later, he received an answer to the effect that the captain-general could not at that moment grant permission. That refusal would seem to have marked the commencement of a less liberal approach, possibly occasioned by the four letters seized by the police, coupled with the intensification of the British naval blockade of the island.

On November 14th. M. Frederick Pitot called, prior to going to Java, and when they walked out to the Riviere du Tamarin, they learnt that the general had passed by an hour before on his way to the Grand Bassin upon a hunting excursion. A large party of slaves had been preparing the road during the previous week for his passage. Two days later, Flinders met the party returning as he made his customary walk round the habitation. He saluted the generals De Caen and Vandemason and his salute was returned by the long line of horsemen that followed. The last horsemen declared that they had shot three deer, but Flinders later heard that they had killed nothing.

With the intention of passing two days with the Frobervilles at Moka, Flinders set out on November 18th. by the longer route, passing Le Reduit, but arriving by noon. He spent much of the time reading a part of the history of Rarsimalao, chief of the north-eastern part of Madagascar. M. Frobervilles object was to hand over to Flinders all his collection on that island, in particular, the history (3 quires), the voyages of M. Mayeur (4 quires), and Researches into the History of Madagascar (3 quires) with full authority to translate and publish in England or to return them to him if that did not seem to be warranted. This course was occasioned by M. Frobervilles' growing blindness and Flinders agreed to act accordingly, sharing with him any pecuniary advantages that might arise, and was a tribute to Flinders' fluency in French and scholarly determination.

On the last morning, M. Frobervilles accompanied Flinders to breakfast with Madame La Chaise, his wife's aunt and later to dinner with M. Rensu Desvaux, a relative of M. Pitot, after which he returned to The Refuge. The next day, M. Pitot arrived for the weekend, leaving Sunday afternoon.

Flinders had been noting extremes of weather for some time, but gradually began to commence every day's entry with a record of the weather from December 1807.

Thus, on November 25th. it was fine and the family made up a fishing party with the Chevreaus to Mare aux Vacoas. Although an agreeable day was passed under the trees, no mention was made of any fish being caught. The following Sunday, Flinders and M. Chevreau paid a visit to M. Labauve at Tamarin and called upon Madame La Butte in the evening and afterwards stayed overnight with M. and Mme. Suasse. Returning to M. Labauve's for breakfast, he remained to pass an agreeable day there, before going back to The Refuge in the early evening with M. Chevreau..

On December 2nd. the family, accompanied by Flinders, visited the Chazals, now belatedly back from the town. Two days later, M. Cap-Martin called: he had lately been installed as superintendent at Palma. Flinders spent the evening with the Chevreaus and the next morning M. Chevreau with M. Lauston called on him and invited him back to dine. The Chazals came the next day, Sunday, to spend the evening. In spare moments, Flinders was reading M. Meyers voyages and making a sketch of his routes in Madagascar.

Two days later, Flinders had a visit from M. Labauve and M. Chalvit de Souville and passed the evening with M. Chazal who gave him a first lesson in chess. Returning the next afternoon, he found Mr. and Mrs. Bickham there from the town. On December 15th., all the family passed the day agreeably at the Chazals with the Chevreaus and Bickhams. Returning in the evening, Flinders felt well fatigued.

The next Saturday, Flinders left after dinner to meet M. Pitot at M. K. Desvaux's, staying two nights, passing the day with M. Frobervilles. On the Monday morning, he returned to The Refuge for breakfast, calling on M. Airolles on the way. Flinders remarked that his weekend visit had been an agreeable (how he loved that word) one from the hospitality and kindness he had received and went on to record that after such excursions, he always found himself more gay and less upset by his detention. So when the family visited Madame Chazal in the afternoon and met there Mme. Meurville and daughter, he noted that the four young ladies in returning, marched abreast to different marches and were very gay and amiable. On December 30th. Flinders paid a short visit to M. Chazal and, on returning, found Madame Morin, conducted by M. Suasse, arrived to pass a few days. In spite of raining the whole night, the blacks kept their New Year's eve and the next morning Flinders distributed five or six dollars round the house in return for their New Year's nose gays.

At the weekend, M. Henry Desbassayns and M. Morin came to pass a few days which occasioned several visitors on the Sunday, among them M. Martin-Monchamp, who invited Flinders to dine with him on the Tuesday at his habitation of Minissy, near Reduit. That was just on the edge of the parole area. Among the considerable party, was the family of Madame Forrestier, whose invitation to dine the following day caused him to prolong his visit. Walking in the shady alleys of the garden, Flinders had a long conversation with the lawyer, Abbe Carrier, regarding his situation. The next morning, the party went before breakfast to visit Minissy, a neighbouring habitation belonging to M. Monneron, of which, the garden Flinders understood to the best planned and most agreeable in the island. The number of fish ponds, the extensive shaded alleys, the labyrinth, and the prospects would have formed a delightful retreat for the philosophic mind of a wealthy man, but that was not the character of its owner. The day was the Fete Des Rois and at the well attended dinner at Madame Forrestier's, the election was made to fall on the sole lady guest with the usual ceremonies. In the evening, Flinders returned to The Refuge, exhilarated and at peace with all men.

The next two evenings Flinders spent with the Chazals and on January 9th. 1808 M. Pitot, accompanied by Mr. John Exshaw, came for the weekend. On the Monday, Flinders noted that visiting neighbours kept his mind from dwelling upon the protraction of his detention. His social activity was by then at its peak and its intensity has never been sufficiently appreciated. That day he visited the family Perichon at Palma and dined there, being received with much kindness. He supped with M. Chazal on the way back. Three days later, Flinders dined with the Chevreaus and his brother in law Chazal. Back at The Refuge in the evening, M. Chazal gave Flinders another chess lesson.

On January 16th. Flinders sent to M. Chazals for five volumes of Vaillant's travels in Africa belonging to M. Pitot, and received at the same time an invitation to dinner which he accepted. The Chazals started out to accompany him a part of the way back and then decided to go the whole way and sup with the family, to whom their impromptu visit was very agreeable.

Flinders had for some time been packing as much as he could into trunks for storing at Port Louis in case he was suddenly released and called upon to embark at a time of severe flooding, when roads would have been very difficult to traverse with goods. As slaves

were free on Sundays, he chose Sunday January 16th. to employ five of them at half a dollar each, to transport three trunks to town for depositing at a place arranged with M. Pitot. He told the blacks that there would be a bonus if they returned early, since the nearly ripe maize crop needed guarding at night and he did not wish to let Madame D'Arifat down. That afternoon, the family met up with the Chazals for a curry picnic in the woods.

The arrival of M. Charles Desbassayns from Bourbon had been anticipated for some days and he eventually came late in the evening of January 18th. for the purpose of celebrating his marriage with Louise. Flinders had much conversation with him in a walk after supper relative to the family with which he was about to be allied and also Flinders' singular position there. The next day, the eldest M. Desbassayns and his wife arrived to be present at the marriage, as also did M. Guerin, the notary. Thursday 21st. was the day of the ceremony and in good time the Abbe Flageollet from Moka and M. Labauve and his brother joined the assembled party at which Flinders was the only person not belonging to either family, apart from the priest and officials.

Previous to the wedding ceremony, seven black children were baptised by the Abbe speaking entirely in Latin that was incomprehensible to them and all their relatives. Likewise, the marriage ceremony was for the most part in Latin, with the bride and bridegroom kneeling the whole time. The civil ceremony, the only one that counted under the law, followed through the offices of the civil commissioner of the Wilhelms Plaines, M. Caseau. Flinders had the honour of signing both the priest's and the commissioner's *proces verbal* as well as the contract of marriage which was read out at the conclusion of the ceremonies. The bridegroom had the contract made advantageously for the bride, in view of her very limited means. The bridegroom's brothers left over the next two days but not before Flinders had formed a greater intimacy with the elder M. Panon Desbassayns than usually arises in just two days. Flinders then accompanied Andre D'Arifat to dinner with the Chazals and, because of the rain, stopped overnight. The next day, Sunday, the families Chazal and Chevreau came to spend the day, during which chess, silhouettes and conversation passed the time. The Chazals stayed overnight on account of more rain.

On January 29th. the family visited the Chazals in the evening and on returning, Flinders read till 1am. - in spite of the poor lighting. The next Sunday, he sent a fourth large trunk to town, never suspecting that he would not be leaving for over two years. The Chazals then came for the day. The following Saturday, M. Pitot had arrived at the Chazals and his servant conveyed to Flinders an invitation to dine there, where he met Mr. Parkins, an Englishman. After supper, the three returned to The Refuge. The next morning, Sunday, Flinders walked out with Mr. Parkins to show him the Cascades and the quarter of Tamarin, after which they visited Madame Couve. M. Charles Desbassayns was back with his wife after seeing his two brothers depart for America and Flinders walked out with him on the Monday morning to show him the Mare aux Vacoas, after which they played a three hour game of chess. Flinders must have picked the game up very smartly with only two lessons from M. Chazal. M. Charles left the next day for the town, leaving his young wife with her mother. He was back the following evening and the next day he and Flinders visited M. Chazal and later on they accompanied the ladies there.

On February 17th., Flinders accompanied M. Charles and Louise for a while on their way to town. They had left before the family had risen in order to spare Mme. D'Arifat and her two elder daughters the pain of a formal farewell on the departure of the couple for Bourbon, whence they sailed four days later. Flinders had been spending much time on his chart of the north part of Madagascar and was then writing a memoir to accompany it. Having finished the five volumes of La Vaillant's travels in southern Africa, he began *Le Traite's Elementaire de Physique*, a work presented to him by M. Charles, just before he left.

The Chevreaus came to dine on February 21st. and the next day Flinders began to teach his scholars algebra. For some time, only American ships had been arriving and those were very few by then, with the consequence that imported articles were scarce and dear. Bordeaux wine had doubled to \$100 per cask, butter from 4 to 10 Mauritian francs per lb, spermaceti candles from 6 to 12 or 15 francs and most other imported articles likewise. Meanwhile, M. Frobervilles kept up with Flinders, sending him an account of two journeys in Madagascar by M. Dumaine and several papers explanative of M. Meyeur's travels in that island. One of the slaves on the plantation was an Ambulambe who had left the island in 1760. She was of the cast Magnissoutre with woolly hair and could confirm the name of one of the kings whom M. Mayeur met when he travelled there some years later. Flinders spent four days making extracts from M. Dumaine's journals.

