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Appendix 3

Bibliography of prime collectors, occasional collectors and donors of birds
Little attention has been paid to the difficulties of collection and preservation of specimens under the conditions of the expeditions at that time, the difficulty of the non-scientific crew members with understanding the rigours and requirements of collecting and specifically, how many people were involved in bird-collecting on just one single expedition. These issues and considerations are discussed below.

No less than 32 crew members and donors were involved in the expedition’s bird collecting, as well as other natural history items. This sets the Baudin expedition apart from other successful expeditions such as those captained by James Cook, which had very few collectors on board. There were only up to three collectors for the first Cook expedition (1768-1771), up to six collectors for the second Cook expedition (1772-1775) and the same (Whitehead 1978) for the third Cook expedition (1776-1779). Other expeditions had a much lower number of collectors, usually only one.

It proved to be of great value that the MNHN selected Jean-Batiste-Désiré Dumont, René Maugé, Charles-Alexandre Lesueur, Stanislaus Levillain and François Péron as crew members. René Maugé was the main bird collector, although he also collected other natural history items too, and sailed aboard Le Géographe. On Le Naturaliste, Stanislaus Levillain had instructions to collect birds; no known bird-collector was aboard the Le Casuarina. Birds were only a small part of the 100,000 natural history items that allegedly returned to France with the two ships.

Birds were not only collected for science, but also for food. Examples of these were Black Swans (Duyker 2006: 114), ducks, albatrosses, petrels, Little Penguins, shearwaters and emus.

Explanation of the abbreviations:
OC = occasional collector / minor influence
PC = prime collector
D = donor (not crew members)

Barbe, Jean-Louis
(Dunkerque, France; x) (OC), was assistant paymaster on Le Géographe (Baudin 1974: 539) and responsible for the natural history library on Le Naturaliste (Milius 2013: 234). On 24 April 1803, Barbe and Antoine Guichenot (1783-1867), a young gardener, were sent ashore to bring back whatever the land produced in the way of plants and to kill birds (Baudin 1974: 539). It is unknown what their findings were. It is possible, however, that Barbe collected birds on a number of similar occasions.

Le Bas de Sainte-Croix, Alexandre
(15-09-1759, Paris, France; 12-12-1828, Paris, France) (OC), was second-in-command aboard Le Géographe with the rank of commander. He was wounded in a duel with Ronsard during the first stop on Timor. He subsequently became very ill and left the expedition on 2 November 1801. He stayed on Timor for eight months and then got a passage with a Chinese vessel to Surabaya (= East Java). From there he moved from trading post to trading post and finally ended up in Batavia (= Jakarta). He possibly collected birds when travelling from East Java to Jakarta, or he may have purchased them on the way. Indications in the available information on the specimens’ pedestal also indicate that most birds collected in Java arrived with Le Naturaliste (an XI) and complete the picture. Here are examples of some of the birds which were collected: Cerulean Kingfisher, Lineated Barbet, Javan Myna and Long-billed Spiderhunter. The entire collection made by Antoine Raymond Joseph de Bruni d’Entrecasteaux was purchased by Le Bas de Sainte-Croix on Mauritius. In Batavia, he got to know some French officers and he arrived on Mauritius two months prior to Le Naturaliste, which docked there in January/February 1803 (Bougainville diary, Archives Nationales 155/AP6). Le Bas de Sainte-Croix sailed back to France with Le Naturaliste, where he became a captain in the French navy and later admiral of Cherbourg harbour.

Bass, George
(20-01-1771, Aswarby, Lincolnshire, UK; c. 1803) (D), was an explorer in Australia with Matthew Flinders (1774-1814) and together they discovered that Tasmania was in fact an island (Bowden 1952, Estensen 2005). He collected birds and sold or donated some of these to the Baudin expedition. They were collected in 1801-1802 while Bass was travelling through the
various countries in the Pacific Region; for more information see chapter 3.7. Many ethnographical collections were also bequeathed to the Baudin expedition (Duyker 2006: 212). The exact number of bird specimens donated to the Baudin expedition was not recorded, but small numbers were donated in addition to the Pacific Triller, Tui and Tongan and Samoan Fruit-dove. Also, four other Pacific bird specimens brought back by the Baudin expedition were mounted in the week of 8-15 August 1804 (Aj/15/592), including a parakeet from Tahiti (27 March 1805, Archives Nationales Aj/15/593). For more biographical information see chapter 3.7.

