Impressions of a young French gentleman's 1866 visit to the Australian Colonies

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Ludovic de Beauvoir's 1868 published account of his discovery of Australia during his round-the-world journey provides a fascinating picture of the British colonies of the mid-1800s. This article examines his observations about the Australian colonies within the broader context, taking into account reports in contemporary local newspapers and other sources. Depicted is a young society viewed through the prism of the author's native country, France, and his adopted country, England, and reflects the class and racial divisions, general attitudes and prejudices of the time. These are especially commented upon as he visits each town and its district — from Melbourne to Hobart, then Sydney, Newcastle and Brisbane. As an outsider's perspective of the past, Australie contributes to the growing historiography of the country.

De Beauvoir's last book published in 1931 testifies to his life-long admiration for Australia and Australians.

Keywords: Australian colonies; sea voyages; 19th century French/Australian connections; racism; Aborigines & Chinese

> 'a pale impression' of the joys, the emotions and feelings experienced, and 'delicious' memories.[1]

The persuasive intellectual influences of the Age of Enlightenment in Europe of the late eighteenth century witnessed the bringing together of the humanities and the sciences in the first half of the nineteenth century — particularly in the shaping of the new disciplines of geology, botany, zoology, anthropology, geography and meteorology. The published accounts of European exploration by sea, which frequently had a scientific purpose, and the vast voyages of the British, Americans, Russians and the French were wildly popular with fellow travellers and the burgeoning educated readership of members of learned and scholarly societies and others who were independent scholars across

Europe still dominated by the Enlightenment ethos.[2] Travel books were very popular with the general public and publishing firms keenly aware of this trend. These texts provided their readers with descriptions of exotic unknown places and peoples and sowed the seed of desire for travel, adventure and personal discovery, especially in those who were able to afford to follow such pursuits. Among these was the Duc de Penthièvre and his close friend, the Comte de Beauvoir whose published memoirs about Australia during his 1866 journey around the world are the subject of this study.

In the eighteenth century, the British interest in colonising the South Pacific was strategic, political and economic as well as scientific in nature. This eventually resulted in the establishment of the penal and free-settler Colony of New South Wales from 1788. The commercial port of Port Jackson with its administrative bases in Sydney and Parramatta had a vigorous and rapid development. Places of secondary punishment, first at Newcastle and Norfolk Island and later at Port Macquarie, were established at the same time. The elaborate scientific experiment in behavioural modification for transported criminals at the remote Port Arthur in southern Tasmania — a so-called 'natural' penitentiary — was another prominent feature of early British colonisation in Australia. The Colony of New South Wales grew more rapidly after the Napoleonic Wars in 1815 with the renewed arrival of larger numbers of transported convicts and free settlers. There was a quickening interest throughout the European world in the Great South Land as a strange and exotic place. Australia's Indigenous people were viewed as an anthropological oddity of great interest, which had only gradually faded by the early twentieth century. Nineteenth-century museums all over Europe were keen to gather specimens for scientific examination. These were to include Aboriginal skulls, skeletons and other human remains transported from Australia.

Under the rule of Napoleon III, the South Pacific island of New Caledonia was officially declared French on 24 September 1853 by Rear-Admiral Auguste Febvrier-Despointes. And the following year, Louis Tardy de Montravel, commander of *The Constantine*, chose the site for the capital, which he called Port-de-France. The French colony was set up by Governor Guillain with a detachment of soldiers and marines. This male garrison was modified in 1863 by the arrival of ten female orphans from Paris, who agreed to make the long voyage to become military wives. They had little other choice in

the harsh social environment of marginalised groups of French society. There would be another thirty young women to arrive a little later. Following the English example, this new French colony was fashioned to 'house' convicts sent from France in an open-air prison. The first shipment arrived in 1864. Montravel's name for the town was often confused with the existing Port-de-France in French Guiana on the north coast of South America, so it was changed to Noumea in 1866 — the very year that Ludovic Hébert de Beauvoir made his journey to the South Pacific — but one of several curious European travellers of the period.[3]

A detailed description of his voyage, in keeping with the popular travel and scientific literature already referred to, was published in 1869 with a foreword signed by the author at Sandricourt in France, December 1868. A highly complimentary review appeared in the literary section of the conservative French journal *Illustration.*[4] The critic, André Lefèvre, notes the richness, vivacity and sagacity of the young author's descriptions. Based on his reading of de Beauvoir's work, Lefèvre then compares the 'deplorable' state of French Algeria with the 'intelligent democracy', the total freedom given by the English to *their* colony. As proof of the demand for such accounts, and of the 'reading public's love of actuality',[5] an English translation, entitled *A Voyage around the World, I,* was published in London the following year.[6]

De Beauvoir describes his writing in mock modesty as 'a pale impression' of the joys, the emotions and feelings experienced. He viewed it as a record of 'delicious' memories (p.ii) of an enthusiastic young voyager, memories that would remain with him all his life. In the foreword, he tells the reader he was a mere twenty years of age when he first set sail for Australia on the extensive journey of 16,900 leagues that took seventeen months to complete. The book is made up of the letters he wrote to his parents each evening during the journey and sent whenever possible to keep them informed. He hoped that such correspondence would, in some way, help to alleviate the anxieties caused by his long absence at sea. On his return from the voyage, de Beauvoir published his experiences in three volumes: *Australie* (1869), *Java, Siam, Canton* (1869), *Pékin, Yeddo, San Francisco* (1872). The following year, he combined these into one volume entitled *Voyage autour du monde.*[7]

Little attention by Australian historians has been given to the volume dedicated to his experiences in Australia, despite the fact that it would be published several times in the ensuing fifteen years and enjoyed a wide readership in Europe. This article seeks to redress this and show the English-speaking reader what the French audience of the time was privilege to, which was in some ways an insightful and informative representation of Australia at the end of the colonial era.

De Beauvoir undertook the round-the-world sea voyage to accompany his childhood friend, the Duc de Penthièvre, son of the Prince de Joinville of the House of Orleans, who had been residing in England since the family's exile from France in 1848. Was it by chance that the Hobart *Mercury* of Monday July 9, 1866 published from *The Times* an article on the Orleans Family? Or were they anticipating the arrival of the distinguished French travellers later that year and thought this an appropriate way of introducing them to their reading public? The article claimed to honour the life and death of Queen Marie-Amélie, wife of the deceased and dethroned French monarch, Louis-Philippe:

> The time has now arrived when we can consider the reign of Louis Philippe without prejudice or partiality, and do justice to an illustrious couple, remarkable for their high destinies, and for the misfortunes that beset both the opening and the close of their lives.[8]

The tone of the article is respectful, almost servile to royalty. It was typical of the mentality of the early colonial period in Australia, which tended to 'bow the knee' to any royalty, even those not entirely connected to the British royal line. Ideas of radical republicanism did not enter the mainstream of official colonial thought. Loyalty to the Crown and the Motherland had to be the dominant theme of early colonial journalism.