Flinders called on M. Chazal on Sunday February 28th. and was invited to dine the following day, but returned early on account of the illness of Madame D'Arifat. On March 1st. M. Cap-Martin paid a visit and in the evening M. Labauve arrived with M. Souville. Flinders spent much time laying down the routes of M. Dumaine in the interior of Madagascar, while continuing to teach his young scholars algebra. M. Pitot came to visit Flinders as usual and the whole party dined by invitation with Madame Couve.

On March 10th. Flinders got down to quantifying the variation of the compass on changing the direction of the ship's head, supposing that change to arise from a point of attraction in the middle of the ship and the force of that attraction in comparison with that of the magnetic pole to be known. Later that day, he went to dine with M. Cap-Martin at Palma and was again received with politeness by the family Perichon. The next Sunday, Flinders spent the day with M. Chazal and a party of his friends. The next morning, having sent his trunk in advance to Tamarin, he set out to visit M. Labauve, but slipped into town without permission to arrange some affairs with M. Pitot, taking care to leave before daylight, arriving for breakfast with M. Labauve. After a restful morning, Flinders passed the afternoon playing tric-trac with M. Labauve.

The next day was Flinders birthday. He rose at 4am to go fishing in the bay, but his canoe did not come till 7.30am. However, by 10am. he had had some success and returned to M. Labauve. The next morning, Flinders breakfasted with Madame La Butte, called upon M. Suassee who accompanied him back to dinner, and in the evening visited M. and Mme. Herbecq. The next day he returned to The Refuge and on Sunday March 20th. Mr. Exshaw came to see Flinders and stay overnight prior to his departure for Ireland via America. The following day, M. Cap-Martin came to visit the family and Flinders accompanied him on the way back as far as M. Chazal's where he spent the evening. The next day, the Chazals spent with the family. On Friday 25th., Flinders completed his memoir on the chart of Madagascar and played tric-trac with M. Labauve who had come for the day.

On Sunday March 27th., Flinders recorded that the previous two or three months past, he had found himself more tranquil and so less unhappy than he had ever been in the Isle de France. The mornings he spent teaching algebra and elucidating his observations on magnetism on ships; in the afternoon, he read, and the evening he spent with the family, often playing chess with one of the daughters. The following day, he visited the Chazals with the ladies in the afternoon, and again the next day for a party there.

On April 2nd. M. Cap-Martin called with a note from Lt. Moreau of *La Piedmontaise* discusdescribing a new method of finding the latitude by two altitudes that had been discovered in one of the last prizes taken by that vessel. Flinders spent the afternoon with the Chazals who returned with him to see the family before leaving for town. The next day was Sunday and Flinders went to M. Labauve's in the afternoon to join a party there, when M. Curtat gave him a lesson in chess. A large and agreeable party dined the next day, among whom were some distinguished members of the Society of Emulation which had been formed in 1806 by the scientists left on the island by Baudin.

A week before Easter, the family set off for Moka, to stay with Madame La Chaise, and Flinders accompanied them despite a serious bilious attack coupled with indigestion, which prevented him from eating for two days. On the Sunday, Flinders went to M. Desvaux's to meet M. Pitot, who went back with him for dinner, to find the Frobervilles spending the day with them all. By the Tuesday, with health nearly restored, Flinders visited Madame Muguebin and three days later he dined with M. Renaud Desvaux. On Easter Saturday, they all dined with the Frobervilles. The next day, Easter Sunday, Flinders was persuaded to accompany the ladies to hear mass. There, he was put in the special arm chair next to the Abbe Flageollet, that was usually occupied by the general Vandermassen, an inhabitant of the quarter. Flinders concerned himself during the service with making a comparison of the Catholic and Protestant religions, coming to the conclusion that the former seemed more calculated to affect the imagination of the people, while the latter addressed itself to the reason of the faithful. There followed a large dinner party at Madame La Chaise's, in honour of Madame D'Arifat and also of it being Easter Sunday. The next morning, the family set off early for home. M. Desvaux lent Flinders a mul+++e as his mare was being ridden by one of the young ladies.

The following afternoon, Flinders called on Madame Couve, having spent the morning making extracts from the manuscripts relating to Madagascar. At last, permission to visit the town arrived but only for two days, implying that the authorities were tightening up on

such liberties. That was soon emphasised by a visit from M. Francos, an officer of the etat-major, who called at lpm. to inform Flinders that the general had ordered that he should be attended everywhere by a soldier. This fresh imposition was clearly resulting from the increased number of occasions when English cruisers were surrounding the island, and they were always never far off it. By then, Flinders had already breakfasted with M. Pitot and called on Mr. Schellebeck, an American merchant, as well as announcing his arrival at M. Monistrol's office. So, when it came to dining with M. Pitot and spending the evening with the Chazals, the soldier attended, but always at a distance and in silence.

The next day, after breakfasting with M. Pitot, Flinders went to make one of his many visits to his injured friend Baudin, who had lost an arm on naval service. After making several purchases, he called on Mme. Curtat and dined with M. Brunet. He then visited Madame Airoilles and Madame Louston, before passing the evening at M. Pitot's with music and further visits. On his last morning, he rose early and sent to M. Chazal's for Ltamats on chess, breakfasted with M. Pitot, took leave of M. Baudin and departed. As newly required, the sergeant left with him and, at the outskirts of the town, Flinders gave him a dollar as a small mark of his satisfaction at his conduct, which produced a response from the sergeant of best wishes for a good journey.

On the way, Flinders stopped to dine at Madame Lachenardiere's where he received some friendly approaches for having absented himself for so long.

When he reached The Refuge, Flinders felt fatigued and not in the best of health. He countered this by drinking a lot of lemonade and eating less meat. He soon got better and visited the Chazals who had returned from town. The next day, May 1st., Flinders left after breakfast for Tamarin, but stopped on the way at Palma and had a second breakfast with M. Cap-Martin, with whom he discussed the variation of the compass and was given some observations from El Recherché and La Regenerees. Later, he accompanied M. Labauve to dinner with M. Suassee, where they found M. Morin and stayed the evening.

Staying with M. Labauve prompted discussion on the state and prices of the crops. Maize had been so widely sown in response to the previous scarcity, that the price had fallen from 4 to 6 dollars per 100lb to one. In Tamarin, the maize was not planted till the first summer rains had set in over the turn of the year, so it was then beginning to be harvested, whereas in Vacoas the harvest was in January after planting in July. In Bourbon the coffee harvest was then at its height, but in Vacoas, the berries were not even red. Nevertheless, the coffee trees had so much recovered in the last six months in the higher parts of the island, that confidence in the crop succeeding there in the future had been raised. Cotton, grown ideally in the lowland Plaines of St. Pierre, promised to be abundant.

The following morning, Flinders returned to The Refuge in time for breakfast. Two days later, he accompanied the family to dine with M. Chevreau, in the wood, where they were joined by Messrs. Larchenardiere and St. Susanne with their wives, making a most agreeable day for all. The next day, the same party dined together again and spent the evening together. The next afternoon, the family received the party plus the Chazals. On Saturday 7th. May, Flinders received a receipt for the \$1000 placed at interest in Bourbon by M. Charles Desbassayns and spent the evening with M. Chazal and his visitors. On the Sunday, the whole party went to spend the day at the Chazals, where in the evening there was dancing. This was not fun for Flinders as he could neither waltz nor dance the French contra-dance and there was no one not dancing who was interesting to talk to. The guests returned home at midnight by moonlight. The next day, M. Cap-Martin came to dine with the family.

Flinders had for many days past been occupied with magnetism, in particular in searching the position of the magnetic poles, with the result that the time had passed more lightly than it had ever done. Being a prisoner seldom occupied his mind and he found himself more at ease with the family than ever before. In the afternoon of May 11th., he accompanied the ladies on a visit to Madame Couve, to pay compliments on the announced marriage of her second daughter, Mademoiselle Delphine with M. Bouchet.

The following day, Flinders spent the afternoon and evening at chess with M. Chazal, his master, from whom he gained four parties out of six. Meanwhile, imports into Mauritius had been so restricted by the hostilities, that every article from Europe or India had been the subject of severe price advances. Flinders noted that wine was then \$100 or more a hogshead. Quills were the most advanced, costing \$4 for 25. What had cost an importer \$150, sold then for \$3500. Flinders had to give \$20 for a hat that would have cost 18 shillings in England. Boots cost \$16 that in England could have been bought for a guinea. On the

contrary, island products were abundant and cheap: maize was only one dollar for 100lb in town and less in the country, so hogs and poultry had fallen in price. The cotton and coffee harvests promised well. As for sugar, there were great quantities in the island, but very few foreign buyers due to lack of shipping and the cost of insuring the cargo for war risks.

The Mesdemoiselles Couve surprised the family by coming to breakfast on May 17th. prior to quitting the canton for the town. The next day, the neighbours, Chevreau and Boistel came to dinner and on the following Sunday, the Chazals and Chevreau dined with the family. The next two days, Flinders recorded that he was closely occupied with the magnetism of the earth, constructing spheres in different projections to examine the laws by which the compass and dipping needle were regulated. Only the evening did he pass with the family, usually to play at chess. On Wednesday, he passed the evening with M. Chazal at chess and returned after supper.

On May 27th. Flinders received a letter from M. Charles Desbassayns to inform him that he had placed the \$1000 advantageously, as on April 20th. 1809 it would amount to \$1209, thus giving interest at 21.9%. He passed the evening again with M. Chazal, when he was very well treated and very well beaten at chess.

Flinders went to dine with M. Perichon at Palma on Sunday May 29th., where he met Messrs. Labauve and Curtat. After passing an agreeable afternoon with the beautiful ladies of the house, one of whom married M. Labauve in 1811, he returned to The Refuge in the evening. Then two days later, the family called on the Chazals prior to their going to pass the winter at Tamarin. The next day, M. Cap-Martin visited Flinders and after dinner they walked over to Madame Couve's habitation. It was all to be sold for \$9000 and comprised 300 acres with 20 under coffee and included 10 slaves. With the house, pavilions and other buildings in a good state it seemed to be very cheap.

The Chazals passed the day with the family and the next day, June 5th., Flinders accompanied the family for the second winter at Tamarin. M. Thomas Pitot brought his brother Edward with him when he came to stay overnight at Tamarin on June 11th. M. Pitot had earlier written with the news that wine was then 200 piastres per hogshead, even more than it had been four weeks earlier. Flinders recorded that better wine was only \$30 when he arrived in the island.