Baudin, Nicolas-Thomas
(17-02-1754, Île de Ré, France; 16-09-1803, Port Louis, Mauritius) (OC), was commander of the Baudin expedition. He was raised in a family of merchants and seamen. He joined the navy in 1775 and after serving in India and the Caribbean, he was given the command of the frigate Apollon. When the command of this ship was withdrawn, to be given to an officer of noble birth, Baudin resigned from the navy. He then worked on merchant vessels and, when visiting the Cape of Good Hope in February 1787, he met Franz Boos (1753-1832), head gardener to the Austrian Emperor Joseph II (Berlozerskaya 2009). Together they sailed with the Pepita, whose former name was Le Josephee, to Mauritius and subsequently to Trieste. Boos trained Baudin in natural history and preserving and transporting plant and animal specimens. He made subsequent journeys with Le Placeres (1788-1791) and Le Jardinière (1792-1794). The collections made on Trinidad during the Le Jardinière journey, then under Spanish control, were seized by the Spanish and left behind. With the help of his contacts with the Minister of the Navy, Laurent Truguet (1752-1839) and a proposal to Antoine-Laurent de Jussieu (1748-1836), the director of the MNHN, Baudin was able to organise the retrieval of his collections which he subsequently wanted to donate to the MNHN. This was approved, and on 30 September 1796, Baudin set sail for the Caribbean with Le Belle Angélique to return after some setbacks on 7 June 1798. However, it was with a different natural history collection than he had intended when he set out, as not the collections left behind were taken back and not the locations could be visited as part of the original plan (chapter 3.1., Fornasiero et al. 2016). On his return, he worked on an ambitious plan to do a circumnavigation, exploring South America, various Pacific Islands, Australia and East and West Africa. His supporters were enthusiastic and the Institut Nationales des Sciences et des Arts appointed a commission to develop a detailed proposal. On 25 March 1800, a revised plan was presented to Napoléon I. During the expedition itself, Baudin sometimes even took an active role in collecting birds (Fornasiero et al. 2004: 57), on most occasions with his close friend Maugé. A fair portion of the 130 (sic) bird species collected in Geographe Bay were apparently shot by Baudin. Specific birds mentioned in his journals and letters are ‘quails’ and in his letters to Jussieu, when in Southern Tasmania, he mentions the existence of large ‘eagles’ (Wedge-tailed Eagle Aquila audax) (MNHN, Bibliothèque centrale, Ms 2082). Baudin also collected during a part of the second leg of the journey (Archives Nationales Aj/15/592). When Baudin and Flinders met, the first thing Baudin did was to show Flinders a bird drawing, most likely done by Lesueur, to break the ice (Bougainville diary, Archives Nationales 155/AP6); Flinders only revealed his name the next day. When sailing in the Gulf of Carpentaria, Baudin’s health deteriorated and he abandon the survey and returned to Timor on 29 April 1803. He tried to complete the survey in the Gulf of Carpentaria after the second stay in Timor, but, a little east of Darwin on 7 July 1803, he again abandoned the expedition and sailed back to Mauritius. Baudin did not get sufficient care or attention to regain his health on Mauritius and he died of tuberculosis in Port Louis on 16 September 1803 and did not finish the voyage.

Bory de Saint-Vincent, Jean-Baptiste-Geneviève-Marcellin
(06-07-1778, Agen, France; 22-12-1846, Paris, France) (OC), was a zoologist assigned to Le Naturaliste. He left the expedition on Mauritius in 1801. Various bird sightings for the part of
the journey he was on board were published in his book (Bory Saint-Vincent 1804, 1805). Birds were mentioned from Tenerife (Bory Saint-Vincent 1805: 34) and Mauritius (p. 75) and there are records of Brown/Black Noddy. On 2 December 1800 (p. 41), Red-billed/White-tailed tropicbirds, and Ascension Frigatebird *Fregata aquila* on 24 December 1800 (p. 47-48). Albatrosses were also seen between 10-15 January 1801 (p. 49) and on 20 January 1801 Maugé killed an albatross; the captain of *Le Naturaliste* decided not to stop so the bird was not collected (p. 50). Albatrosses were also observed on 22 January 1801 (p. 51). After leaving the Baudin expedition he spent two years exploring Réunion and other islands in the Indian Ocean and on his return to France, he published his book and joined the army. He participated in the battles of Ulm and Austerlitz. He returned to Paris in 1820, after several years in exile following the Napoleonic Wars. In 1829, he headed a scientific expedition to Greece and another one to Algeria in 1839. Bory de Saint-Vincent published several books and was also an editor.

**de Bougainville, Hyacinthe-Hypolite-Yves-Philippe-Potentin**

(26-12-1781, Brest, France; 18-10-1846, Paris, France) (OC), was an aspirant 2nd class on *Le Géographe* and was the son of captain Louis-Antoine de Bougainville (1729-1811). In 1798, he studied at the École Polytechnique and joined the navy a year later. He was promoted to midshipman 1st class by Baudin and transferred to *Le Naturaliste* in Port Jackson (Archives Nationales 155/AP6). In his journal he mentioned birds such as the Brown Noddy on 3 November 1800, Red-billed/White-tailed tropicbirds, on 14 November 1800, one albatross shot on 14 January 1801 and three more on 16 February 1801. Cape Petrel were taken from fishing lines on 17 May 1801. On 27 January 1802, he mentioned that Freycinet shot eight Black Swans. He made a note of the live animals that were transported on *Le Naturaliste* when it departed from Sydney: two Black Swans, several Cassowaries (= Emu’s) including a large one, a ‘Waterhouse Goose’ (Cape Barren Goose), some turtledoves from Sandwich Island and finally a great quantity of New Holland budgerigars. On 20, and between 27-30 January 1803, some tropicbirds were seen and on the 27 January also a frigatebird. On 28 January some ‘gulls’ were noted and on 20 March 1803 more frigate birds and tropicbirds. were sighted; tropicbirds were also seen on the 25 March and 28 April 1803. Back in France he joined the war against England. He worked on several ships and became captain and then commander in 1812. In 1814, he was taken prisoner by the English, but released soon afterwards. On 22 August 1821, he commanded *La Thetis* to the Antilles, followed by a circumnavigation of the globe between 1824-26 with same ship (de Bougainville 1837). In November 1828, he was appointed to the royal court of Charles X (1757-1824) and he became rear admiral in May 1838.

**de Brévedent, Léon-François**

(30-11-1777, Genneville, France; 06-02-1806, Saint-Dominique) (OC), was a leading seaman on board *Le Naturaliste*. The following birds are mentioned in his journal (Archives Nationales 5/JJ/56): albatrosses, petrels and terns between 23-24 January 1801, teal, Carnaby’s Black Cockatoo, parakeets and small birds were sighted in Geographe Bay in May-June 1801, small birds, raptors, five birds were collected (possibly Sooty Oystercatchers) in Shark Bay, waterfowl, small turtle-doves, parrots, teal, ducks (one was killed) and seabirds in King George Sound. In 1803, he collected several birds on Timor and he also observed various birds from *Le Casuarina* on 6-7 June 1803, although none were collected. He died at sea off the coast of Saint-Domingue (Haiti) in naval combat with an English vessel.