The Hobart *Mercury* published a piece from the *Examiner* on the arrival of the visitors that stated incorrectly that both young men were descendants of the royal family:

> They are on a visit to the Australian colonies partly for the purpose of recruiting [*sic*] their health and partly on a tour of inspection. They arrived

> in Melbourne some three months since, and then learned the sad news of the death of their cousin the Prince de Condé at Sydney a short time previously. The princes, who are both young, invariably travel *incog*, and accompanied by a friend. The father of the princes is Francois-Ferdinand-Philippe Louis-Marie d'Orleans, Prince de Joinville, who is the third son of the late King of the French, Louis Philippe, and the mother is a sister of Don Pedro II., Emperor of Brazil. The Prince de Joinville when he had completed his education was appointed to the French navy, and made several voyages on the coasts of France and Italy …[9]

The *Mercury* of September 12, in its next episode of genuflection, was able to correct both the incorrect information in the earlier article and the spelling of the protagonists' names, while introducing yet another name incorrectly spelt – that of the tutor and scientist, Monsigneur Fauvel,[10] who died during the voyage from fever.

> We have been favored with the proper title of the two French gentlemen now in Hobart Town, only one of whom is related to the late Royal Family of France, viz, H.R.H. le Duc de Penthièvre. Le Comte de Beauvoir is a French nobleman, and a friend of the Duke. The two gentlemen are accompanied by Mons. A. Fauvey, who is their travelling companion.

De Beauvoir opened his own account of his journey by stating that it was on the same day as Queen Marie-Amélie's funeral that the 12,000-ton well-appointed *Omar Pasha* (*Omar-Pacha*), which had taken seventy days to make the same journey some time before, lifted anchor at 1pm. A little under three months later, at 39º 15' latitude south and 137º longitude east, de Beauvoir records that they were at long last approaching Melbourne. In this entry, he tells of the loss of one man overboard along the way, such was the fierceness of the climatic conditions; the unfortunate man had struck the sides of the vessel as he fell and was unable to be rescued (pp.16-17). The *Age* would clarify this event in its edition of July 10:

> On the 25th of that month a melancholy accident occurred. It appears a young man […], working aloft, lost his hold and fell from the main yard-arm overboard, striking the top-gallant rail in descent. A life buoy was thrown to him, but he was observed to sink, the boat which was about being lowered was ordered to be kept in its place, as Captain McKay and all on board considered it useless to endanger the lives of an officer and boat's crew in such a tempestuous sea as was then running, in the probable vain endeavour to recover the body.

Two days later, on July 7, a joyous shout went up from the royal helm: '*L'Australie, l'Australie, la voilà*!' *Port-Philipp* Bay was in sight. The young Ludovic's romantic mind was flooded with the many stories he had read of the great navigators throughout history (Ch.III).

Our intrepid travellers, however, were not allowed on land until July 10 as they waited for suitable weather and an inspection offshore to be carried out by the government vessel, *La Santé*, with its 'horrible yellow flags' (p.24) checking for cholera and animal diseases. They had taken eighty-four days to arrive from London on a 'rather tedious passage in consequence of the very contrary winds encountered so frequently'.[11] During the wait off shore, de Beauvoir records that they were approached by small boats carrying various people to their ship including the butcher, baker, greengrocer, policeman … *ces bons Australiens* (p.28), who warmly discussed with them many topics related to Europe. He remarks excitedly on the 'mysterious veil' that surrounded Australia's burgeoning young Melbourne civilisation, and his visit from there to other parts of the continent would reveal much of the mystery to him and to his readers later on.

This cheerfully friendly and impressive first encounter with the country and its inhabitants was marred only by the news of the death of the Prince de Condé, nicknamed '*le petit Condé*', for whom there had been a public mourning (p.26). They had planned to meet up with the Prince, the Duke's cousin, who had undertaken a sea voyage earlier that year, on 4 February, to the East Indies before coming to Australia, his main destination, in the vain hope that it would strengthen his frail constitution.[12] He died in Sydney in Petty's Hotel, 37 York Street, in the locality above the wharves known as Church Hill, at

10pm on 24 May after receiving the last rites from Sydney's Catholic Archdeacon McEncroe.[13] The *Illustrated Sydney News* gave a full account of this sad event and the honour attributed to 'the only visitor of royal lineage' to have up until then 'landed on Australian shores'. Again, the genuflection to royalty! It included details of the Prince's arrival in Sydney on April 17, his illness, the treatment he received from his accompanying surgeon, Dr Gingeot, as well as Drs Nathan and Alloway, the preparations for the body to be returned to England after lying in state in St Mary's Cathedral near Hyde Park, and the funeral procession listing all those dignitaries of the city in attendance.

> The corpse was embalmed on the 26th and subsequently placed in three coffins, the outer one being richly mounted, […]. The heart was enclosed in a silver box, placed on top of the coffin, and the whole covered by a richly embroidered velvet fall[…].[14]

The sentiments about his friend as expressed by de Beauvoir in his book could very well apply to the romantic de Beauvoir himself:

> To die the victim of noble instincts that had taken him in search of knowledge into the most distant countries, to put all his strength of mind and body so strongly to the test in order to fulfil all his fine hopes…! Can we ever forget his deep piety, the strength of his character and his noble political consciousness! (p.25)

Despite this sad news, the young sojourner marvels at what he finds in Melbourne when he arrives. He describes it as a wonderful city whose history is 'pure' (p.54), — the magnificent Scott's Hotel where they stayed, the wide roads, the fine smaller arterial ones and the well-stocked shops. He recreates in his imagination what was 'the reproduction of the old world in a land unknown 200 years ago' (p.35) and that forty years before was still called *terra australis incognita* (p.36).

The entire account of his travels in Australia is filled with detailed descriptions of his personal impressions of it and of what he learns of the cities, towns and countryside — the history of settlement, the buildings, the people, the gardens, the flora and fauna, the fascinating geological formations. As well, he deals with various industrial, commercial and political aspects of the rapidly developing country. That first reaction of amazement (*étonnement*) continues throughout his memoir as he visits parts of Melbourne, Ballarat and the goldmines, Dandenong; the interior of Victoria, Geelong, Bendigo by train and then by horse-drawn carriage to the Murray River, Echuca; over by sea to Van Diemen's Land, renamed Tasmania in 1856, to Launceston, Hobart Town and Cape Oomooroomoon; then on to Sydney, Hunters Hill, the Blue Mountains by train, Penrith, Bathurst, back to 'Manley-Beach' (Manly) and Watson's Bay on Sydney Harbour, and then west to Camden before heading north for a brief visit to Newcastle to take on coal in order to continue along the east coast to Brisbane in 'Queen's Land' (*La Terre de la Reine* p.308). There, he records that navigation was difficult and dangerous due to rocks and the 900 coral reefs that made night travel impossible. However, they did take every opportunity to stop several times along the way and discover more about the various localities.