At the beginning of the second week at Tamarin, Flinders resumed teaching algebra to the two boys and he employed himself in spheric trigonometry, having laid aside his researches into magnetism. The next day, the family went to pass the day with Madame Suasse. Flinders followed at noon with M. Labauve. On June 21st. Flinders sent his servant to town for money that remained in the hands of M. Pitot. Presumably the servant was one of M. Labauve's slaves, as there was no one left of the Cumberland's crew. In the afternoon, he called on Madame La Butte, while the next day, M. and Madame Suasse spent the day with the family. They were joined for tea by M. Duguilis and his two sons whom Flinders visited the following Sunday afternoon.

On July 1st. Flinders accompanied the ladies on a visit to Madame Herbecq and on the Sunday, M. Duguilis and M. Boistel joined the family for dinner. Two evenings later, M. Fadacil dropped in and the following evening M. and Madame Chevreau arrived to pass a few days. That made possible a shooting party the next morning, but without any success. Afterwards, Flinders accompanied Andre D'Arifat with his pretty wife to dine with Madame La Butte. The next Saturday morning, all the gentlemen went out again in a shooting party with dogs, killing four hares and a spotted partridge. In the evening many people arrived to stay, namely M. and Mme. Chazal, Messrs. Curtat and Fadacil, and M. Pitot with M. Bayard. The next morning, Sunday, there was a great party at the Bay of Tamarin. After some success in fishing with the seine, M. Cap-Martin, M. Boucherville, commandant of the quarter, and M. Duguilis joined the party for dinner, making 25 in all. In the evening, the ladies waltzed to Flinders' flute and afterwards the party played at cards and chess. By Monday morning, all the guests had gone except the Chazals, and Flinders spent the day mostly at chess, as he did the following day until he was completely weary. On the next Saturday, Flinders accompanied M. Chazal on a visit to Vice-admiral Saint Felix, father in law to Chazal's brother.

The Chazals left on the Sunday morning, and Flinders accompanied the family to dinner with M. Herbecq. The next day, they visited M. Duguilis, whose family appeared keen to make an alliance with the D'Arifats, but it probably never materialised. On July 21st, Flinders accompanied two of the ladies to dine with M. and Mme. Suasse and the next day, the family Duguilis invited Flinders and the D'Arifats for the evening, when they gave Flinders

and some others an invitation to dine the following day. That was a special occasion, with good food, a variety of wines, by then rare, and, for Flinders, much attention. That morning, he had continued teaching algebra to the elder Aristide, but had had to dismiss Marc for working so negligently.

By the end of the month, Flinders again found good reason to record the increasing shortage of imported goods, with no neutral vessels arriving. Wine was still \$200 per hogshead, soap \$2.6 per lb, and other foreign articles in proportion. Bread was still only 13 sols (about 3d) per pound, but would be doubled in a few months if no flour arrived. On Sunday, July 31st. the numerous visitors dined at the Lodge, and, on their return at 10pm. took a glass of Madeira each with Flinders in his pavilion. On August 4th., Madame Herbecq's family came to dine, and the following morning, Flinders was again teaching algebra to both the boys. M. Pitot made his usual four weekly visit the next day. Flinders accompanied the ladies to dinner with Madame La Butte and several of her relatives. The following day, Flinders, accompanied by M. Labauve, paid a visit to M. Boucherville and afterwards dined with M. and Mme. Suassee.

On August 13th. Flinders noted that the drought over most of the island had caused the wheat crop to be lost in part. Maize was still plentiful at \$2 per 100lb, having risen nearly by half since the harvest. Quills and needles were at a most extraordinary price, 25 U.S. cents and 6d. each respectively. On August 19th., Flinders received from M. Pitot the *Monthly Repertory*, and English Review from April to November 1807, published in Paris. In referring to the Transactions of the Royal Society for 1806, it published extracts from Flinders' paper on the uses of the marine barometer.

On Sunday August 21st., M. Mallac dined with the family and the next day the family went to spend the day with Madame Herbecq; Flinders followed in time for dinner. The following Sunday, Vice -admiral Saint Felix dined with the family. On the Monday, Madame Herbecq spent the afternoon with the ladies, prior to the family's return to The Refuge, the next morning after 12 weeks at Tamarin. The return was an operation itself, with Madame D'Arifat in a palanquin, M. Labauve, Flinders and Mlle. Delphine on horseback, followed by about 30 blacks carrying the luggage. Aristide and Marc had set off very early on foot. The main party arrived at 11am. that was in two and a half hours. The next day, Flinders noted the much cooler weather of the uplands, which augmented his appetite and caused him to remain an hour longer in bed.

Flinders commenced teaching the two boys geometry on September 1st. and two days later began to implement his plan for watching out for English ships on which he might escape. His task was to cut a path through the woods to a vantage point from whence he would have a view of the sea to leeward. He continued on Monday the 5th., in the morning, and on Thursday put in the whole day assisted by two men lent him by M. Chazal's overseer. He finished it off himself the following day, having reached a point whence the bay of Tamarin and part of the coast was visible.

On Saturday September 10th. Flinders went to dine at Palma with M. Cap-Martin and the family Perichon. Afterwards, he went to Tamarin to visit Madame Curtat and M. Labauve, where he found Messrs. Curtat, Genieve, Fadoit, Suassee and admiral Saint Felix who dined with the family the next day. Flinders accompanied the ladies on foot to Tamarin, setting off at 4am. on Tuesday 13th. and arriving at 7.30am. They paid a visit to Madame Curtat, spent Thursday 15th. with Madame Herbecq and returned on Friday 16th. to breakfast.

On Friday September 23rd., Flinders made an unauthorised visit to the town for the purpose of meeting an English captain, Woolcombe, with the aim of securing his help in obtaining a passage to France. He was received very coldly and reprimanded for breaking his parole. Flinders slipped out early the next morning and returned to Vacoas. On Sunday, October 2nd., Flinders went to pass the day with M. and Mme. Curtat at Tamarin, where M. and Mme. Suassee joined the party for dinner.

On October 8th., M. Pitot made his monthly visit and on the Sunday, M. Chazal dined with the family, leaving in the afternoon with M. Pitot. Later in the month, Flinders became employed in the demonstration of solar spherics as a means of deducing the longitude. For his scholars, he measured a rectangular pond in the garden as a means of finding the quantity of water it contained. On October 27th. M. Cap-Martin dined with the family and two days later, Flinders went to Tamarin to visit M. and Mme Curtat and M. Labauve. There he met M. Laurent Barbe, son in law of M. Cere, superintendent of the Botanical Gardens, who informed him that M. Curtat had kept a regular meteorological journal

for 50 years in the island, and was then employed in writing the flora of Mauritius and Bourbon. The next day, Sunday, the company went to the Masons' lodge, so at noon, Flinders went to Palma, where he dined and spent the evening with M. Cap-Martin, getting back to The Refuge at 10pm.

The treasurer to the government, M. Benard had recently been to the Cape, where he had assured the officers there that Flinders was receiving \$80 per month subsistence. In conversing upon the matter, M. Chevreau had pointed out to M. Benard that he received no more than \$60.7 The treasurer stood by his figure, as he himself had paid it over to the etat major. Flinders knew that 3% would be deducted for invalids, reducing the \$80 by \$2.4, resulting in the officers of the etat major retaining \$16.9 for themselves. Should this have been going on from the time of the departure of Mr. Aken in May 1ctivity of the English navy around the island could well have been the reason for that decision.

Flinders noted that it was five years since he was made a prisoner. He accompanied the ladies on a visit to M. Chazal. The next day, Madame Airoilles died, less than three weeks since Flinders had dined in her company.

She was mother in law to M. Chazal, M. Chevreau and Mr. Bickham. So on December 20th. the D'Arifats and the Couves paid visits of condolence to Madame Chazal.

As usual, Christmas went by with nnext day there, Flinders did also, only to find himself persecuted a little upon the subjects of politics and national character. He summed up the matter by noting that Frenchmen took great pleasure in deprecating the English character, usually by pleasantries, and they were best answered likewise. He considered that Frenchmen attempted to ridicule the English, though basically they respected them; they desired to show their wit, accompanied by a little envy and perhaps hatred.

Flinders visited Madame Couve on November 11th., as she and her family had just returned from town. Five days later, he joined the family in making an evening's visit to M. Chevreau. On November 21st. Flinders made an afternoon visit to M. Chazal, who had just returned with his family from his house in town. Almost all the families were by then back for the summer. Flinders visited the Chevreaus on November 25th. and the following day Madame Couve and

he

plantation on December 9th. 30,000 plants had been placed in a new clearing in the woods. Later, he wrote to M. Charles Desbassayns requesting that one of the baptismal names of their child, should it be a son, might be *Flinders*, in accordance with Louise's expressed hope from the time when she first knew Flinders. On December 14th. Flinders went to see Madame Chazal not yet recovered from her severe illness. The next day, Flinders was advised by M. Monistrol that the application he sent on November 22

visits of condolence to Madame Chazal.

As usual, Christmas went by with not the least attention paid to it. Flinders walked across to the Chazals in the afternoon of December 27th. and two days later visited the Chevreaus on their return from town following the death of Madame Airoilles. Through not being allowed to go to town, Flinders had no New Year presents for the ladies, but he gave out \$20 among the slaves and some of their young children, about 60 in all. Two days later, he went and presented his

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visits of condolence to Madame Chazal.

Bouchet informing him that his wife was brought to bed of a son, but as Flinders added, ominously, that it was less than nine months after his marriage!

On Wednesday 22nd., M. Andre D'Arifat came to pass a few days and was joined by his brother M. Labauve. The next day, M. Chazal and M. Fadeville came to dinner and the day after, Flinders accompanied Andre upon a visit to his brother at Tamarin, breakfasting at Palma on the way. M. Cap-Martin and the younger M. M. Perichon joined them for the large dinner party at Tamarin, followed by shooting in the afternoon and games in the evening. The next morning, the young party went shooting early and returned to breakfast. The morning passed with chess and Bouillote and another large dinner party followed. Flinders went to visit M. and Mme. Suassee, whilst the shooters went out again towards the cool part of the evening. He then stopped to supper with M. Morin, who had just arrived from town, and remained overnight at the Suassee's. On returning the next morning to M. Labauve's, he found M. Curtat had arrived. In the afternoon, Flinders returned to The Refuge.