**Breton, François-Désiré**

(01-05-1781, Sainte-Rose, Guadeloupe; 15-04-1820, Les Cayes, Haiti) (OC), was aspirant 1st class on *Le Géographe*. Notes on birds which were observed and collected can be found in his journal (Archives Nationales 5/JJ/57). He noted Red-billed/White-tailed tropicbirds on 22 November 1800, Ascension Frigatebird on 7 December 1800, Albatross on 13, 14 (eaten by the crew), 18 Jan-
uary, 14, 16 February, 14, 17 May, 27, 29 December 1801 and 6 January 1802. He notes collecting Little Penguins on 12 March 1802, collecting possible shearwaters on 14 March 1802, collecting Cape Barren Goose on Preservation Island on 12 March and again on Waterhouse Island on 4 April 1802 and Cormorant/Gannet on 24 May 1803. He noted four emus aboard Le Géographe in November 1802 and only three on 9 February 1803. On his return to France he joined the crew of the frigate Le Mancha to participate in battles in the Indian Ocean. He then worked as a merchant and died aboard L'Hirondelle, of which he was the captain.

Cooper, Daniel
(English) (D), was a seal and emu merchant. Cooper met the Baudin crew when the ship was moored on King Island. He was interviewed here about the resident King Island Emus by François Péron (Collection Lesueur, MHNB 79054Ar, Av, Br, Bv). Cooper sold at least three King Island Emus to the expedition as well as a male kangaroo and three wombats (Jouanin 1959: 198, Baudin 1974: 504, 564, 569, Collection Lesueur, MHNB 21001). One King Island Emu was brought back alive to France.

de Saint-Cricq, Jacques
(22-04-1781, Lescar, France; 19-03-1819, Paris, France) (OC), was a midshipman on Le Naturaliste. In October 1801, he was promoted to lieutenant by Baudin and later to captain when stationed in Port Jackson. On 30 January 1803, Baudin reported, “Be so good as to tell Mr. de St. Cricq that I earnestly beg him to send us back any rare and valuable birds that he kills.” Baudin went on to mention that St. Cricq killed a Wood pigeon-like bird and that it could be used to repair a previously shot bird (Baudin 1974: 319). Various notes can be found in de St. Cricq’s journal (Archives Nationales 5[JJ]/48). He mentions petrels and albatrosses on 27 May 1801, Black Swans, petrels, Australian Pelicans, and quails between 21 May and 19 June 1801, storm petrels, Cape Petrels, albatrosses and other petrel species were noted frequently between 22 November 1801 and 20 January 1802. On ‘Isle Verte’, large eggs were observed, most likely from Black Swan. Petrels and albatrosses were recorded on 27 May 1801 and Black Swans and Australian Pelicans on 21 January and 19 February 1802. There are also some general notes on birds between 20 July and 18 August 1801. He made observations on many water birds and very few land birds, that were not very tasty, giving a general impression of the birds he saw. Glossy Swiftlet nests were also discussed from copies made from Leschenault’s journal (3 October-21 November 1801). When he arrived back in France, he took part in the navy battles in the Caribbean and Indian Ocean against the English. He later joined the police as a commander in Lyon.

Decaen, Charles-Mathieu-Isidore
(13-04-1769, Deuil-la-Barre, France; 09-09-1832, Deuil-la-Barre, France) (D), he first joined the navy as a gunner, but resigned after a few years. In 1792, he joined the army, serving with the Calvados Battalion. After several campaigns in Germany, he was promoted to adjutant general and was promoted to brigadier general on 3 July 1796. He became a prisoner-of-war, but was fortunately released in an exchange with another prisoner. In 1802, Decaen was appointed as captain general of the French establishments in India (e.g. Pondicherry). On 22 September 1803, when he arrived on Mauritius, he learnt that a new war had started in Europe. He donated live animals such as a Southern Cassowary and other specimens to the Baudin expedition when they were stationed on Mauritius (Collection Lesueur, MHNB 21001). These were donated by Simon Nicolaasz Dekker to Decaen. During his eight-year stay on Mauritius, he defended both Mauritius and Réunion against attacks from the British. In December 1803 (see Flinders), Decaen imprisoned Matthew Flinders and released him in April 1810. In that same year, during a major attack by the British, he had to capitulate and left the island in 1811. He was appointed as commander of the armies in Catalonia between 1811-1814. After the first abdication of Napoléon I, he acknowledged Louis XVIII (1755-1824) as king and was appointed governor of the 11th military division in Bordeaux. When Napoléon I returned, he became loyal to him again, but was imprisoned after the defeat at Waterloo. He then retired to civil life, to be recalled to active duty by King Louis-Philippe I (1773-1850) in 1830.
Dekker, Simon Nicolaasz
(12-11-1756, Hoorn, the Netherlands; 30-09-1824, Bergen, the Netherlands) (D), became captain at 28 January 1782 from the ship Westfriesland, and became prior to July 1802 rear admiral in the Dutch navy. He sailed in the Mediterranean and Indonesia. He donated various specimens, both alive and dead, to the expedition following his recent trip to Batavia from which he had sailed in May 1802. There were specimens from Sumatra and New Guinea (Collection Lesueur, MNHN 21001) such as Western Crowned Pigeons and a Pinknecked Green Pigeon. When England declared war on France in May 1803, Dekker was stationed on Mauritius and ordered to return to Indonesia to defend it against the English. Instead, he joined forces with General Decean and worked the seas between Mauritius and South Africa. He left for Indonesia on 28 January 1804, as commodore of the three trade ships Pluto, Kortenaar and Bato, but the weather was against him and, on 28 February, he docked in Cape Town. In June 1804, he sailed to Portugal and continued from there to the Netherlands. Due to some of his previous behaviour, he was sentenced to death on 19 July 1804. This sentence was overturned by the High Court, but he was dismissed from the army.