This 360 page volume, divided into fourteen chapters, containing twelve photos of engravings and two maps, would have provided the French reading public with a vivid informative vision of Australia of the time. De Beauvoir's experiences in the colonies and with the people were wide-ranging and mostly positive in nature. The travellers were welcomed warmly wherever they went and treated as 'royalty' by the most distinguished and elite men and women of Australia, including the Governors at Melbourne, Sydney and Brisbane; Sir Frederick McCoy, a founding professor of the University of Melbourne who had opened the Museum of Natural and Applied Sciences[15]; Sir Redmond Barry, founder and Chancellor of the University, the Library and Art Gallery, a person 'foremost in every phase of social, cultural and philanthropic activity'[16]; Sir John and Lady Adelaide Young of Sydney, who were 'keenly aware of the social responsibilities of Government House and [as evangelical Anglicans] were active in good causes'[17]. In Sydney they were entertained by the Prime Minister of New South Wales, Sir James

Martin. In Tasmania, he mentions Archdeacon Davies, Bishop Murphy and Dr Turnley, House Surgeon of the General Hospital.

In Melbourne, while noting that Australia contained all the '*luxes de l'Europe'* (p.41), which was praise indeed, the author laments the lively Sundays in France, since here in Australia the towns were of the seemingly deserted, 'sad' English type (p.94) — in other words, the Protestant ascendancy was evidenced in Australian Sunday life. As Geoffrey Serle points out in *The Rush to be Rich*, to keep the Sabbath holy was a prime article of the Presbyterian and Methodist faiths (as well as that of evangelical Anglicans). In Melbourne and the rest of Victoria, Sunday trading had been eliminated.[18]

Unlike the colonies of New South Wales and Tasmania, Victoria had not been sent convicts from the Motherland. Its domestic criminals were housed some distance ('four leagues') from Melbourne in Pentridge Gaol:[19]

> where they are well and truly incarcerated within cells surrounded by high granite walls. This was the first opportunity for us to see the countryside and never was a prison visit more like a pleasant outing. […]
> The wide road we took was lined with eucalyptus trees and was constantly busy. Lunch was waiting for us at Colonel Champ's home, the prison governor[20]; […] he had surrounded himself with everything that helped him forget the sad neighbourhood: his daughter, a sweet cottage, a well-cared for and flourishing park, with English lawn! What a beautiful prison entrance, I do declare! Once inside, we went through the corridors and cells; everything is made from granite, following most recent plans and remarkably clean, a model prison, if you like. One hundred guards with guns patrolled the area. (pp.54-7)

De Beauvoir describes the workshops set up for the prisoners and expresses his admiration for the prison's reform practices. His admiration is deepened when he hears the reason for the decision not to hang two Aboriginal prisoners: 'We never hang men whose instincts are not the same as ours; for these people, killing is scarcely a crime; we will tame them more with kindness than cruelty' (p.58).

Throughout his account, de Beauvoir points out the individualising aspects of each place, each animal, each object and activity or enterprise. Of particular note was the freshness and abundance of good food – meat, fresh fruit and vegetables. With his eye for detail and an interest in statistics, de Beauvoir records interesting facts as well as his impressions, often in wonderment. For example, when he visited the Melbourne Library there were more than four hundred working-class males studying books of a practical and scientific nature and he learnt that the average daily readership was 500 —— evidence of the complex nature of the people (pp.42-3)! In Melbourne, the Public Library as well as the Galleries and Museums were allowed to be opened on Sundays.[21]

Comparisons are made with the world the young French traveller was familiar with. Differences are highlighted, and he reveals a true appreciation, understanding and discernment about what he encounters. For example, on seeing the elaborate monument to the explorer Robert O'Hara Burke in Melbourne, he dramatically evokes Coriolanus of Rome, Bonaparte and the biblical Moses — writing that here in the new world, 'the desert is the battlefield, and the explorer is the soldier and apostle of civilisation' (pp.60-82). The Burke and Wills Expedition had set out from Melbourne in 1860 'in a festive atmosphere for the Gulf of Carpentaria', but had 'floundered largely through Burke's incompetence'.[22] De Beauvoir, like others of his age, however, canonised Burke as heroic apostle of civilisation.

High praise is attributed by de Beauvoir to the creation of the young city of Melbourne, with the comment that Haussmann would have been bored building directly from the ground up unimpeded, unlike his task in Paris with its existing constructions.

> The Parliament, where the Upper and the Lower Houses sit, is like a small Parthenon. […]
> For a society that covers over thousands of square leagues […] it is not a sinecure to be the multiple soul that discusses and determines the laws. (p.84)

Yet the outcome, in his opinion, is highly commendable.

Showing a keen interest in statistics, de Beauvoir points out that the population of Victoria comprises 425,000 Protestants, 140,000 Catholics, 3,000 Jews and 58,000 foreigners of different religions (pp.210-211); that there is a shortage of women (p.223); no conscription for the military but a voluntary militia; no one begging in the streets and the choice between free public and private education. He is also fascinated by the multiple French/Australian connections — place names and monuments, former explorers and navigators, and the presence of the French among the many peoples that made up the country's population. The earlier French expeditions have been well documented and include accounts by Marion Dufresne (1772), La Pérouse (1788), Bruny d'Entrecasteaux (1792/3), Nicolas Baudin (1801/2/3), Louis de Freycinet (1818/19), Louis-Isidore Duperrey (1824), Hyacinthe de Bougainville (1825), Dumont d'Urville (1826), Cyrille Laplace (1831/39), Eugène Delessert (1847).[23] The majority of these explorers and members of their crew are memorialised in place names throughout Australia.

By the mid-nineteenth century, there were less than 600 French settlers in the country, 'landowners, businessmen, merchants and wine growers' as well as developers. The number was increasing at such a rate that at the turn into the new century there were 4000, divided almost equally between New South Wales and Victoria.[24] In her memoirs of her two-and-a-half years stay in Victoria, Céleste de Chabrillan records several encounters with fellow countrymen and women as dealt with by her husband in his role as French Consul. According to Patricia Clancy, her writings deserve to be accepted as important accounts of life in Victoria during the 1850s,[25] as long as the reader takes into account her self-confessed 'overly vivid imagination'[26] and the fact that she came to Australia with the usual prejudices and misconceptions of the European about the Indigenous people and the Chinese.[27] Of the latter, there are distinct parallels in de Beauvoir's text.