M. Labauve arrived to rejoin his brother Andre on February 28th. and the next day they all dined at the Chazals. Surprisingly, Madame Chazal, who had been present was brought to bed the next morning of a son. Great joy was occasioned in the family since the two brothers Chazal had an uncle in France possessed of £4000 per annum to whom they were the heirs, to be followed by a grand nephew, but until then, the brothers had had only daughters. M. Fadeville dined with the family that day. On Sunday March 5th., Flinders visited the Chazals and their new-born son. Three days later, the family visited the Chevreaus on their return from town and on Friday 10th., Flinders also accompanied the family in a visit to M. Chazal. M. Cap-Martin came to lunch and informed Flinders of a fresh suicide in Port Louis, the fourth within a year. The French at that time considered that suicide was more common in England than elsewhere, not realising that every suicide was recorded in the English newspapers, when that was by no means the case in France.

On Sunday March 12th. M. Pitot did not make his usual monthly visit, as he had gone to be with his sister on the east coast at Poudre d'Or on account of ill health. Flinders employed himself writing an abridged narrative of his voyage and imprisonment in French as an exercise. Midweek he dined with M. Chevreau, where there were two strangers. The next day, on his 35th. birthday, he played a game of tric-trac with M. Labauve, his master, from whom he gained 24 fish in six marks. M. Labauve returned to Tamarin in the evening with Aristide and Marc whom he would be taking to town two days later to get new clothes made for them, preparatory to the voyage Madame D'Arifat proposed to make to Bourbon at the beginning of April.

The following Sunday, Flinders accompanied the family to pass the day at M. Chazal's, where he, M. Airolles and an Irish officer in the French service of whom Flinders noted that he had not the highest opinion, when what he probably meant was that he did not like the fellow one bit! Four days later, Flinders completed his narration of 58 pages in French describing his voyage and imprisonment. On Saturday 25th., Aristide and Marc went to Moka to celebrate their first communion, while Mesdames Chazal and Chevreau dined with the ladies, their husbands being away in town regulating their family affairs.

Flinders spent time on March 29th. copying music for Madame D'Arifat to take to Bourbon for Madame Desbassayns. The next day he went to Palma, some four miles to the north, to dine with M. Cap-Martin. He passed the evening at chess and music with all the amiable ladies of the house, returning to The Refuge for breakfast. On April 1st. M. Pitot came for the weekend and on the Sunday they all went to dine with M. Chazal to celebrate the birthday of his two children, with the families Chermont and Chevreau also present.

Flinders visited the Chazals in the afternoon of April 6th. and stayed to supper. The next Saturday, he went to dine at Mesnil with M. Airolles, in company with M. Chevreau, where they found Messrs. La Grave and Barry. M. Airolles was kind enough to offer Flinders residence while the family were in Bourbon. After dinner, he went to Palma, hoping to meet M. Pitot, but he was confined to bed with a second attack of gravelly colic. However, he stayed overnight and returned to The Refuge for breakfast. in order to accompany the family to dine with M. and Mme. Chevreau where there was a large party and they stayed to supper.

All thoughts at The Refuge were by then concentrating on the proposed trip to Bourbon. With the enemy closing in on the two islands, that would seem to have been rather too audacious of Madame D'Arifat. However, plans had all been made and all was set to start on the first stage, namely the transfer of the family to town so as to be ready for any suitable sailing. Thus on April 10th. the Chevreaus came to take leave of the family and M. Labauve

arrived in the evening. The next day, after an early dinner, the party set off, with Flinders accompanying them some of the way. He then returned to pass the evening with M. and Mme. Chazal, who kindly invited him to pass several days with them. Flinders' plan was to take up his quarters with M. Labauve as soon as the family were safely embarked and in the meantime to remain at The Refuge with his neighbours Chazal and Chevreau. So he returned to The Refuge after breakfast, and passing by M. Boistel's, paid him a visit and engaged him to join him for dinner at M. Chevreau's.

At that point, Flinders wrote of the likelihood that the D'Arifats would never get to Bourbon. It was a long while since any vessel had arrived from that island, since there were two English cruisers between the two islands and to windward. It would have seemed foolhardy to have attempted the journey, or, alternatively, naive to have imagined the enemy would have dispersed just at the right moment to have made the voyage possible. So Flinders considered it very probable that the family would return to Vacoas instead of embarking for Bourbon.

The dinner at the Chevreau's was followed by a shooting party, but none of the abundant hares were killed. The same was the case the next morning before breakfast with M. Chevreau, except for the one hare shot eaten by the dogs. Flinders went back to dinner and on the evening shoot, a hare was killed and brought home. The next day, after dining with M. Chazal, Flinders went to Palma to meet M. Pitot and passed a very agreeable evening. Sunday was passed in music, particularly in the evening, when some quatori and opera airs were sung by two ladies and four gentlemen. After supper, the evening ended by dancing a round made by M. Pitot upon the occasion and the air by Edward Perichon. The next morning, Flinders returned to M. Chazal's where the day passed in music and chess. The next day he dined with M. Chevreau who had returned from town the previous day.

On April 19th., Flinders found himself breakfasting at home for only the second time since the family left. He had intended to visit the Chazals for dinner, but the rain came on at noon, so he deferred the visit and passed the day reading *Archives Litteraires* and writing letters to friends in town. That was a further example of the non-existence of waterproof garments which would have made the one and a half mile walk tolerable today. Next day was fine, so after breakfast Flinders went and passed the day with the Chazals and stayed overnight, returning home after breakfast, but going back to dinner where he met M. Chevreau and passed the day at chess. Returning home at sunrise, he had a visit from M. Des Fosses, The Refuge's new neighbour. Later, he went to pass the day with the Chevreaus, from whom, he noted, he had received much friendly attention since the departure of Madame D'Arifat. The next day, Sunday, he dined again at the Chevreaus and met M. and Mme. Chazal. Meanwhile, English cruisers had appeared before the port, and consequently, Madame D'Arifat became determined to renounce her voyage to Bourbon, as predicted by Flinders. So she sent orders for a number of blacks and horses to be sent to town to transport her family and its luggage back to The Refuge, which Flinders arranged for departure at 2.30pm. the next day. The following morning, the family arrived from town at 9.30am. Their first visitor was M. Auguste de La Chaise, who came to dinner.

On April 27th. Flinders paid a visit to M. and Mme. Des Fosses, the new neighbours and the following day he went to dine by invitation with M. Chevreau, where he met the families Chazal and Chermont, together with Messrs. Couve and Adolph Bouchet. It turned out to be the most unpleasant occasion that Flinders had in the course of his whole time on parole. M. Chazal was the culprit: he reproached the English government with injustice and inhumanity in a most prejudiced manner and even with crimes that Flinders showed him were committed by the French government and not the English. This incident put a damper for a

while on their continuing friendship. Flinders concluded that if there were a second person on the island who would have treated him as general De Caen did, it would have been M. Chazal. However, Flinders stayed to sup with the Chevreaus and returned home by moonlight. Nevertheless, he very wisely visited Madame Chazal the following afternoon and passed the evening at music and chess, returning after supper.

On May 2nd., Flinders accompanied the family and Madame Chevreau on a visit to M. Chermont's small habitation in the middle of the woods and the following day he dined at M. Chazal's where he met the families Chevreau and Lachenardiere. Then on May 6th. he was informed by M. Monistrol that his application to go to town made a month earlier, could not be granted, in spite of the fact that he had not been to town since the previous August. Furthermore, M. Monistrol requested that he should commission some friend to learn

privately whether a request would be granted before he made a public application. From the government's point of view, the possibility of hostilities was ever more certain, and that demanded a stricter control of prisoners.

Invitations from M. Chevreau were frequent at that time. Flinders dined there by invitation on May 8th., meeting M. and Mme. Lachenardiere and M. Chazal, and then again the following day. The day after that, those three families as well as M. Duval, a new neighbour, came to dine at The Refuge and two days later, Flinders passed the evening and supped with M. Chevreau, as well as dining with him the next day. In the meantime, Flinders had gone back to teaching navigation to his two young scholars.

On May 14th., Flinders went to Tamarin to see M. Labauve and M. Curtat who had come from town to pass the day with him. Before leaving the next morning, he gave M. Curtat the abridged narrative of his voyage and imprisonment. The following day, he dined with M. Chevreau, where M. and Mme. Lachenardiere were still staying. Two days later, those two families visited The Refuge and Flinders accompanied them back and stayed to supper, receiving an invitation to dine next day, when also present were the Chazals, and Messrs. Boistel, Bouchet and P. Loustou. On May 20th., Flinders visited M. Deglos' country house, to meet M. Pitot by appointment, who, once again, was unable to be present on account of another attack of gravel. However, he dined with Madame Deglos, whose husband returned from town for supper, when Flinders conversed with him on India, Lord Minto, M. Board and captain Hamelin. Returning to The Refuge on the Sunday morning, in the midst of heavy rain and thunder, Flinders noted that the roads were very bad and that he was poorly mounted as usual.

The next Tuesday, Flinders accompanied the family on an evening visit to the Chazals and was heartened to find them more amicably disposed to him than they had lately been. The break in their closeness following the dispute between him and M. Chazal on April 28th. could have been closing. M. Pitot came on Friday 26th. and stayed overnight. Flinders accompanied him on his way back to town as far as M. Deglos', the limit of his parole. After breakfasting there, he went on to visit colonel of the local regiment, M. St. Susanne and the Lachenardieres who lived with him. In the afternoon, the Chevreaus arrived and Flinders played several parties at tric-trac. In all, he stayed four nights, often just reading or playing at chess and tric-trac. On the last evening, he accompanied the two families and Madame Chevreau to supper at M. Le Lannes', a near neighbour, where they met Madame Remie and her daughter in law, Madame Malherbe, described as a pretty woman who had the reputation of being a coquette. The evening passed agreeably, but mostly in childish games such as schiff, schnof, snorum and making grimaces.

On leaving the Deglos', Flinders took the road to Palma in order to see M. Cap-Martin who had long been ill and stay with the family Perichon, only to find M. Perichon ill as well. Still, he stayed overnight, breakfasted at 11am. and departed for Vacoas, calling at Madame Chazal's, where he found Madame D'Arifat and family on a visit for the day. M. Jean Loustou, half brother of M. Chazal, dined with them. Flinders found him to be totally ignorant of his situation, which did not surprise him very much, knowing that M. Chazal never took sufficient interest in the matter to discuss it with his family. Clearly, Flinders was still overcome by the recent change in his assessment of M. Chazal, after getting to know him so well in over three years.

In a touching sympathy for the British monarch, Flinders noted on June 4th. the birthday of George III and wished him health and happiness. He went that day to dine by invitation with M. Curtat, at his habitation in Keroan, where he met M. Barbe Merbois and a large company. In the evening he visited M. and Mme. Caseau. The next day, he passed there also, playing three rubbers at whist with neighbours who came to supper. The following day, Flinders went to dine with M. and Madame Burgeux, near neighbours but not friends of M. Caseau. He noted that M. Burgeux, an officer of the old French marine who conserved the manner of a rough seaman, received him with much cordiality. On returning to M. Caseau's in the evening, he beat him at piquet.