Dibbetz, Reinier de Klerk
(16-01-1764, Batavia, Indonesia; April-May 1808, off Guinea) (D), he studied medicine in Franeker, the Netherlands and became a doctor in Heerenveen; he married in 1784. As a patriot, he had to flee the Netherlands in 1788 and settled in France in St-Omer. He returned to the Netherlands with the French army in 1795. After holding some positions in Friesland, one as the editor of the Friesche Courant newspaper, he left for The Hague. In 1802, he was sent to the Cape (South Africa) which had fallen back into Dutch hands. Here he became inspector general at the hospital in Cape Town. He donated 27 birds collected in Bengal, together with the head of a Hottentot, a captain’s spear from the San tribe and small poison arrows from the Name tribe (Collection Lesueur, MNHN 21001). Jean Macé may possibly have collected the Bengali birds. A close friendship developed between Péron and Dibbertz (Duyker 2006: 208). Both studied together the Hottentots, and Dibbetz told Péron about his research into small-pox. He became director of all the Cape hospitals. When the Cape was recaptured by the English, he left for Java, but died during the journey.

Dumont, Jean-Baptiste-Désiré
(1771, Malaunay, France; 1822) (PC), was appointed as zoologist to the expedition by Jussieu and was part of the crew on Le Naturaliste. He left the expedition on Mauritius due to illness (Bory Saint-Vincent 1805: 66). Dumont made a collection of birds and some were specifically addressed to Bernard-Germain-Étienne de Laville-sur-Illon, comte de Lacépède. The case contained 30 birds and formally entered the museum on 27 June 1804. Twenty birds were selected for the galleries, were subsequently mounted and 10 were left as skins for exchanges with other collections. It is known that birds were collected on Mauritius (Appendix 1). Two explanations can account for this: 1) either Dumont donated the birds directly to the expedition or 2) other crew members collected birds on Mauritius, but were not acknowledged as the collectors, and shipped them back on Le Géographe. Not only were birds sent to Lacépède, but insects were also sent to Jean-Baptiste-Pierre-Antoine de Monet, Chevalier de Lamarck (1744-1829) and various natural history specimens were delivered to Louis-Jean Vieillot (1748-1830) (Collection Lesueur, MNHN 21001). Prior to his departure on the Baudin expedition he studied medicine. When he returned to France, he specialised in entomology and published a number of papers.

Flinders, Matthew
(16-03-1774, Donington, England; 19-07-1814, London, England) (D), was an English navigator and cartographer. Flinders made three voyages to the Southern Ocean between 1791 and 1810. In his second voyage, George Bass and Flinders confirmed that Van Diemen’s Land (now Tasmania) was an island. On the third voyage, Flinders circumnavigated the continent of what was to be called Australia. On 8-9 April 1802, he met up with the Baudin expedition off Encounter Bay, South Australia where he donated new bird species to the expedition (Collection Lesueur, MNHN 21002, No 32). They met again at Port Jackson in 1802. A report to General Charles-Mathieu-Isidore Decaen filed by François Péron (1775-1810) on Mauritius about the British colony in Port Jackson, resulted in the detention of Flinders there on 17 December
1803; he was kept prisoner for seven years (Flannery 1998, Brown & Flannery 2004, Heterington 2016). Also, the fact that war with France had broken out in May 1802 did not help matters. Flinders had arrived back in England by October 1810.

**de Freycinet, Louis-Claude de Saulces**  
(07-08-1779, Montélimar, France; 21-03-1841, Rochefort, France) (OC), was sub-lieutenant of *Le Naturaliste*. He was born as the son of a silk trader and he joined the navy in 1793. He embarked on the vessel *L'Heureux* for the first time as lieutenant 3rd class, on the 27 January 1794. During the next six years he sailed on various ships, distinguishing himself in combat, mostly against the English. From that point on he served on the same ships or expeditions, all with his older brother Henri-Louis (1777-1840) which underlines the closeness between them. Both brothers were ranked as sub-lieutenants and Henri departed on *Le Géographe* whereas Louis sailed with *Le Naturaliste*. On 20 October 1801, Louis was made acting lieutenant on Timor and lieutenant on 5 March 1803. Louis mentions collecting penguins and geese on Preservation Island and Swan Island (Freycinet 1815: 68, 91) and Black Swans on the Derwent River, Tasmania. After his return to France, Louis, who was unwell, was sent on leave before being reassigned to the Dépot des Cartes, the French Navy Hydrographical Department. In 1811, he completed the first map of Australia based on the expedition’s surveys, information exchanged with Matthew Flinders and previous charting done by other explorers. He prepared his own voyage, with the vessel *Uranie* between 1817-1820 (Gibraltar, Tenerife, Rio Janeiro, Cape Town, Mauritius, Reunion, Australia, Indonesia, New Guinea, Guam, Hawaii). He reached the rank of rear admiral in 1828 and served as governor of Réunion from 1821 to 1826, followed by French Guyana between 1827-1829 and Martinique in 1829-1830, before being named rear admiral of the navy in Toulon in 1830 and finally maritime prefect administrator at Rochefort in 1834.

**Gicquel des Touches, Pierre-Guillaume**  
(20-04-1770, Saint-Enogat, France; 17-12-1824, Saint-Malo, France) (OC), was one of the captains on *Le Géographe*. He joined his father working on ships and by 1788 he had joined the navy. He was in active duty in Northern America between 1788-1790. He joined the expedition commanded by Bruni d’Entre- casteaux (1792-1794), but left it on Mauritius. In December 1794, he participated in the war against England aboard the *Coureur* and he was given the rank of lieutenant in June 1799. In his journal (Archives Nationales 5/JJ/55) he mentions: Red-billed/White-tailed Tropicbirds and swallows on 21-22 November 1800, Ascension Frigatebird on 6-7 December 1800 and albatrosses on 13-14 January 1801, two of which were killed, and petrels on 15-16 January 1801. On 14-15 January, a small bird was killed as were some grey birds on 15-16 January, 18-19 January and 14-15 February. On 15-16 February 1801, three albatrosses were killed: one white, with a wingspan of 9 feet and 10 inches, and two grey. The Dutch general, Herman Willem Daendels (1762-1818), applied to Gicquel des Touches for help, to become his assistant, in September 1807. He became captain and later adjutant general in the Dutch Army on Java in 1808. He was taken prisoner in 17 September 1811 but was released by June 1814. Back in France he re-joined the army, but resigned in 1816.