Among the many mentioned in his account, for example, the Marist Missionary headquarters at Hunter's Hill near Sydney which he visited is described as 'a small corner of France' (p.267). He sees Australia as a young land where 'pure democracy is at work' (p.147) and where France is highly regarded (p.91).

After the trip to inland Victoria, the young observant voyager summarises this 'truly strange land' (pp.200-202) emphasising the exotic. A land that produces an egg-laying animal half duck, half mammal that suckles its young; a shrub with heavy wood that is a type of ebony, stone that floats — a form of pumice, cherries that have their hard seeds outside, the male 'cassowary' (*sic*, that is, emu) who sits on the eggs laid by the female; there are featherless winged birds and the trees in the woods provide little shade as their leaves turn sideways in the sun. It is a land where the naked Native will hold cigars given to him under his armpit or in his fuzzy mop of hair. Kangaroos have pockets for their young after they are born; they have four feet but only use two for running, and so on. He concludes this passage with the assertion that the country's fortune 'lies not in the quality of the soil but in its expanses' (p.202). It would appear that this young man understood and was following the defining concept of what is now termed "eco-tourism": interpreting both culture and environment — the variety of experience and land mass, the exotic flora and fauna, the human population and emphasising the sense of space.[28] For the entire account of his journey does exactly this. He is most certainly a scholar of the Enlightenment.

The Hobart *Mercury* and *Examiner* were the two Australian newspapers of the time to mention the travellers and their activities in some detail. These entries, while they support de Beauvoir's own record, often add a different perspective to the French voyager's account.

> The French Visitors – H.R.H. Le Duc de Penthièvre, and Le Comte de Beauvoir have lost no time in visiting the public institutions and making themselves familiar with the characteristics of the colony and those resources which are developed, or capable of development. The inspection of the establishment of Mr Hissey, the hairdresser of Elizabeth street [*sic*] yesterday, gave the distinguished visitors an opportunity of seeing numerous specimens in natural history, for which Mr Hissey is famous. Among the articles selected for purchase as mementoes of their sojourn in Tasmania, were a stuffed pelican, an albatross, a hawk, some native cats, cockatoo feathers, etc.[29]

An earlier edition of the newspaper recounts how they had 'visited the Exhibition stores and inspected the exhibits intended for the Intercolonial and Parisian Exhibitions' – these great international events scheduled for the following year and Australia's participation in them had been given sustained press coverage at the time.

> Their Highnesses expressed themselves as much pleased with the several articles and especially with the timber and other woods from Port Arthur. We understand that these goods to the number of 40 cases will be shipped to Melbourne per Southern Cross on Wednesday next, the Princes also visited the General Hospital yesterday.[30]

The French travellers were also interested in the theatrical presentations wherever they went. Not only did they attend such performances, but were impressed at the sophisticated taste of the Australian audience. In the September 17 edition of the *Mercury*, under the heading 'The Leotard Troupe' whose acrobatic and gymnastic spectacular was to open that evening, we learn that it was 'under the distinguished patronage' of the two visitors. De Beauvoir records in his entry for August 21 that the operatic performances of *Les Huguenots*, *L'Africaine* and *Robert le Diable* and the grand dinners had 'replaced the fantastic dances of the Blacks and kangaroo dishes eaten in huts' that they had experienced in the country districts (p.206). A distinguishing feature of otherwise 'comparable' evenings at the theatre in London or Europe was the way in which the 'prima donna sang which reminded us that we were in the antipodes'. One wonders whether this is praise or condescension. Certainly visiting divas were hugely popular in colonial Australia and, as a result, may have sung more directly to audiences in a less formal manner.[31]

Cultural entertainment included physical activities. At one dinner occasion, after participating in the "translated" sport of the stag hunt, de Beauvoir enters fully into the variety of topics discussed from Paris and its distractions to 'kanguroos' and the south pole. One topic of note was the 'cricket-match' that had taken place two years earlier:

> The Australian "eleven" fought on an enclosed field against the English "eleven", who had journeyed 6000 leagues to play a cricket match here — Really, it was just too much [incredible]! Once the match was won, the English eleven, after being cordially feted by the vanquished, went back via Cape Horn, as if they had done the most ordinary thing in the world, with a return ticket to the antipodes. (p.93)

Sydney held many wonderful treasures for the young enthusiastic Frenchmen who stayed at Cohen's Family Hotel, Wynyard-square.[32] De Beauvoir gives an elegant description of Port Jackson and the city. Each activity and outing they have is positively and effectively recorded for the reader. No doubt some time was spent in Government House hearing about the care Lady Young had given the Prince de Condé during his illness. For de Beauvoir:

> Melbourne was the city of gold, clubs, democracy and business; Hobart was a hospitable '**country-town**'. Sydney […] is the town of '**high-life**', cheerful, and aristocratic enjoying all the riches and charms of elegant society (p.272).[33]

Venturing further than the 'suburbs' of the city, especially Hunter's Hill and Parramatta, they became acquainted with the sheep and winegrowing areas of Camden, this immense flat Sydney plain where a French *département* 'could dance at its ease'(p.294).

While, as I have already indicated, de Beauvoir presents Australia and the Australians positively in his volume, his descriptions of both the Chinese and the Aborigines often read otherwise as they contain cruelly racist comments full of prejudice and misunderstandings. In his in-depth biography of Baudin's zoologist François Péron,[34] Edward Duyker states that although a Rousseauist, Péron was forced to modify his attitude towards the people. Hubert de Castella's account in *Les Squatters australiens* (1861) does not follow this general portrayal. De Castella stresses their common humanity, intelligence within their own environment and the 'monstrous injustices which

had largely robbed them of the will to live'.[35] Most previous French accounts had noted the brutish, wild and unpleasing aspect of Aboriginal men and the ugliness of the women as seen by the European eye of claimed racial superiority. After an in-depth analysis of extant recorded accounts, Colin Dyer concludes: 'generally speaking, the French opinion of [their] physical appearance […] was rarely favourable'.[36] Dyer also shows that the myth of the cannibal Aborigine, held by de Beauvoir and others, was unfounded: 'No other French explorer [apart from d'Entrecasteaux] even so much as suspected cannibalism'.[37] Another myth, unsubstantiated but widely held at the time, was the decline of the Aboriginal population and their eventual disappearance. Chabrillan made a further claim that there were fears that 'the emerging Australian race might disintegrate' due to inter-racial marriages.[38]