The next morning, Flinders set off for Moka on a three day visit, arriving at Madame La Chaise's at noon, where he found Mme. and Mlle. Dumouhy. M. A. M. Prieur, owner of a neighbouring habitation, came along in the afternoon and appeared very attentive to Mlle. Dumouhy, a fine young woman of 20 or 22. In the evening, her brother called in to see Flinders. Flinders dined the next day with M. Frobervilles and passed the evening at piquet in the house of Madame La Chaise. He left early the next morning and went to breakfast with M. Huguenia, where he was received with much kindness. Later, he set off for

Vacoas, stopping on the way to call on Messrs. St. Susanne and Lachenardiere and arrived home fatigued by having to walk much of the way owing to the bad roads. Flinders, thinking that he might have soon been liberated, considered that he had by then finished his visits amongst those persons who had shown him the most civility and friendship.

On Saturday June 10th, Flinders paid a short visit to the Chevreaus, who were due to follow the Chazals to town for the winter. M. Pitot was at Palma for the weekend and hoped Flinders would meet him there, but on both days the rain stopped him. By Monday, the weather improved, so Flinders made the journey expressly to see M. Cap-Martin, who was too ill with bloody flux, to see him. Nevertheless, he stopped overnight and returned on foot to The Refuge for breakfast.

The next Sunday, the Chevreaus dined with the family for the last time before the family went to Tamarin for the winter. Later, Flinders paid a visit to M. and Mme. Des Fosses. The next morning, he accompanied the family to take up residence with M. Labauve. On Thursday, 22nd., he paid a visit to Madame Suasse. Then on Sunday June 25th., Madame D'Arifat and her two daughters set off for Flacq, accompanied by M. Labauve, to be present at the lying in of her daughter in law, leaving Flinders in charge of his two young scholars. The next evening, he took them on a visit to Madame Duguillis and the following morning he began teaching them the English language as well as geometry. On the Friday, M. Herbecq came to dinner.

On Saturday July 1st., M. Labauve having returned, Flinders went with the three brothers on an excursion to the valley of Tamarin. The difficulty of walking along the great blocks of slippery rocks in the bed of the river or in the nearby woods on the banks, prevented them from getting further down the valley to the two high precipices which formed the entrance. Flinders speculated that that was the position of the original and sole cascade of the river. As regards the honeycombed blocks of stone buried in the earth, those could well have been thrown out of volcanoes, but broken on their fall, giving them sharp edges.

Two days later, M. Suasse, *commisaire civil du quartier*, came to dine, and the following day, Messrs. Duguillis, father and son, paid an evening visit. On July 6th., Flinders paid a visit to M. Boucherville, the old French officer who had served in Canada, been wounded and made a prisoner at the siege of Quebec. Later, Flinders dined with M. Suasse and visited Madame La Butte. M. Curtat paid a visit on the Saturday and the next day Flinders and the three brothers visited Madame Deguilis. Unusually, M. Pitot and his brother Edward came to visit Flinders on the Monday. M. Lavillon dined with them and left with the Pitots, for the town.

On July 13th. Flinders and the three brothers dined with their neighbour, M. Duguillis. Flinders' messenger returned from town with \$220 being his credit less \$50 with M. Pitot together with several packets of letters from a trunk of his in the town, from which he sorted those to be kept. Next day, a letter from Flacq had the news of a daughter being born to M. Andre D'Arifat's wife, so Flinders wrote a letter of compliments, which he followed up with letters of felicitation the following day. On July 18th. M. Defages came to dinner and on the 21st., Flinders paid a visit to M. and Madame Herbecq. As for the young scholars, he was by then teaching them algebra and spheric geometry.

On July 28th. Madame D'Arifat and her daughters arrived back from Flacq, after just over four weeks there. In town, where they stopped a few days on the way back, they had met Mr. Finon, surgeon of the Sea Flower, who had undertaken to cure Madame De Caen of her deafness. He praised the English pronunciation of Mlle. Sophia, and she had not the least difficulty in understanding him. In addition, Mr. Finon expressed a great desire to meet Flinders. M. Labauve had been at a dinner in the town where it was suggested that Flinders should make his escape on one of the English vessels as its crew landed for water. Opinions were divided as to whether Flinders should or should not consider himself on parole. The Abbe Carrier put a stop to this conversation, saying it was very improper and might lead to the government treating Flinders with some fresh indignity.

With the ladies of the family back at Tamarin, social life began to resume its normal pace as opposed to the relative quiet of the previous five weeks. The very next day, visitors arrived for the Masonic feast of St. John, which was to be kept at the quarter's lodge the following day, Sunday, when M. and Mme. Benoni La Butte, accompanied by captain Boarange, of the Canonniere, said to be a brave officer, although Flinders was not impressed, called in the evening. Later, M. Curtat arrived with ten persons from the Lodge to stay overnight. Amongst them were M. Magen St. Helier, a judge, M. Fort, and M. Huson and most of them stayed and passed the next day.

On Tuesday August 1st., M. Lavillon dined with the family. He reported that all officers under the government whose salaries exceeded \$50 per month were having them temporarily reduced. The blockade had become so strong, that no prize or ship from France was able to enter port, resulting in a great reduction in commerce and hence government revenues. Two days later, M. Dugilis and his son spent the day with the family and the next day, M. and Madame Suasse, termed by Flinders as the most estimable of their neighbours, dined with the family. Flinders began reading the first volume of Burney's *History of discoveries in the South Sea*, which Surgeon Finon had lent the two sisters when they were in town.

Flinders received a letter from Charles Desbasssayns at Bourbon on August 9th., stating that he had placed for him 1219.64 piastres at 18% for the year beginning in April. He added that his next child, if a son, would be called *Flinders*. In view of the limitations on shipping, it could be that that letter came by an *Aviso* or despatch boat, such as would have been ignored by the English cruisers between the islands. On August 12th. M. Jacques Genieve came to breakfast on his way to town. He had an excellent habitation on the Black River, to which Flinders had once been invited to spend some days, but had to decline to do so as it was beyond his parole limits. The next day, Flinders went to dinner with M. Deglos, having arranged to meet M. Pitot there. In addition, M. Pitot senior and his son were also there, as well as M. Bayard, the judge, and Flinders stayed on overnight after the others had left. He returned to Tamarin in time for breakfast and in the afternoon accompanied the family in a visit to M. and Madame Herbecq.

Flinders was by then teaching Aristide and Marc spheric trigonometry and navigation, still apparently their only type of education. On Sunday August 20th., he accompanied the family to dinner at M. Suasse's and on returning in the evening found Madame Curtat had come to stay for a week. Two days later, Andre D'Arifat came for a few days and Mesdames Suasse and Herbecq came to dinner. The next day, Flinders accompanied Madame Curtat to dinner with Madame Herbecq.

The progress of the war from blockade to attack was by then being postulated by the islanders, particularly in respect of Bourbon. It was generally known that a member of the House of Commons had enquired of the government as to the reason for the islands not being taken, to which the reply was that orders had been given for the blockade of the islands until other measures could be taken. On August 25th., the Abbe Carrier and M. Fort dined with the family. The next day, M. Andre returned to Flacq and on August 29th., Madame Curtat returned to town with Mesdemoiselles Delphine and Sophia who went to pass a few days with her on the occasion of a ball given by the merchants and inhabitants of the town.

On September 1st., Flinders went shooting with M. Labauve on the further side of the Tamarin River, saw a few partridges but shot nothing. On Sunday September 3rd., he accompanied Madame D'Arifat to dinner at the Herbecqs, where they met Messrs. Desfayes, Jackson and Nacy. The anticipated hostilities were by then in the mind of the captain-general who ordered a regiment of 600 blacks to be raised by a levy of one in twenty of all the male slaves possessed by the inhabitants, their ages to be between 15 and 25. That would imply that 12,000 slaves were privately owned on the island. Consequently, M. Labauve took all his slaves to the fort at the Black River, where an officer chose three for the new regiment.

On September 12th., the family dined with M. Benoni La Butte. Meanwhile, Flinders had been teaching his young scholars spheric and right-lined trigonometry, while employing himself in calculations for the longitude. Messrs. Suasse and Ducasse came to dinner on September 23rd. Flinders noted that the main dish was veal, the first he had tasted on the island, but although the meat was very good, he considered the calf at six weeks was too old. The next day, Flinders bought a cow and its calf from M. Labauve for \$92, the price he paid at an auction. He had been occupied in demonstrating the rules for calculating solar eclipses and the occultations of fixed stars. The news from Bourbon was that the planters there had refused to furnish slaves for the defence of the island, which was expecting to be attacked by a force of 14,000 men. In the meantime, the blacks there were widely infected by small pox, nearly all the vaccine having been lost. It was later found out that a successful attack on St. Paul in Bourbon had been made on September 21st. and 22nd.

Flinders learnt of the death of M. Cap-Martin after his long illness, on September 25th. He had been a lieutenant on board the *Geographe* with Nicholas Baudin and so Flinders had much in common with him, but he could not attend the funeral as it was held in town. The next day Flinders went shooting with M. Labauve and M. G. Duguilis, killing

five partridges, making up eight which were sent to town for the marriage of Mlle. Nunon Duguillis with M. Duguoidig. On October 1st. M. Labauve conducted his elder sister back from town where she had passed nearly five weeks in an indifferent state of health, Sophie having returned twelve days earlier.

At noon on October 3rd., Flinders received a letter from colonel Monistrol informing him that the general was imposing a restriction on his parole, which was to confine him to the lands that composed the habitation of Madame D'Arifat. This step was undoubtedly taken as a result of the attack on Bourbon. That evening, as Flinders made his usual walk with members of the family, he met a soldier from the Black River who informed him that two aviso boats had arrived back from Bourbon bringing the news that the English were in possession of St. Paul; having sent 600 men on shore; the Caroline and two east India Company boats, her prizes, had been sunk, and many men killed; that general De Bruly, the governor, had committed suicide and that the inhabitants had not sought to make any resistance. Later, M. Labauve returned from town and confirmed the news, adding that the inhabitants of Mauritius were not prepared to comply with a new requisition of the government for more black slaves to be soldiers.