**Hamelin, Jacques-Félix-Emmanuel**  
(13-10-1786, Honfleur, France; 23-04-1839, Paris, France) (OC), was captain of *Le Naturaliste*. Aged 17, he embarked as a crew member on his uncle’s merchant ship bound for Angola. He worked on two other merchant ships before joining the army in around 1792. He manned various other ships and by 21 November 1796, he was made commander. Hamelin also collected natural history specimens when ashore with the Baudin expedition (Fornasiero et al. 2004: 104). Back in France he took command of the frigate *Venus* and sailed to Mauritius and then on to Madagascar. He was successful in his military operations, but was eventually captured by the British. On his return to France, he was made a baron by Napoléon I and became rear admiral.
In April 1818, he moved to Toulon as general major of the navy, a post he held until 18 May 1822. In 1832, Baron Hamelin was appointed inspector general of marine crews and he was named Director of Marine Cartography in 1833.

**Janssens, Jan-Willem**

(12-10-1762, Nijmegen, the Netherlands; 23-05-1838, Den Haag, the Netherlands) (D), he joined the army when only nine years old. On 2 April 1785, he became quartermaster, lieutenant on 31 December 1787, captain on 12 December 1788 and fought in Belgium. After he was wounded in battle, he was given an administrative job and on 11 March 1797, he became a first-commissar, secretary to the Department of War in 1800. Following the Treaty of Amiens on 25 March 1802, he departed for the Cape of Good Hope where he was appointed governor general and commander-in-chief of the Cape colony. He donated several natural history specimens to the expedition including Common Ostrich and Mountain Zebra *Equus zebra* (Collection Lesueur, MNHN 21001, Jouanin & Benoit 1997: 117). In 1806, he fought battles against the British, but lost and left Cape Town on 5 March 1806, arriving in the Netherlands on 8 June 1806. On 11 July 1806, he became secretary general of the Department of War and received and fulfilled a number of assignments, but saw no active service. Janssens became Minister for War of the Kingdom of Holland on 7 December. Having reached the rank of lieutenant general, he retired on 1 January 1808. Janssens’ life was directly influenced by Napoléon I, when he was selected to replace vice admiral Verhuel, who had refused the task of taking the message of King Louis’ renunciation of the throne of the Kingdom of Holland to Paris on 3 July 1810. After his arrival on 22 July, Napoléon I made him a member of the Council of the Affairs of Holland. After the incorporation of the Kingdom of Holland into the French Empire, Janssens became ‘général de division’ in active French service on 11 November 1810. He was appointed governor general of all French territories east of the Ile de France which were in fact the former Dutch East Indies. He fought the British here, but was defeated. He was captured and taken to England, but was released quickly and he again took a post in the army back in the Netherlands. On 9 May 1814, Janssens joined the Dutch army with the rank of lieutenant general, the same rank he had had in the French army, and was charged by William of Orange with the direction of personnel within the Department of War. Janssens was offered the job of commissary general of the United Departments of War, becoming Secretary of State. Although he took up this office on 1 January 1815, Janssens received his resignation from the army on 22 May 1815, ending his active service at the age of 52. On 10 November 1828, he was also promoted to general of infantry, the highest rank existing in the Dutch army.

**Leschenault de la Tour, Jean-Baptiste-Louis-Claude-Théodore**

(13-11-1773, Châlons-sur-Marne, France; 14-03-1826, Paris, France) (OC), was assigned as a botanist on *Le Géographe*. After the death of his father, who was a judge, Leschenault de la Tour arrived in Paris. He was trained at the MNHN by Antoine-Laurent de Jussieu. At the age of 26, he set off with the Baudin expedition. He was transferred from *Le Géographe* to *Le Naturaliste* during the first stop on Mauritius. Leschenault remarked that several Cape Petrel were sighted between Mauritius and Cape Leeuwin. On 2 June 1801, he collected a Western Rosella (Red-bellied Parrot) in Geographe Bay and saw Black Swans and Australian Pelicans there too. On Barren Island, he reported the occurrence of White-bellied Sea eagles (Archives Nationales 5/JJ/56) and on Timor he mentions: Great Frigatebird *Fregata minor*, Brahminy Kite, Brown Goshawk, a very common ‘hornbill’, several parrot species, Sunda Collared Dove, Asian Blue Quail, Wallacean Drongo, Munias, flycatchers, Timor Green Pigeon, Glossy Swiftlet and Red Junglefowl *Gallus gallus* on page 101. On 14 January 1802, on Partridge Island, he collected Pied Oystercatcher and noted small
parrots and Brown Quails. He observed Little Penguins on Preservation Island on 10 March 1802. He recorded Black Swans, Silver Gull, Pacific Gull, teal, Cormorants, Royal Spoonbills, Curlews, Oystercatchers and Australian Pelican at the Western Port on 27 March 1802. In the Western Port, Victoria, Leschenault collected two spoiled Australian King Parrots and he also noted some very tame and trusting flycatchers and Brown Quails. In June 1803, he fell ill and left the expedition on Timor (deSmet & Jangoux 2010). After his recovery, he went to Java and with support from the governor, Nicolaus Engelhard (1761-1831), he started collecting on the Island (MNHN, Bibliothèque centrale, Ms 45). In 1806, he sailed to America, returning to France by July 1807. In 1816, he went to Pondicherry, India, to establish a botanical garden and during the next few years he travelled to Borneo and Sri Lanka, again returning to France by May 1822. Between 1823-1824 he travelled to Brazil, Surinam and British Guyana. From his time in Java onwards, he also collected many bird specimens. His grave can still be found on Cimetière du Père-Lachaise.