Like many French of the period and before, de Beauvoir came imbued with Rousseau's concept of the 'noble savage'. So it is no surprise to read of the shock he experienced when, on a trip up the Yarra-Yarra River, he sees a group of people — 'a horrible fetid group of men and women, their skins blacker than crocodiles, with hideous fuzzy hair and depressed bestial faces!' (p.38) Rags covered their repugnant bodies, as he describes them, their 'quite small, pockmarked, vile bodies' that were 'more horrible than any monkey's' (p.39). And he goes on, revealing both his religious belief and his sense of racial superiority, to write: 'their soul … yes, perhaps they have a soul, no matter how repugnant its wrapping may be (p.40). Manning Clark, renowned historian, asserted that this was an aspect that confronted many visitors at the time and the example he gives is from de Beauvoir's book.[39]

> When Monsieur le Comte de Beauvoir visited a station on the Upper Murray in 1866 he was astounded to see these people living in huts constructed from the dry branches of the river-gums not far from the house of the proprietor where all the creature comforts of European civilization abounded. Some possum skins slung loosely over their bodies protected them against the cold. The blacks exhaled from their bodies a nauseating, putrid and appalling stench, which upset the white men. Yet they had an infectious eternal gaiety and the laughter of innocent little children. When

> the Count gave them some duck they roared with laughter and danced around him for joy. Some weeks later the Count called on another sheep and cattle station on the Murray […]. […] down by the river bank, not a mile from all the refinement brought by the white man to the uncouth bush, half-naked black women, loathsome to look at, were hanging round the entrances of primitive huts. Their menfolk seemed contented with their role as the 'retrieving dogs' and beasts of burden for the white men's hunting parties.[40]

Ironically, one of many images of Aborigines by de Beauvoir was that they resembled 'black frogs'(p.172). On reflection several months later during his visit to Queensland, he writes slightly more sympathetically of the 'poor naïve, savage race that has taken from civilisation only what would cause harm: excessive drinking and new diseases' (p.311). He had also noted while in Victoria the harmonious quality of the Aboriginal language, giving several examples, such as *narra-waraggarah* – meaning *vite, dépêche-toi* (quickly, hurry up), *loah-maggalantah – de l'eau* (water) (p.192).

The Chinese fare little better. Their presence in numbers was largely due to the discovery of gold. They are described as 'frightful jumping jacks', yellow as tobacco juice; they shriek like cockatoos. They are smelly enough to scare off rats, and are often dressed as dandies and fashionable Europeans – untiring sober workers who are so greedy that they have the patience, tenacity and 'suction of an insect' (pp.86, 110). Here, he exposes his rampant racial attitudes.

The *Newcastle Chronicle* of Wednesday 17 October 1866 carried an article on the meeting of miners from the Waratah Colliery to discuss various issues of concern.[41] The previous edition of October 13 had reported in the entry: 'Paris Exhibition' that the average weekly coal extraction was 20,000 tons. In the rubric devoted to local news of 17 October, the heading 'Arrival of Distinguished Visitors' appeared:

> The Hero, steamer, is expected to leave Sydney to-day (Wednesday) at six a.m., and may, therefore, be expected to arrive at Newcastle about noon. We are informed that she will have on board His Royal Highness the Duke

> of Penthievre, the Count of Beauvois [*sic*], and Captain Flavelle, who, if time permits, will spend a few hours on shore in the City of Newcastle. They will then proceed by steamer to Batavia. Official information of the intended visit of the Duke of Penthievre has been received by T. Groves, Esq., but it is doubtful if the short time the steamer will stay in the port will allow of more than a hasty visit being paid to the principal objects of interest in the city. Apartments, we understand, have been secured for the distinguished visitors at the Great Northern Hotel. The Duke de Penthievre, we may add, is a grandson of the late King Louis Philippe.

And indeed at approximately 4 o'clock the arrival of the steamer with these same distinguished visitors was announced in the next edition of the same newspaper.

> VISIT OF THE DUKE DE PENTHIEVRE
> AND COUNT BEAUVOIR
>
> As we intimated would be the case in our last issue, the above distinguished personages arrived in Newcastle by the Royal Mail Steamship Hero, on Thursday afternoon, about four o'clock. They were met at the wharf by the following, among other gentlemen:- T. Grove Esq.; E.C. Merewether Esq.; J.B. Winship Esq.; G. Tully Esq.; French Consul; and the Rev. Father Quinlivan. Directly the steamer had come alongside the wharf the above-named gentlemen stepped on board, and after an introduction by Mr. Grove, exchanged courtesies. The distinguished party consisted of His Royal Highness the Duke of Penthievre, the eldest son of Prince de Joinville, and first cousin to the late Prince de Conde; Count de Beauvoir, a son of the Marquis de Beauvoir at present residing in Paris; and Captain Flavelle, a travelling companion and an intimate friend of the families of both the Duke and the Count. Captain Flavelle is a captain in the French navy. The friends of the Duke of Penthievre reside in England, a few miles from London. After the lapse of about half-an-hour from the time the steamer arrived, the party left the ship and proceeded almost alone

> to the Great Northern Hotel. Both the Duke and the Count are quite young, neither of them being apparently more than twenty or twenty-one years of age. The Count appears the younger of the two. On the following day (Thursday) the distinguished party, accompanied by T. Grove, Esq., and F.S. McDermott, Esq., manager of the Joint Stock Bank, proceeded to the Waratah and Borehole collieries, which they personally inspected. An account of their doings at Waratah will be found in another place. Both the Prince and the Count expressed themselves highly pleased with what they saw, and with their visit to Newcastle generally. While at Waratah, the Duke de Penthievre was waited on by one of the miners, relative to the Waratah School of Arts, and his Royal Highness generously gave £4 towards getting books for the library. The 'Hero' sailed with the illustrious party on board yesterday, about two o'clock. Before leaving, the Duke de Penthievre courteously presented Mr. Grove with his *carte de visite*, and likewise gave him a letter of introduction to his father, the Prince of Joinville, in England. Count de Beauvoir, on hearing that Mr. Grove contemplated visiting the Paris Exhibition, also gave the same gentleman a letter of introduction to the Marquis de Beauvoir, in Paris. Our illustrious visitors are en route for Batavia, from whence they will go to China, from thence to California and other places. They expect to return to Europe about next Christmas twelve months. We had almost forgotten to say that the distinguished party spoke in high terms of the excellent accommodation they received at the Great Northern Hotel.

And 'an account of their doings', as promised, appeared on the following page of the same newspaper in the section 'Letters to the Editor', giving the following further information:

> […] The party paid a visit of inspection to the No.1 tunnel, accompanied by the manager, Mr. Moody, and Mr. T. Oswald. The illustrious party expressed themselves much gratified with what they had seen and the

> general appearance of Waratah, and, on emerging from the tunnel, Mr. Winship introduced Mr. Usher, a miner, to the Duke of Penthievre, telling the old man that he had the pleasure of speaking to a Duke. The old man seemed highly pleased with the attention paid him, and informed His Royal Highness that he commenced work in a coal pit at seven years of age, had been a miner fifty-four years, and was now sixty-one years of age, and the father of eighteen children, and had forty-four grand children. He also said the Government ought to give him (Usher) a grant of land, for having the means of bringing into the world so large a number of valuable members of the community. The illustrious party received the old man very affably and were much amused by the above recital. After leaving Waratah, the party proceeded on the engine to Port Waratah and inspected the shoots. They afterwards proceeded to the Borehole.