The next day a letter arrived from M. Charles Desbassayns at Bourbon, also confirming the news and referring to the defence put up by general De Burly. He had marched from St. Denis with 700 men to attack the English, but when the inhabitants of St. Paul claimed that their town would be destroyed if he pursued his intention, he sacrificed his military duty to the good of the inhabitants and returned to St. Denis on September 25th. Having left a note as to his actions, he then committed suicide. It appeared that the slaves of St. Paul had revolted and done much mischief, for which the instigators were shot by the English. It was that which caused the Mauritians to have no faith in general De Caen's policy of arming the slaves.

On October 5th., in spite of the obvious instability of the situation generally, then current, Flinders purchased a full heifer from M. Labauve to be added to the cow and calf he already had. An agreement was signed by which M. Labauve undertook to take care of the stock and its produce, for which he would take one-third of the produce. Flinders considered that his outlay would show 100% gain in three or four years, corresponding with M. Labauve's 32% profit annually on his herd, counting nothing for the expense of the land on which the herd fed.

The family and Flinders returned to Vacoas on October 6th. enabling Flinders to comply as nearly as possible with the new restriction placed on his movements. That year, the family had been 15 weeks at Tamarin as compared with 13 and 12 in the previous two years. The next day, M. Pitot came for the weekend. Flinders had to decline an invitation from M. Curtat to dine at his new habitation at Keroan, in view of the new restrictions placed on him. He employed himself in his calculation of longitude from eclipses of the sun and in writing a fifth column to Mackay's table of logarithms.

On Sunday 15th. October, M. and Mme. Curtat, M. Barbe-Merbois and Messrs. Labauve, Herbecq and Duval came to dine with the family. M. Duval invited Flinders to dine at his house with a party, but again, Flinders had to decline. A letter from Bourbon dated October 11th., informed that the English had quitted the island on October 6th.

Flinders was still teaching Aristide and Marc oblique and spheric trigonometry, while he was engaged in enlarging MacKay's table of proportional logarithms. Under the apprehension that he would never reach England, he began making out his will. Then on Sunday 22nd., Flinders, in spite of its breaking his parole, accompanied the family to pass the day with M. Curtat at Keroan. Noticeably, he made no comment on that infringement.

With commerce nearly annihilated, government revenues were proportionately reduced. To remedy that, it lent the Laurel to merchants for \$50,000 for freight to France and called upon a representative from every quarter to consult upon the government's financial crisis. A week or two later, they met as a Council, at which the general demanded that they should lend him a considerable sum for six months. The Council promised to procure \$120,000 for him, which was calculated to be sufficient if many economies were made. On November 11th., M. Martin-Monchamp, one of the 12 commissioners called by the government to consult upon the means of obtaining finance, visited the family in the midst of making his tour amongst the inhabitants of the quarter. He read an address from the government to the inhabitants, explaining the need for help and afterwards an address by the commissioners giving their reasons for agreeing with the government that the borrowing of \$120,000 dollars was the best means of dealing with the situation. In return for the

contribution, the government offered bills at par upon the French government. M. Martin-Monchamp added that he had found much goodwill among the inhabitants but not much money. However, the commissioners were prepared to receive all kinds of colonial produce, especially provisions such as wheat, maize and manioc and, like that, there seemed to be little doubt that the subscription would be filled without difficulty. Flinders recommended jokingly that the government could save money by sending away all the prisoners including himself!

Flinders had been calculating a table for determining the distance of objects at sea from their known height and observed altitude. He found he needed nine figure logarithms for this purpose when the observed altitude was small. So, undeterred, he set about calculating a table of logarithms to nine places! Later on, he had to calculate a table of cosines to five and 9 places of figures, having only common tables.

On Saturday November 18th. M. and Mme. Sauveget came to pass a few days with the family and the next day, the Chevreaus came to dine. On November 22nd., Flinders accompanied the family in a visit to the Chevreaus from whom it was learnt that the government was distributing signals to direct the movement of the inhabitants in case the island was attacked. On the following day, Flinders accompanied the family and the Sauvegets to Mare aux Vacoas, where an agreeable time was spent, without comment as to his parole being broken. The same applied to his visit to the cascades of the Tamarin River the next day, with M. Sauveget, who then returned to town for a few days.

On coming back, M. Sauveget reported that the voluntary subscription for the relief of the government was proceeding slowly and a forced loan was being spoken of. Meanwhile, none of the promised reforms had been initiated. As for commerce, that was almost completely shut down and all borrowing at interest at an end. Even M. Pitot did not stay overnight when he visited Flinders on December 3rd., in company with M. Deglos. The next day, the Sauvegets and their eleven year old daughter, whom Flinders found very amiable, left for town. On December 9th. M. Colique, sister of the late Madame Airoilles and Mme. Morin, left after five days stay and M. Curtat arrived for the weekend.

On Tuesday 12th., Flinders went to dine with M. Chevreau who only lived next door, and found there Madame Lachenardiere. She had been to the Black River to see her friend Madame St. Susanne embark for Bourbon. The captain-general had refused to let her accompany Madame St. Susanne. At least, that island was by then safe enough to visit. On December 14th., Flinders called in the evening upon the ladies in the neighbourhood. On the following Sunday, the Chevreaus and M. Lachenardiere paid an evening call.

Flinders dined again with the Chevreaus and Lachenardières on December 28th. and the following day accompanied the ladies in a visit to the Chazals, who had recently returned from town. January 1st. 1810, saw Flinders once again distributing dollars among the slaves of the plantation in return for their nosegays and good wishes for the New Year. That year he gave \$30, \$10 more than the previous New Year. He had, of course, no presents for the ladies as he had not been to town for the purpose. In fact, only for New Year 1807, was he able to give them each a present, although in the previous year, he found a fan for each of the three daughters. He seemed not to have visualised that 1810 was to be his last New Year with the family. The day was distinguished by Messrs. Curtat and Charton coming to dine and pass the evening with the family. With the dire position of the island, social life at last seemed to be on a much reduced scale, corresponding to the economic situation being so depressed. Nevertheless, the Chevreaus did give a dinner party to their neighbours on January 5th., the anniversary of their marriage.

January 10th. found Flinders still teaching spheric trigonometry to Aristide and Marc, while returning, himself, to the subject of the earth's magnetism. Three days later, he received Steele's list for July 1809, but could not find his brother listed in any part of it, causing him anxiety. On January 18th, Flinders went to dine with M. Lachenardiere at M. Chevreau's.

At last., on Sunday February 4th. a large dinner party, with Messrs. Curtat, Labauve, Edward Perichon, La Grave and Madame Chazal as guests of the family. Two weeks elapsed before Flinders accompanied the family visiting the Chevreaus, where they found the families Chazal and Chermont. M. Pitot came just for the day the following Sunday. On March 2nd., Flinders dined by invitation with the Chevreaus and met the Chazals, who did not appear to be satisfied that Flinders had ceased to visit them just in consequence of the restriction of his parole. On Sunday March 4th., the Chazals passed the day with the family and in the evening they all dropped in on the Chevreaus. A letter from Bourbon dated

February 20th. arrived in the evening although it was Sunday. M. Charles Desbassayns had written to reveal that the bad state of business on the island continued to give him much trouble, and that was increased by the fact that he was also looking after the affairs there of his two brothers who had gone to France.

Flinders was by then employed in researches into the position of the magnetic poles of the earth, while introducing his young scholars to the problems of astronomy. On March 7th., the ladies went to pass the day with the Chazals, and Flinders followed in time for dinner, again without comment on the breaking of his parole. He received that day a prettily worked purse with a charming letter from Mlle. Noeme Sauveget. On March 10th., Flinders dined by invitation with M. Chevreau, where he found the Lachenardieres. Messrs. Curtat, Carrier and Labauve came for the weekend. Sunday morning was passed at tric-trac.

On March 13th. Flinders received a letter from Mr. Hope, commander of the cartel from India, stating that he had had a promise from the government of taking Flinders back with him on the cartel's return to India. Although Flinders was sceptical, having been deceived on so many previous occasions, he nevertheless wrote to his friend Pitot asking him to order shirts, jackets and pantaloons such as he would need in case of departing in the cartel, but for once he was imprecise in so far as he did not give the sizes required. On Friday March 16th. Flinders finished his notes on the magnetism of the earth, having earlier determined all he could in that respect. It was also the day on which he recorded for the last time his employment with Aristide and Marc, his young scholars, the subject being astronomy.

Messrs. Chevreau, Airoles, Lachenardiere and Gourelle came to visit him on Sunday March 18th. and he later went to dine with the Chevreaus. The next day, Flinders accompanied two of the ladies on a walk to Mare aux Vacoas, his last sight of the water. There they met M. Chardenou, owner of the plantation bordering it and a man much travelled in Madagascar. M. Pitot wrote asking what clothes that Flinders had asked him to order, were to be made. On Saturday March 24th., M. Edward Perichon came to pass the evening with the family.

Finally, on March 28th., Flinders received a letter from M. Monistrol informing him that the captain-general had authorised his return to England in the cartel, upon the condition of not having hostility against France and her allies during the course of the war. Flinders immediately visited the neighbours Chevreau and Des Fosses preparatory to going to town. M. and Mme. Lachenardiere came to sup with the family when Flinders had the pleasure of beating M. Lachenardiere at tric-trac. After that he sat up till 1am. writing letters to all his friends nearby.

The next day, having written and despatched letters to all his friends in different parts of the island, and taken leave of the good and excellent friend, Madame D.Arifat, and her family, he set off for the town after dinner, stopping at M. Chazal's and M. Deglos' on the way. At dusk, he arrived at M. Pitot's and received congratulations of the family upon his approaching departure.

3. The Eleven Week Wait.

Later that day, Mr. Hope, commissioner the prisoners on the Harriet cartel, and captain Ramsden, of the same vessel, visited Flinders and invited him to breakfast on the following morning; after which, Mr. Hope took Flinders along to see colonel Monistrol who received him politely and promised to speak to the general about the Cumberland and the third volume of the log book, still withheld. Flinders then called upon Madame Curtat and dined with M. Pitot's family. Later he attended a dinner at a late hour to which M. Foisy had invited him, in order that he should meet English people and fellow passengers in the cartel, in particular, a Mrs. Scot, whom he described as a worthy Scots lady of the old school. The party went on till midnight.

On Saturday, March 31st., Flinders went out shopping, in particular in respect of clothes already ordered. He dined with M. and Mme. Curtat and found there M. Labauve and Aristide, who had come to town in expectation of seeing him off. In the evening, he visited Mrs. Scot, her brother Mr. Hunter, the two Miss McCargs and the Misses Barton and Butler. Several friends called or wrote with good wishes for his departure. The next day, Flinders spent with M. Sauveget at the River of Lataniers. M. Labauve dined with them before returning to Tamarin and presented Flinders with a tric-trac board and a set of chessmen. In the evening, Flinders wrote to Madame D'Arifat as he so often did when in town.