**Lesueur, Charles-Alexandre**
(01-01-1778, Le Havre, France; 12-12-1846, Sainte-Adresse, France) (PC). The age of 22 he left France with *Le Géographe*, ranked as assistant gunner 4th class. He is not specifically mentioned in the various diaries as a bird-collector although he did go collecting with Maugé on Timor on 26 and 29 August 1801. He was hunting ‘macaques’ and maybe also other birds. He collected birds either alone or in the company of Maugé. The first notes of Lesueur’s bird-collecting activities can be found from the mouth of the River Huon, Tasmania, where he collected a dozen birds, including a Blue Wren and 3 parrots (Fornasiero et al. 2016: 111). Lesueur collected 200 specimens in the Port Jackson region and he is known to have collected 16 birds in the Cape region of South Africa (Girrard 1856: 34, 45). He occasionally added annotations to his drawings. He definitely collected birds on his first Timor visit, as was demonstrated when *Le Géographe* returned to Timor around 6 May 1803 when Lesueur was recognised by the locals as *orang mati bourou* or ‘the bird-killer man’ (Péron 1807: 257, Duyker 2006: 194). Lesueur arrived back safely in France after the expedition where he too personally donated 152 birds from the MNHN to l’Hôtel de Ville de Rouen, including 56 birds from the Baudin expedition to Australia. Shortly after Péron died, Lesueur left for the USA in August 1815, upset by his shabby treatment by the French government. In his time in France, he executed large watercolours depicting the natural history specimens he had encountered. He stayed in the USA as a natural history draughtsman for 22 years and collected many natural history specimens which added considerably to the vast collections in the MNHN (e.g. Loir 1920). In 1837, he returned to Le Havre where he became the curator of the newly established MNHN in 1845 (Crémière & Baglione 2016). He died on 12 December 1846.

**Levillain, Stanislaus**
(1774, Le Havre, France; 23-12-1801, off Timor) (PC), was appointed as zoologist to the expedition by Jussieu. Levillain had also joined Baudin and Maugé on the Caribbean voyage between 1796 and 1798. He actively collected birds both while sailing on *Le Naturaliste* and ashore, and few of his specimens are still present in the MNHN. He collected specimens together with his dog *Kismy* (Collection Lesueur, MNHN 07008D). He may well have collected something in the first few days of the stay on Timor, as Péron stated he was in perfect health when he settled in with him and other naturalists shortly after the arrival of *Le Naturaliste* on 21 September in Kupang (Péron 1807a: 167). However, on 23 December 1801, shortly after departing from Timor, he died at sea from the effects of dysentery and a fever contracted during the stopover. Levillain’s belongings were sold, but all his natural history specimens were subsequently confiscated (5 February 1802) from the purchasers as they actually belonged in the MNHN (Fornasiero et al. 2004: 102-103, Duyker 2006: 184). His diary was brought back (Archives Nationales Aj/15/590) and is now identified as ‘Archives Nationales 5JJ/52’.

The Levillain diary (07008) mentions the following birds (most just seen): 27 April 1801, seabirds, tropicbirds; 29 April, tropicbirds; 2 May, few birds; 7 May, albatross, Cape Petrel and Petrels; 9 May, Cape Petrels; 11 May, several petrels; 12 May, Cape Petrels + many birds; 13 May, albatross; 14 May, Cape Petrel (two caught by Maugé) and other petrels; 15 May, large number
of birds, albatrosses, petrels, Cape Petrels and gannets; 17 May, albatrosses and Cape Petrels; 18 May, no birds; 20 May, several birds; 21 May, albatrosses (and 3 large birds) and 200 Jay-sized birds with grey backs and white undersides; 23 May, Cape Petrel (one was shot by Milius, but could not be found in the sea); 24 May, brown petrels and Cape Petrels; 25 May, small seabird size of startling with a white belly and ash grey back, large albatross; 28 May, albatrosses, petrels and others; 29 May, a possible Black Swan; 30 May, 7 or 8 herons; 31 May, no birds were seen, few were heard, other saw black parrots in large numbers, and Hamelin observed a bird with 7 to 8 feathers on its wings that were separated as though they had no feathers on their tips; 4 June, a crow of the same species as Europe was killed, a lovely little bird with a long tail, a observed were several red-bellied green parrots and birds of prey from the buzzard-family; 5 June, many waterbirds (other saw black swans and wild ducks); 8-12 June, a skua was collected, several Cape Petrels were seen; 12 June, a large petrel with yellow bill (six-foot wing and 9.5 pounds) was shot as a Cape Petrel; 17 June, birds of prey, crows, oystercatchers with red bill, eyes and feet and black-and-white thrushes, and large raptor nest was found; 18 June, green parakeets with red bellies, a raptor resembling a vulture and tiny birds; 19 July, storm-birds and petrels; 21-23 July, a nest of little grey birds was found; 24 July, large petrel (1), Cape Petrels (4), white-bellied cormorant (1), skua (1), black oystercatchers with a red bill, eyes and feet were pack in a large crate for the MNHN; 9 August – 3 September, oyster catchers, pelican, curlews, little birds, small herons and sandpipers were all seen, a crested cockatoo with a pink neck and the rest of the body ash-grey was collected.