And this is de Beauvoir's own account from his memoirs:

> (p.305) Towards evening we were sailing close to the coastline. It was scorched, sandy and monotonous. We entered Newcastle harbour. The entrance is strewn with reefs, stirred up by rapid currents - in short, very dangerous. Amidst the reefs, we could see the tall masts of the steamer *Cowarra* [*sic*], which had been shipwrecked since our arrival in Australia. It is about 500 metres from land and what is shocking is that out of 275 passengers only one, a young man 20 years of age, survived by clinging to a buoy[42]. We came here to pick up the eleven hundred tonnes of coal that the furnaces of *The Hero* would devour on its journey. Newcastle (p.306) is the biggest and the only coal market in the Australian colony. We were extremely keen to visit the mines, which, with such intensive industrial activity, are worth 100 times more than gold mines.

18 October. - The directors took us on horseback to the Waratah mine: two tunnels, each of 800 metres, run horizontally into the side of the mountain, which is one enormous block of coal. This is the start of a vein the end of which cannot be determined. It is several kilometres wide, four metres thick and gets deeper as it runs in a southern direction with an incline of 5 metres for every 300 metres. The Waratah employs 250 workers paid at the rate of 4 francs 40 centimes per tonne. They extract an average of three thousand five hundred tonnes a week, which brings a return of 10 francs 35 centimes on the spot. This mine is the most successful one as there is no need to dig pits, nor to use machinery since the mineral is on the surface. It has a strong advantage over its competitors, which are weighed down by the need for deep tunnelling and which nevertheless have to sell at the same price. Further on we visit the 'Bore-Hole' where we go three hundred feet beneath the earth's surface. This is one way like another to get closer to Europe, and we see how much cleaner a coal mine is than a gold mine. (p.307)

The Bore-Hole belongs to an important company, 'the Australian Agricultural Company' which does business of all kinds - coal, horses, cabbages, cattle and sheep. The government gave it 2 million hectares, purely as a donation. It bought 800,000 hectares more for 20 million francs. It has about 200,000 sheep, 20,000 cattle and 500 men employed, shepherds and miners that cost the company 1,750,000 francs. This is an example of 'squatting' by association that is rather common in Australia. The shareholders would not sell for a king's ransom; each person impatiently expects to make his own million and they tell us that they no longer have long to wait …

> *19 October*. – *The Hero*'s enormous belly absorbed its eleven hundred tonnes of coal; we will account for one twenty-fifth of the weekly exports from Newcastle, a city which, moreover, seems well designed by its dismal appearance to contrast with Sydney – after the fairy palace we have seen the chimney sweep. Our ship was an old 'blockade-runner', built in Glasgow during the last American war to run the blockade of the confederated ports; that is, it sits very low in the water, is built entirely of iron and tapered like a canoe. It is 235 feet long, has a 250 horse powered engine, (p.308) 42 crewmen and has a 1,200 tonnage which, as you can appreciate, leaves scarcely any room for the merchandise. It is a pilot balloon sent up by Australia to open up the route – heavily loaded merchant ships will follow if it is successful.

It is interesting to see what aspects of the brief visit to Newcastle were recorded by the newspapers and those in de Beauvoir's account, as this typified his entire journey. The Frenchman's impressions are reinforced when compared with his account of their visit to the goldmines at Ballarat (Ch. VI), where they had to go beneath the earth's surface. The mining technique and the machinery used are explained, and a forceful description is given of the mud, the earth, the suffocating vapours and the heat of the 'underground labyrinth' (p.121). 'It is hell […] and if it is, it is the hell of the rich' (p.112)!

On entering the waters of the '*Terre de la Reine*' (Land of the Queen, or Queensland), the *Hero* with Captain Logan (who remained on sharp alert throughout the rest of the voyage along the coast) at the helm, encountered a violent but short-lived storm that caused panic, damage and the death of three horses. De Beauvoir states sarcastically that this was nothing compared to the cooking on board, carried out by 'two filthy half-castes covered in grease'. Again, a racist comment.

At the invitation of Governor George Bowen, they sailed up the Brisbane River to Government House. Here the young Count describes the amazing animals and tropical vegetation. As for the Blacks, the writer comments that in general they had taken nothing from the Whites except what would kill them – alcohol and disease (p.312). As

throughout, a short overview of the town and its history is given revealing the author's keen interest in facts and figures. Comparisons are made with places he had already visited.

The entry of 25 October (p.316) reveals de Beauvoir's love of being on board ship day and night, resting, strolling on deck and enjoying the company of his fellow travellers, listening to their sometimes incredible stories, after the various hectic activities on land. One story that amused him greatly was told by the ship's doctor, who came on a 114 day voyage from Ireland to Queensland with 550 young virgins sent to the colony 'to improve the races' (p.317). Again, he emphasises the shortage of women in the Australian colonies for the benefit of his readers.

The various stages of the sea voyage north along the coast of the Eastern Seaboard mention the climatic conditions, the abundant sea and air creatures, the geographic positioning and the topographical features of the area. The islands, the narrowing passageway between coast and coral reefs make the navigation difficult and dangerous. Not all reefs and islands had been charted. The pages describing the sea journey here are captivating – the reader is left with no doubt as to the skill of the captain and crew in negotiating the hazards of these unfamiliar waters (pp.325-329). Wrecked ships along the way are named, *Sir Campbell*, *Aurora*, *Fergusson*, the *Martha-Ridgway*, *Louisiana* and *Sapphire*: constant reminders of the danger they undertake.

And then, once on land, the Count records the people he meets or observes, Black and White, and their daily activities. He notes that immigrant Germans come to the new land intending to stay while the French come to make their fortune and then return home. The British come to make a new start by re-creating '*une prospère et libérale Angleterre*' (p.325, a prosperous, open-minded England). Wearing boots to protect against snakes, carrying lead pellets for the birds and bullets for the 'cannibals', they explore Cairncross Island, having passed the Pepper Islands. Back on board they sail once more for Cape York, some three hours journey, before casting anchor and disembarking to be greeted by Commander Simpson and thirteen Royal Marines, with whom de Beauvoir sympathises for being 'lost in the woods, surrounded by Cannibals' and so far from the nearest White settlement (p.336). The *Hero* brought them food supplies and newspapers.