The following day, Messrs. Hope and Ramsden breakfasted with him. In the course of the day, he paid some visits and was visited by M. Chevreau and Mr. Hunter and, in the evening, by M. Wohorsitz.

The next day, Flinders accompanied Mr. Hope on a visit to colonel Monistrol. Mr. Hunter dined with the Pitots and later he brought Mrs. Scot and the Miss McCargs on a visit to Madame Pitot. Flinders had passed the afternoon with Madame Curtat. On Thursday April 5th, he dined with the Pitots at M. Brunet's and in the evening visited the Misses Barton and Butler at the house of Madame Bidar. M. Monistrol sent Flinders permission to pass 24 hours at M. Pitot's country house, for which purpose, M. Curtat kindly offered Flinders his horse.

Thus, on Friday April 6th., Flinders set out in a great cavalcade of horses, chaises and palanquins for Chimere for what was to be the greatest occasion of all his time in Mauritius. On the way, some appropriate songs were sung, in one of which was a verse complimentary to the English, wishing that before a year was up, the two nations might be as united as the gathering was at the time. Flinders noted that, as usual on those occasions, it was his friend Thomy Pitot who had been the poet. Of the English present, were Messrs. Hope and Hunter, Mrs. Scot and the two Miss McCargs, who were praised by Flinders for their polite and complacent conduct amongst the French. Dancing continued till daylight, breaking only for supper at 2am.

On the Sunday, Flinders walked out to breakfast and passed the day with M. Sauveget. He walked back to the town in time to drink tea at M. Brunet's. Mr. Hope had been called to the captain-general at Reduit, who informed him that Flinders would not receive any account for the Cumberland nor his Logbook No. 3, since he was being set at liberty at the request of Lord Minto, who had clearly done a deal with the general, and not as a consequence of orders from the French government. Flinders called on Mr. Hope on Tuesday April 10th. to hear what the general had told him. Afterwards, he dined with M. Brunet and in the evening accompanied the family to a collation at M. Dayot's, about a mile from the town. On returning, he called on M. and Madame Andre D'Arifat who had arrived from Vacoas, accompanied by Aristide. He dined with them the following day and accompanied them on a visit to M. Dumouhy. A large supper party at M. Pitot's followed.

On April 12th., Flinders spent the evening with the D'Arifats and at M. Brunet's, in company with several English gentlemen and ladies. The following day, he dined with Mr. Hunter, where there was a large party of French and Englishmen. On Sunday 15th., with special permission from M. Monistrol, Flinders accompanied Messrs. Hope and Ramsden out to M. Kerblance's country house, situated about four miles to the south of the town in the Wilhelms Plaines, where there was a large party of French and English who passed the day, amongst them Mrs. Scot and three young ladies. Walking, cards and chess occupied the time between breakfast and dinner, when some toasts were drunk, among them, one to the health of his wife, occasioning a reply by Flinders in fluent French that was received with much approval and acclamation. In his modesty, Flinders did not record making his reply in his journal. In the evening dancing went on till the party broke up at 10pm.

The following day, Flinders made some visits in company with Mr. Hunter and in the evening he received a visit from M. de Lis, an apothecary esteemed for his knowledge of the island's natural history. Payment of his allowance to the end of March arrived the next day. On Wednesday 18th., Flinders breakfasted with some English gentlemen at M. August Baud's who showed the gathering a collection of Roman medals. The next day, Flinders dined with M. Catoire, a well-informed man who had been educated at *l'Ecole Polytechnique* in Paris. Flinders dined with Mr. Hope on April 20th. and later was declined permission to pass a few days at Vacoas and even to go to M. Pitot's country house, where the family was passing the weekend. So Flinders had to spend the Sunday alone in the Pitot home in town. However, on the Monday he breakfasted with M. Catoire, when they conversed on natural philosophy, and dined with Mr. Hope in company with M. Pitot and two English gentlemen.

It was only on April 26th. that Flinders recorded that he had brought two of Madame D'Arifat's slaves with him to the town and, having little hope of an early departure, he sent one of them back. The general had been delaying the departure of the cartel as the English cruisers were always before the port and were in fact augmented by a frigate and a ship of war on April 27th. The next day, Flinders dined with Madame Curtat and the following day with Mr. Hunter. On Saturday 28th. he dined with a large party at Messrs. Hope and Ramsden's. Then he spent the Sunday once again with the Sauvegets at the River Lataniers where the stone bridge had been carried away by water from the hills. On his return, he spent an hour with the Curtats. He visited them again the following afternoon as they had expected the arrival of M. Labauve and his sister, who did not turn up. On the Tuesday, May 1st, he dined with M. Catoire in company with several distinguished men of the Isle de France, in

particular M. Bernard the Secretary and M. Lefebore, captain of the guard to the captain general. Afterwards he went to see M. Labauve and his sister who had arrived at the Curtats.

On May 2nd, Flinders, having been refused permission to accompany M. Pitot making a visit to his sister at Poudre d'Or, dined with the Curtats along with M. Labauve and his sister. In the evening he accompanied the ladies in a visit to Madame Herbecq, who had come to town. On Saturday May 5th., Flinders and M. Curtat dined with Mr. Hunter, who had invited them when they called on him the previous evening.

On May 8th., Flinders received his allowance for April and an order to embark on the cartel that morning. However, as he was due to dine with M. Catoire that day, he was given till the evening at his host's insistence. That gave him time to pay farewell visits to Messrs. Kerblance, Saulnier, and Noble, as well as to take his leave of his good friend Madame Curtat and M. Barbe-Merbois. Finally, after packing up his trunks, he took leave of the family of M. Pitot and went on board, having been in the town for 40 days. To coincide with the occasion, he received that day a diploma as a corresponding member of the Society of Emulation.

The next morning, Messrs. Curtat and Labauve came to see him, and there being no orders to the contrary, Flinders went ashore to have breakfast with them, but came back to the ship immediately afterwards, having purchased two chairs for his cabin. Later, he found that his going on shore had not been approved of. Orders were then given to the guard to prevent people, including servants, from going on shore or boarding without permission. Flinders spent his time playing tric-trac and chess, writing letters to friends ashore and reading Lt. Owen's treatise on telegraphic and naval signals in manuscript, Lt. Owen being a passenger.

On May 28th., M. Pitot and some of the ladies came to row around the cartel and the sergeant permitted them to come on board. On June 3rd., a subscription was sought from all the prisoners on board with the purpose of giving all the sailors and soldiers in the Pondiere a good dinner the next day in celebration of George III's birthday. \$250 were raised, of which Flinders subscribed \$20. As for those on board, Flinders recorded that the day was kept with that joy and decency becoming to the loyal subjects of a beloved king.

Still thinking in terms of an exploratory future, Flinders began learning the Malay language, having borrowed Howison's dictionary from a passenger. He imagined that he would be next undertaking a voyage to explore the islands between Timor and New Guinea, for which the language would be useful. On Thursday, June 7th., M. Francos came on board at noon, paid Flinders till the end of May, and brought him a parole to sign, promising to bring him a certificate from the Chief of Staff, permitting him to return to England. On June 8th., M. Labauve came on board to bid farewell to Flinders, the sergeant being indulgent for once. Meanwhile, Flinders was reading Mr. Marsden's History of Sumatra and studying Malay language.

At last, On Wednesday June 12th., the pilot came on board and the shore boats began to weigh the anchors by which the ship was moored. Flinders received farewell letters from his friends on shore and visits from his very good friend Thomy Pitot and from Messrs. Noble, Genieve, Pegiot and Wohorsitz. M. Regnier brought Flinders \$60.875, his allowance for the month of June. Later, he sent away his little black servant, Tousaint, with a letter for Madame D'Arifat and a recompense. The 46 seamen and soldiers, who had been kept ashore till the last moment, arrived on board and Flinders took Mr. Herman, a seaman from the Sea-Flower, as a servant. At last, Flinders had his sword returned to him, but not the two spy glasses. M. Francos came with one of the copies of his parole with a certificate from colonel Monistrol, defining his route to England.

At 3pm, the Harriet was swaying, but it was sunset before it passed the forts, having been grounded for a while on a sandbank. The English squadron, three frigates and a corvette, being at some distance, it was 9pm. before the Harriet spoke them. Owing to intransigence on the part of De Caen, the proper communications between him and Captain Rowley had not taken place. So, instead of the Harriet proceeding on its course without being intercepted, Captain Rowley insisted that boats were sent to bring the commissary, Mr. Hope and Flinders to him. Flinders was in the boat of captain Tomkinson of the Otter, which the commodore Rowley intended to despatch to the Cape the following day. On hearing that, Flinders applied to be taken out of the cartel bound for India and placed in the Otter for the Cape. After showing his parole and explaining the conditions he was under, it was agreed that he could embark in the Otter the next morning.

Finally, on June 14th., Flinders, having prepared his trunks to go aboard the Otter, with a quantity of fruit, fowls and vegetables given him by Mr. Ramsden, he took leave of all his shipmates on the Harriet and went on board the Boadicea, receiving three cheers on his departure. At noon, the Harriet, after sending fruit and vegetables to the commodore, parted company with three cheers. Flinders then dined with the commodore in company with colonel Keating, captains Lucius Curtis, Edgill, and Tompkinson. In the evening, he accompanied the latter on board the Otter, only to find his servant had left one trunk behind on the Harriet.

4. Omissions of and reflections on the foregoing

Reducing the journal to just over a fifth of its length could only be accomplished by omitting nearly all references to naval and merchant shipping movements, meteorological observations and the constant endeavours on the part of many friends and acquaintances of Flinders who tried in vain to secure his release by interceding with the general and even the Minister of Marine in Paris.

Even in the Maison Despaux, Flinders would record the coming and going of naval vessels and, when he moved to Vacoas, M. Pitot would keep him informed of shipping movements in his frequent letters. Later on, the English cruisers were often near enough for Flinders to see them for himself and he also had the information given each day from the flags hoisted on a nearby mountain top. In general, named vessels were those of the French Navy and the English prizes it captured. Neutral merchant vessels were often noted when they brought much needed supplies to the island. American vessels were dominant in this respect and, perhaps as a consequence, much of the trade in the island was in US dollars.