Macé, Jean
(<1765 - > 1803) (D), was a traveller in South Africa, Mauritius and India (see chapter 3.6). Between 1789-1792, Doctor Macé travelled to Cape Town, explored the interior of South Africa in 1792-1793, visited various parts of Eastern India between 1798-1800 and Mauritius in 1800. A shipment containing birds collected by Macé arrived in the MNHN in the second half of 1801. His 135 specimens were mixed with the collections from Le Géographe (chapter 3.6) and it is unknown how many birds survived from that shipment; for more information see chapter 3.6. Dumont donated 4 boxes with specimens (N°36), they contained; 1) insects for Lamarck, 2) birds for Lacepède, and 3 & 4) natural history objects for Vieillot in Paris (Collection Lesueur, MNHN 21002)

Maugé, René
(1757, Cély-en Bière, France; 21-02-1802, off Maria Island, Australia) (PC), was appointed as zoologist to the expedition by Jussieu on Le Géographe. Nothing is known of his life prior to May 1794. In that month, he started working at the MNHN, learning taxidermy and studying natural history (Jangoux 2009: 30). Maugé was trained by Louis Dufresne (1752-1832) who taught him to skin birds properly (Sweet 1970: 39). Dufresne (1819: 532-533) explained that Maugé was skilled as a taxidermist and could handle a scalpel very well. Aged 39, he joined the first government-funded expedition captained by Nicolas Baudin towards Tenerife, St. Thomas, St. Croix and Puerto Rico between 1796-1798 (Jangoux 2009: 30). The voyage was a success and 296 bird specimens collected by Maugé were brought back; 140+ specimens still survive (chapter 3.1). In 1800, Maugé received a salary from the MNHN (Archives Nationales A/J/15/88). He was not only a bird collector on the Baudin expedition, but also acquired other natural history specimens (Bory Saint-Vincent 1805). In Geographe Bay, Maugé collected 130 new species (sic) and no less than 60 species in Shark Bay (Collection Lesueur, MNHN 21003, Fornasiero et al. 2004: 64). Little is known of how far the expedition ventured into the interior of West-Timor during its visit between 22 August and 13 November 1801. However, it is known that Maugé lived in a house in Kupang for a while with fellow naturalists including François Péron (Duyker 2006: 96). He went on excursions into the countryside around Kupang with Charles-Alexandre Lesueur, Pierre-François Bernier (1779-1803) and Louis Depuch (1774-1803) and returned with ‘rich’ collections on 26 August 1801 (Péron 1807a: 147). On 29 August, he joined Lesueur, Depuch and Anselme Riedlé (1765-1801) on a reconnaissance of the hinterlands, presumably collecting as they went (Péron 1807a: 151). Maugé is recorded as having attended a dinner with Baudin on 31 August (Baudin 1974: 263-264), but by 15 September, Maugé was seriously ill with scurvy (Péron 1807a: 171). Baudin wrote to Jussieu on 5 October 1801 (MNHN, Bibliothèque centrale, Ms 2126, lettre 4) that the 200 birds collected in Timor were procured by Maugé. However, Baudin (Bonnemains et al. 1988: 398) mentions that Maugé
collected and prepared 300 birds in his summary of activities on Timor. Maugé died on board the Le Géographe from oedema at 23:00 hours, when off the coast of Tasmania on 20 February 1802. He was buried on Maria Island (Baudin 1974: 340). On 25 March 1802, Maugé’s possessions were auctioned off to 14 purchasers aboard Le Géographe. Unfortunately, no journal was brought back to France (Archives Nationales AJ/15/590) although one apparently existed (Bory Saint-Vincent 1805: 59).

Jangoux (2005: 3) has quoted the manuscript by Péron to Baudin, kept in Le Havre (Collection Lesueur, MNHN 65013) and dated 13 January 1802, confirming that the origin of the collector, e.g. Péron et Lesueur, does not necessarily mean that its collector is not Maugé, who was responsible for the collecting of birds until to his death (Baudin to Jussieu, 13 November 1802, Port Jackson, MNHN, Bibliothèque centrale, Ms 2126 lettre 8). However, it is known that specimens originally collected by Maugé were relabelled by Péron (Jangoux 2005: 5, Duyker 2006: 124) noting Péron as its collector. Maugé is often acknowledged as collector on the pedestal undersides, if not mentioned in the descriptive texts by Lesson and Vieillot.

**Milbert, Jacques-Gérard**

(18-11-1766, Paris, France; 05-06-1840, Paris, France) (OC), was an artist on Le Géographe. He was a pupil of the landscape painter Pierre-Henri de Valenciennes (1750-1819) and went on to teach drawing at the School of Mines in Paris from 1795. Milbert already left the expedition on Mauritius in 1801, but captured two live finches (Collection Lesueur, MNHN 21001). Milbert returned to France and published his part of the Baudin expedition (Milbert 1812). In 1815, he travelled to the United States where he remained for eight years, supplying many bird specimens to the MNHN (chapter 3.9). He travelled extensively and taught in New York City, returning to France and the School of Mines on 20 October 1823.

**Millius, Pierre-Bernard**

(04-01-1773, Bordeaux, France; 11-08-1829, Bourbonne-les-Bains, France) (OC), was captain of Le Naturaliste. He started on a merchant ship owned his father at the tender age of 14 and made several trips around the Caribbean between 1787-1793. He then joined the army and had become lieutenant by 21 March 1796. However, he was captured by the English army but released soon after capture. On the Baudin expedition he collected some Little Penguins and Short-tailed Shearwaters from their holes for food on March 1802 (Archives Nationales SJJ/57). Millius purchased a duck and a gull that were shipped alive to France; both came from the Cape Town area (Collection Lesueur, MNHN 21001). In his journal, birds such as Black Swan (Millius 2013: 174-175), Superb Lyrebird (Millius 2013: 174) and Sooty Oystercatcher (Millius 2013: 64, Swan River) were discussed. He became commander of Le Géographe after Baudin died. Later, Millius became governor on Réunion between 1818-1821 and sent birds to the MNHN (see chapter 3.9). He then became governor in French Guyana between 1823-1825.