De Beauvoir and the Prince take the opportunity here, as they did throughout their journey, to penetrate inland where they observe bush life and some tribal Aborigines with whom they exchange gifts. The contact is peaceful and the Count's descriptions of them are again far from flattering and replete with racial depreciation. 'It was a rather sad group that returned to Simpson's shack', he writes, 'our hands soiled from touching the Natives and their filthy weapons and our clothes in disarray due to the overwhelming heat and the fact that we had given all the buttons to the Blacks' (p.345).

The final stage of navigating Torres Strait, which took five hours, is described in some detail, as it proved to be the most difficult section of the entire Australian voyage. Recorded also in this long entry of 31 October is a summary of the Count's Australian experience — '[Australia] is a world of contrasts' whose 'precious privilege of freedom must be preserved and its people must keep their energy, boldness and sense of adventure' (p.356).

The volume concludes with the entry for 10 November. Here he records their approach to the Javanese Coast with the final paragraph describing the myriad colours and sounds, the hustle and bustle, the vegetation — Indian-style splendour, Eastern *éclat* — of Batavia. This sea voyage would not end here for Ludovic de Beauvoir and the Prince and their ongoing adventures are recorded by the former in his two subsequent books: *Java, Siam, Canton* and *Pékin, Yeddo, San Francisco*.

Clearly, de Beauvoir saw the publication of his Australian voyage as a means of fulfilling the wish he had expressed during his stay in Sydney, that if he returned safely to Europe, he wanted to 'help wash out the stain that soiled New South Wales — the stain of the impure beginnings that Europe had inflicted on her; a stain since History had recorded only the years of deportation' (p.275).

The Australian newspapers had kept the new Australian colonies informed of the political happenings overseas. And it was to a turbulent Europe that de Beauvoir was to return after the final leg of his long world voyage. As captain of the Third Battalion of Mobile troops in the Somme during the Franco-Prussian War between 1870 and 1871, he was assigned to the army under the leadership of General Vinoy. On 9 January de Beauvoir was decorated for his part in the taking of the stone mill at Clamart in the south west of the city of Paris. Later that month, Vinoy signed the Peace Treaty that put an end

to the siege and the German presence. But the turbulence was far from over. In France, it was now civil war. This was the year that Victor Hugo was to call '*l'année terrible'*[43] and that would provide the population of the penal settlement in New Caledonia with 3,021 '*communards*'.[44]

De Beauvoir worked in The Ministry of Foreign Affairs until 1879. From then on in private life he served as the guard of honour for the Count of Paris. Despite being 68 years old, he once more took up military service in Marseilles during the 1914-1918 World War, as the military delegate for the American Red Cross. Then at the age of eighty and 'still full of life, enthusiasm and confidence', he set about writing another book inspired both by his visit to Australia sixty years earlier as a young gentleman, and the arrival in Marseilles in 1925 of a group of young 'cadets' from Australia.[45] However, the volume, *Des Lauriers de France à Nos Amis d'Australie,* would not be published until a couple of years after his death in 1929.

On 17 February 1925, the group of 131 cadets arrived in Marseilles from all over Australia for a European tour of duty, led by their Captain J.J. Simons. They were housed in the military barracks at Audéoud. These young men belonged to The Young Australia League, begun in Perth in 1905 by John Joseph Simons who believed in education by travel.[46]

The evening following their arrival, the cadets were warmly welcomed 'in an elegant English' by General Vacher at a special reception in their honour organised by the Internalised Union (*l'Association des Sphinx Anciens Interprètes de l'armée française*).[47] De Beauvoir was present and elaborated in eloquent French, as recorded in this his final book, the reasons for his long attachment to Australia. In his foreword, the elderly gentleman expressed his deep affection for the 'beautiful country' he had visited so long ago – an affection that had become 'even more ardent over the years' (p.28). He marvelled at how it had evolved from being inhabited 'for so many years by some blacks (more monkey than human)' in such a relatively short period of time to the strong, rich colony that had sent 'forces to render powerful assistance to the 'Mother Country' during the war where they were wholehearted allies of France' – stating the high mortality rate and the numbers wounded, missing or imprisoned as prisoners-of-war! The author goes on to express the purpose of the book as being to promote and strengthen the ties of deep

respect and national sympathy that were cemented on the battle fields of France between the two countries. Then he begins his praise of Australians and Australia, revising early memories and those of more recent years.

De Beauvoir's visit to Australia in 1866 was a youthful and interesting interlude to a long, if largely obscure career as a nobleman in turbulent times. The detailed account of his 1866 experiences in Australia has rarely been revisited by Australian historians since its publication, despite the many valuable insights and fascinating snapshots of colonial Australia in the late 1860s. It was the inspiration for several other French writers who followed him, all contributing to the French perceptions of the burgeoning young nation.[48]

Close comparative studies of such accounts would bring new light to the studies already done on the earlier French travellers. De Beauvoir's account reveals not only an individual's perceptions of colonial Australia, but also interrogates the prevalent attitudes of Europeans who were forging life in their new country. Read in conjunction with earlier and later accounts recorded by various voyagers, it provides the historian and the socio-cultural analyst with material that would validate, rectify and/ or enhance these accounts in areas such as architecture, contributions by founding fathers, early explorers, topography, theatre, social intercourse, commerce and politics. Certain aspects of the colony, which are often overlooked by those familiar with the country, are brought to our attention by de Beauvoir as outsider and sojourner, making the reader re-evaluate his/her preconceived notions of what Australian life was like in the mid-nineteenth century. The recorded experiences and impressions also provide material to 'fill-in' gaps in the established narrative of the country's progress towards Federation. They also reveal the rapid nineteenth-century development of Australia and to what extent no or very little change has taken place over the years. Yet, as de Beauvoir sails away from Australian waters, his conviction that Australia will remain English, 'under the Union Jack like a grown-up daughter of the motherland proud to have the same moral standards, institutions and responsibilities' (p.354), can now be contested.

NOTES

[1] Ludovic de Beauvoir, *Australie*, 14th Edition (Paris, 1883), p.ii. There are 15 editions of this volume held in the Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris. Page numbers to further references in this work/edition will be shown within the body of the article. English translations are mine.

[2] B. Smith, *European Vision and the South Pacific*, (Melbourne, 1989), p.333; also Introduction by C.B. Thornton-Smith to Hubert de Castella, *Australian Squatters* [1861], (Carlton, Victoria, 1987), p.14.

[3] Jacqueline Sénès, *La Vie quotidienne en Nouvelle-Calédonie de 1850 à nos jours*, (Paris, 1985). chapters I, II, III

[4] André Lefèvre, *Australie, Voyage Autour du Monde*, par le comte de Beauvoir (Henri Plon, in-18), *Illustration*, 27e année, vol. LIII, no 1370, 29 mai 1869.