Recording the daily weather became a routine in the last three years of his time at Vacoas. Flinders was terse and precise in this respect and used the normal naval terms. Of the general observations made, the most significant was the coolness of the highlands at around 500 metres or more as compared with the town or the coast at Tamarin, where the rainfall was almost always much lower and the weather more settled. This distinction was paralleled by the differences in crops and agricultural practice.

The efforts of others to obtain his release, followed Flinders' many letters to the general in the first few months of his captivity. He got no sympathy from the general, but his friends so often had optimistic forecasts to report from their interventions, that Flinders became quite used to discounting them. He described on many occasions in the first three years how wretched he felt in respect of his captivity and even lively social occasions could not put his concerns out of his mind. The change for the better in this respect from 1807 would appear to be correlated with his gaining fluency in French.

Apart from his fits of melancholy, particularly in 1806, Flinders suffered very little ill health, although his gravelly condition was always with him and occasionally he referred to it. To begin with, he admittedly had his vitamin C deficiency, which left him with scorbatic sores on his legs. These were virtually cured by the time he moved to the Maison Despaux, but he was still run down following the effects of the shipwreck and the long voyage in the inadequate Cumberland. Medical opinion was adamant that only parole out in the country could restore fully his health and that must have been the case as shown by the general improvement in his health as the months went by at Vacoas. Admittedly, he had a fever for a few days in September 1805, February and August 1807. In November 1805, he had bile trouble and probably again in January 1806. However, he recovered fairly quickly from all these episodes and seemed to be even in much better health in the last two years of his time in Mauritius. The general conception that he was in ill health all the while, is thus contradicted, however aged he might have appeared.

It is possible to see by his writing how his disposition changed over time. For the first month, it was large and untidy with much crossing out. By the time he got to the Maison Despaux, it was quite reasonable, but from December 1804 till July 1807 it became very small, with many more lines to the page. After that, it was his normal hand which persisted till his death. What is remarkable is the way in which he wrote so evenly and well after the first four months and the large (12.5 inches by 7.5 inches) paper he used was always neatly filled. It is possible that he made a rough copy from which he wrote the entries every few days, particularly when he was away from The Refuge. In all he used 235 pages for his time in Mauritius, writing 151,000 words.

In the foregoing abstract of the journal, Flinders' choice and spelling of some words and his use of lower case for the initial letter of naval and army ranks have been retained in many instances so as to save the connection with the original Journal. A particular

naval expression was for a vessel to be said to have spoke another, meaning to hail and communicate with one passing. Instead of using forenames to refer to individuals, it was more usual, for example, for him to write *my young scholars* rather than Aristide and Marc. The forenames of young ladies were avoided by referring to their parent's daughter. Even with his best friend M. Pitot, he rarely defined him by his forename *Thomas (Thomy)*. Spelling was definitely of the period: thus cruiser was cruizer, stayed was staid, shown was shewn, and music was musick. As regards punctuation, Flinders seemed to neglect to use an apostrophe for the genitive for the first two or three years, but otherwise it was normal.

As well as his journal, he also wrote copious letters. The majority went to local people, and, particularly Madame D'Arifat, to whom he would write every day when in town. Flinders would also keep up a continuous correspondence with M. Pitot, who would usually write once or twice a week. The postal system was very good, for letters p, but, equally, he made frequent unannounced visits to all who had given him hospitality and continued to do right to the very end. That must have required much determination. With the D'Arifat family he was endeared for teaching the two elder daughters English and the two youngest sons mathematics and navigation. In addition, from the first he was keen to join shooting and fishing excursions and he learnt to play all but one of the games in vogue together with chess at which he excelled. He must have return not in use till 1847.

Flinders arrived in Mauritius with very few dollars. His monthly allowance was insufficient for his purposes, but he was able to gets his bills, representing his salary, drawn on the Navy Board and discounted at par by the Danish consul, on the first few occasions. The rate was generally four and a half dollars to the £, but sometimes he only got four. The American consul required a discount of one-third! Later on, Flinders appeared to be accumulating dollars which at first he put on deposit with M. Pitot at 9% and later with M. Charles Desbassayns in Bourbon first at 21% and after that at 18% for \$1000 at a time.

During his time in Mauritius, Flinders was as keen to write to Sir Joseph Banks and Admiralty officers as he was to his wife. Admittedly, the sending of letters was limited by the shipping available, but very few, if any, went astray. However, it was likely that his wife only received up to a dozen in the six years. All letters had to have copies made in his public or private letter book, which must have been irksome. He may not have recorded all the letters received from his family, but they might have only arrived on three or four occasions.

Flinders was clearly a social success. From the first, everyone apart from the general, accepted him. His musical talent must have been enormously helpful in the first years when he could not speak French fluently. On many occasions, he accompanied Madame Chazal on her harpsichord with his flute. He always responded to invitations, but, equally, he made frequent unannounced visits to all who had given him hospitality and continued to do right to the very end. That must have required much determination. With the D'Arifat family he was endeared for teaching the two elder daughters English and the two youngest sons mathematics and navigation. In addition, from the first he was keen to join shooting and fishing excursions and he learnt to play all but one of the games in vogue together with chess at which he excelled. He must have returned to England with many social graces that his naval life had not permitted him to learn.

Of all the people Flinders came to know on the island, M. Thomy Pitot stands out as a most remarkable friend who gave every support he possibly could. Calling on Flinders for the first time on August 10th. 1804. M. Pitot was ever after his constant visitor and, most significantly, he chose the habitation of Madame D'Arifat, 500 metres west from the current T junction at La Marie, just 3 miles west of Curepipe, for Flinders' parole. When Flinders came to town in later years, he was his major source of hospitality and board. In all, M. Pitot made about 34 visits to Flinders in the country, often staying a night or two. Over much of that time, he would arrive every fourth weekend, except of course during 1806/7 when he was in Bourbon. Flinders' second great support in the first year was Captain Bergeret, a naval officer with responsibilities for prisoners in Port Louis. He first visited Flinders on March 7th. 1804 and at once perceived the importance of getting Flinders moved into a country situation where he could walk. Many visits followed and Flinders came to regard him as a friend rather than just a kindly disposed official. It is not surprising that Bergeret paid Flinders ten visits in the first year of his parole and even made several journeys to to Vacoas before he went to sea with a commission. He most likely was insrumental in getting the countryside parole set up. A third person of great consequence to Flinders was M. Boand, a Swiss, who paid a dozen visits to Flinders walking the 15 miles both ways in the day.

At least 39 people, apart from Madame D'Arifat, received Flinders with hospitality in the course of his five years on parole. In addition to spending three winters with the family at M. Labauve's new habitation at Tamarin, Flinders came and went there as he pleased in his last two years. Outstanding was the hospitality he received from the Chazals, both in the country and in town. Flinders noted at least 24 occasions when he dined with them, 23 times when he supped and 12 times when he stayed overnight. In addition, there were many days when he went along in the afternoon or evening and undoubtedly supped with them and on five occasions he joined them just for breakfast. Second to the Chazals, were the Chevreaus, who also had a town house. With them he dined 32 times and supped five. As they were such near neighbours, he never stayed overnight. His friendship with the Chevreaus slowly developed and was very marked in the last year, whereas that with the Chazals continued vigorously through the four and a half years, apart from the short period of coolness following the argument Flinders had with M. Chazal on April 27th. 1809. Often Flinders accompanied the family when receiving hospitality, but with the Chazals and the Chevreaus he was more often invited by himself and always noted when his visit was by invitation as that had a greater social significance. Flinders was particularly sensitive to his social standing and concerned himself very much in that with respect in his early relations with Madame Couve. His naval life was undoubtedly responsible for such attitudes, since with whom he dined on board was of foremost significance.

What then could have been a more fitting end to his journal in Mauritius than that he dined with the Commodore of the English fleet outside Port Louis? As he sailed on to the Cape of Good Hope and so back to England, he could be viewed, not only as one who had been cruelly denied the opportunity of further exploratory voyages together with family life, but also as an outstanding naval officer in his early thirties who had had the unique experience of being a visitor for five years to the French plantocracy, to whom he had endeared himself in the then far away island of Mauritius. In addition, he had written for posterity an unparalleled account of the island and its people in the last five years of French rule. Admittedly, he only became acquainted with the western half of the island south of Port Louis. He never went to see the Botanical Gardens at Pamplemousses, nor did he visit the Grand Port., nor did he go further south than the Grand Bassin. He was an energetic walker, but only climbed one peak, namely Piton Grand Bassin, 702 metres high. After finishing his charts and the rewriting of his log books, he was rarely without some scientific investigation, particularly on magnetism and the compass, astronomy as it interacted with navigation and the marine barometer. He sent papers to the Society of Emulation in Port Louis and surprisingly to the Royal Society in London. The latter were published in the Proceedings and abstracted by several newspapers. As he went about the vicinity of Vacoas, his scientific mind penetrated the geological and geographical questions which stood to be answered. In this connection, he met and discoursed with many like-minded Frenchmen who were surprisingly in greater numbers on the island than would have been expected. Flinders also turned his mind to agriculture and the economics of an island under siege and showed himself at no loss in dealing with his own financial affairs. His determination to speak French fluently was fully rewarded by increased sociability and that same persistence enabled him to give countless lessons in navigation and mathematics to the two young scholars. What more outstanding a record could anyone have had in his circumstances.?

No account of Flinders time in Mauritius would be complete without emphasising the number of occasions that he was allowed to stay in the town. On eight such permissions, he stayed a total of 33 days in Port Louis during 1805 to 1808. He also made two unauthorised visits of one day in 1808 and prior to his embarkation, he had the benefit of 40 days in town, making a total of 75 days over the five years of his parole. The dates of these visits are listed in Appendix 2, following the index of those residents who gave him hospitality in Appendix 1. The list of the 34 books in French, which Flinders read from 1807, forms Appendix 3 and finally, the detailed accounts of processing indigo and maize on the plantation are summarised in Appendix 4.

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Glossary

Batavia	Jakarta
Bourbon	Reunion
Cartel	Ship exchanging prisoners
Schooner	Fore and aft rigged ship
Bouillote	A rapid game
Chevrette	Doe
Camseres	Fresh water fish
Hogshead	52.5 gallons
League (French)	5000 yards
Palanquin	Eastern covered carrying couch
Piastre	Coin with the value of one US\$
Piquet	Card game for two
Piton	Mountain Peak
Supracargo	Officer responsible for mode of stowage and packaging.
Toise	Fathom
Tric-trac	Blackgammon
Trucle Bed bed.	Low wheeled bed which can be pushed underneath master's

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