**Paravicini di Capelli, Willem Bartholomeus Eduard**

(16-02-1778, Zutphen, the Netherlands; 21-04-1848, Kralingen, the Netherlands) (D), he joined the army aged only nine years old. By 31 December 1792, he had become a lieutenant, but he resigned and by 1795 he had re-entered the army. On 6 April 1802, he departed for Cape Town as adjutant to general Janssens (see above) and remained there for two years. He donated no less than 30 birds from Southern Africa and the Cape to the Baudin expedition, as well as the skin of a Bontebok Damalisus pygargus and two Springboks Antidorcas marsupialis (Collection Lesueur, MNHN 21001). Among the birds from the interior there were also specimens from Sierra Leone including Western Crested Guineafowl, Variable Sunbird and Blue-throated Roller. In 1804, he returned to the Netherlands and by August 1805 he had departed for the Caribbean. However, he was detained there by the English, but quickly released. He took part in military action in numerous European countries, including Russia where both his feet froze and where he was again captured, and once more quickly released. Back home, he was promoted first to lieutenant colonel, followed by commander of the 1st Field Artillery Battalion, then colonel on 23 December 1829, and ultimately to major general, a post he finally resigned from on 1 January 1841.
Péron, François-Auguste
(22-08-1775, Cerilly, France; 14-12-1810, Cerilly, France) (D), was appointed as zoologist to the expedition by Antoine-Laurent de Jussieu (1748-1836) on Le Géographe. Born on 22 August 1775 in Cérilly, France and son of a tailor. He went to the Collège de Cérilly and was intended for the priesthood as he was, possibly since birth, blind in one eye. He was forced into the army on 6 September 1792 following the outbreak of the French Revolution. Wounded by a sabre and slashed in the arm, he was captured by the Germans near Hochspeyer. He was sent to Magdeburg where had the luxury of reading various natural history books while he was in prison. He returned home on 11 August 1795 and was deemed unfit for the army, but was offered the opportunity to study instead. He was employed as town clerk for nearly two years and in July 1797, he started his medical studies in Paris which he did not complete. Louis-Claude Richard (1754-1821), a collector in Guyana, Brazil and the Antilles between 1781 and 1789, taught Péron botany in his third year of studying medicine and influenced him greatly. Péron started to visit the Jardin du Plantes and became known to various staff members of the MNHN. He then fell madly in love and abandoned his studies, but was rejected by the lady and, to escape his misery, he searched for a ship that was bound for the southern seas. Commander Nicolas Baudin and the MNHN staff were looking for skilled crew members for an expedition that was to sail to Australia. Due to the withdrawal of André-Pierre Ledru (1761-1825), Péron’s letters to de Jussieu were convincing enough to get him a place as one of the ‘scientific’ staff. His role on joining the expedition could be described as ‘student of natural history, especially charged with comparative anatomy’, although Péron’s main interest at the time was actually anthropology. Péron’s notes on birds from the Baudin expedition and on purchases and/or donations, made it possible to reconstruct a large part of the puzzle that is the Baudin expedition. On the voyage, he and Baudin had severe disagreements and Péron became eager to take his revenge (see latter). Péron personally donated 152 birds from the MNHN to the lycée de Moulins - his hometown - in April 1806, including 63 birds from the Baudin expedition to Australia. Péron worked hard to obtain money and recognition in Paris. He finally got both and soon started to work on the expedition narrative while struggling with ill health. It is interesting to note in the expedition narrative and other publications, that the names of Baudin and Maugé almost disappeared due to Péron. He died of tuberculosis on 14 December 1810 (Duyker 2006).

Polemann, Pieter Heinrich
(17-09-1779, Altona, Germany; 16-04-1839, Cape Town, South Africa) (D), was the son of a banker in the then Danish part of Holstein. He studied pharmacy, botany and chemistry in Copenhagen. On 14 April 1802, he arrived in Cape Town, having been recruited by the Cape Town surgeon and apothecary, Dietrich Pallas (c 1768-1840). He donated two live Secretarybirds to the expedition when Le Géographe visited Cape Town (Collection Lesueur, MHNH 21001). In 1810, he established the medical firm Pallas & Polemann with Pallas and continued in this until his death. Among the firm’s assistants was Georg Ludwig Engelhard Krebs (1792-1844) who travelled with Martin Hinrich Karl Lichtenstein (1780-1857) and William John Burchell (1781-1863) in search of natural history specimens.

Ravelet, M.
(D), was a surgeon in the hospital on Mauritius (Collection Lesueur, MHNH 21035, 21037). Several natural history items were donated by him, but remain unspecified, and it is unclear if birds were involved (Collection Lesueur, MHNH 21001). He communicated the discovery of the Coëtivy Island in the Seychelles to Péron and Freycinet.

Ronsard, François-Michel
(28-04-1769, St-Paul-le-Gauthier, France; 31-08-1836, Alençon, France) (OC), was a marine engineering officer on Le Géographe who was educated in civil engineering. In January 1802, Ronsard collected ducks and swans in the Derwent Estuary (Fornasiero et al. 2004: 88) and later on Maria Island (Fornasiero et al. 2004: 112). Various bird sightings were reported in his first diary (Archives Nationales 5/JJ/29). On 31 May 1801, he noted that herons were collected, ducks were
sighted and quails encountered on 5 June 1801 in Geographe Bay where he noted that they were darker than the birds seen in France. On 2 July 1801, a raptor, perhaps a Whistling Kite, was seen in Shark Bay and he collected a small white eagle (Gray Goshawk) in Port Jackson on 28 June 1802. In his second diary, short notes can be found of shearwaters being encountered on Rottnest Island and on 4 June 1801, he collected a Western Rosella (Archives Nationales 5/ JJ/56). He was promoted to lieutenant on 27 October 1801.

**Weld Noble, H.**

(D), was attached to the American brig *Fanny*, which made a voyage in 1802-1803. He donated an unknown number of birds to the expedition (Starbuck 2009b: 135, 184-185).
Fig. 5-428 | EMU SSP Dromaius sp
(© Le Havre, Muséum d’histoire naturelle, Lesueur 79001-2).