[5] P.A. Clancy & C.B. Thornton-Smith, *Analytical Checklist of French Fiction and Pseudo-Memoirs Set in Colonial Australia* (Melbourne, 1991), p.3. This is a follow-up monograph to C.B. Thornton-Smith, *An Analytical Checklist of First-Hand Accounts in French of Colonial Australia* (Melbourne, 1986).

[6] Ludovic de Beauvoir, *A Voyage around the World* (London, 1870).

[7] *Dictionnaire de Biographie Française*, Tome Cinquième, p.1223.

[8] 'The Orleans Family', *Mercury*, 9 July 1866.

[9] *Mercury*, 5 September 1866.

[10] 'Shipping News', *Age*, 10 July 1866. Fauvel was a Captain in the H.I. French Majesty's navy.

[11] *Ibid*.

[12] Paul Gingeot, *Un Voyage en Australie*, (Paris, 1867), p.6. For a full account of the Australian leg of the journey as recorded by the Prince's surgeon and companion, pp.40–64.

[13] *The Stranger's Guide to Sydney*, (Sydney, 1861), p.9.

[14] *Illustrated Sydney News*, 16 June 1866, pp.8-10. For a fuller account of the Prince's visit, see Ivan Barko, '"Le petit Condé" : the Death in Sydney in 1866 of Australia's First Royal Visitor', *Explorations*, no 35, (2003), pp.26-32.

[15] *Australian Dictionary of Biography* [*ADB*], vol.5, p.134.

[16] *ADB*, vol.3, 1988, p.109.

[17] *ADB*, vol.6, 1988, p.456.

[18] G. Serle, *The Rush to be Rich*, (Carlton, Victoria, 1980), p.156.

[19] The encirclement of the gaol was completed just before de Beauvoir's visit. See D. Prout & F. Feely, *50 Years Hard*, (Adelaide, 1967), chapter 6.

[20] William Thomas Napier Champ was appointed Inspector General of the Victorian Penal Department in June 1857. He was married with four daughters and three sons. Prout & Feely, *50 Years Hard*, p.90.

[21] G. Serle, *The Rush*.

[22] J. Rickard, *Australia. A Cultural History*, (Harrow, 1988), p.57.

[23] Colin Dyer, *The French Explorers and the Aboriginal Australians, 1772–1839*, (St Lucia, Queensland, 2005). Other accounts written by visitors to Australia, such as Céleste de Chabrillan and Antoine Fauchery, and published before de Beauvoir's travels could also have been familiar to him.

[24] Ivan Barko, *Vive la différence. The French in New South Wales* (Sydney, 2004), pp.4,5.

[25] Patricia Clancy & Jeanne Allen, *The French Consul's Wife. Memoirs of Céleste de Chabrillan in gold-rush Australia* (Carlton, Victoria, 1998), p.13.

[26] Clancy & Allen, *The French Consul's Wife.*, p.78.

[27] Marc Serge Rivière puts as *leitmotivs* pervading travel literature since the sixteenth century, 'the physical attributes, cannibalistic tendances, social organisation, religious beliefs and sexual behaviour of "*les naturels*" in *Any Port in a Storm: From Provence to Australia – Rolland's Journal of the Voyage of La Coquille (1822-1825)*, (Townsville, Queensland, 1993), p.35.

[28] 'The Down Under Experience', *Australia For the Record* (Canberra, 1994), p.22.

[29] *Mercury*, 14 September 1866.

[30] *Mercury*, 11September 1866.

[31] This had been true of the Irish-born Catherine Hayes who was royally farewelled in Sydney on 18 October 1854 after her highly successful Australian concert tour. See JAFm786.4052A938, Music Collection of the National Library, Canberra. Céleste de Chabrillan writes that the 'inhabitants of Melbourne have an insatiable need for entertainment', Clancy & Allen, *The French Consul's Wife*, p.142.

[32] *Sydney Morning Herald*, 24 September 1866.

[33] Note that the words in bold were written in English by de Beauvoir.

[34] Edward Duyker, *François Péron: An Impetuous Life, Naturalist and Voyager*, (Carlton, Victoria, 2006), p.112.

[35] Hubert de Castella, *Australian Squatters*, translated by C.B. Thornton-Smith, (Carlton, Victoria, 1987), p.22. This account is optimistic and positive and was written 'as corrective' to the melodramatic novel by Céleste de Chabrillan, *Les Voleurs d'or*, p.7. De Beauvoir's account is also on the whole optimistic and positive.

[36] Dyer, *The French Explorers*, p.62.

[37] Dyer, *The French Explorers*, p.71.

[38] Clancy & Allen, *The French Consul's Wife.*, p.134.

[39] Clark, *A History of Australia*: *Vol IV – the Earth Abideth Forever* (Melbourne, 1978), pp.212-213. The volume used by Clark was the combined account published in 1873.

[40] This passage is referenced as footnote 73 in Clarke, *The History of Australia*, p.213. The second property, managed by Mr Woolselley, belonged to Mr Caldwell (de Beauvoir, *Australie*, 1868, p.196). See Chapter XIV for another encounter with Aborigines.

[41] The Board of Directors of the Waratah Coal Company, formed in 1863, was headed by Thomas Groves who had discovered the seam while prospecting in 1859. Peter Armstrong, *Looking up the Gullyline. A History of the Waratah Colliery*, (Newcastle, New South Wales, n.d.), p.6.

[42] The shipwreck of the *Cawarra* had been recorded in most of the country's papers of the time and is faithfully reported here.

[43] Hugo, *L'Année terrible*, collection of poems that tell of the siege of Paris and the Commune, 1872.

[44] A. Horne, *The Terrible Year: The Paris Commune 1871* (London, 1971), p.61.

[45] De Beauvoir, Marquis, *Des Lauriers de France à Nos Amis d'Australie* (Paris, 1931). Préface par Lucien Corpechot.

[46] De Beauvoir, *Des Lauriers*, 'La Jeune Ligue d'Australie', p.9. In the French text, Simons is recorded as 'Simmons'; for fuller details see Patricia Clancy, 'The Comte de Beauvoir and Australia: Sixty Years Later', *Australian Journal of French Studies*, vol. XXV (1988), pp.236-246.

[47] De Beauvoir, *Des Lauriers*, p.43.

[48] In her article 'The Comte de Beauvoir and Australia: Sixty Years Later', Patricia Clancy lists six authors whose works were published before the end of the nineteenth century and that reflect this influence, pp.237, 245-6. Clancy & Thornton-Smith add two authors, Jules Verne and Louis Boussenard, *Analytical Checklist*, pp.24-5 & pp.5-6.