

The French and *Terra Australis*

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All those interested in Australian history will be aware of the long European quest for the mythical *Terra australis incognita*, punctuated by the discovery of coasts of New Holland by the Dutch in the seventeenth century, and not abandoned until the late eighteenth century when Captain James Cook, during his second voyage, finally demonstrated that there was no vast inhabited continent surrounding the South Pole. In the English-speaking world, the history of the Southern Hemisphere has been traditionally dominated by the English achievements. The search for *Terra australis* is thus seen as culminating in the discovery of the east coast of Australia and the subsequent implantation of colonies along the Australian coastlines.

In recent years, the French contribution to the early exploration and mapping of New Holland is increasingly being recognised. Although most Australians know something of the ill-fated expedition of La Pérouse, last heard of when he sailed from Botany Bay in 1788, voyages such as those of D'Entrecasteaux (sent in search of La Pérouse in 1791) and Baudin (sent on a scientific voyage to New Holland by Napoléon Bonaparte in 1800) are only now beginning to attract the attention they deserve. The pioneering work done over the last few decades by John Dunmore, Leslie Marchant, Frank Horner, and more recently other scholars such as Edward Duyker, has demonstrated the achievements of the French explorers and revealed the wealth of documentation they accumulated about New Holland during the earliest days of European settlement.

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My lecture, however, has a broader focus than the discovery of the Australian continent. It is about *Terra australis*, and concerns the pre-history of French voyaging to Australia, rather than the early French exploration of this country. The distinction between Australia and *Terra australis*, the imaginary antipodean land depicted on numerous world maps since the early sixteenth century, is essential to my argument. In this perspective, the French imagining of the *Terres australes* could be seen, in fact, as a barrier to the discovery of Australia and, as you will see, my talk could perhaps be subtitled 'Why the French didn't discover Australia'.

The French story runs beside the narrative of the English discovery of Australia, and intersects it at certain points. It ends in a lack of success, if success means annexation and colonisation, but it provides a striking demonstration of the power of the idea and the role of the imagination in determining the course of history.

For the French, the discovery of the New Holland coasts is a mere incident in the larger search for *Terra australis*, of which New Holland was perhaps a part. To understand the French perspective, we must disengage ourselves from our teleological prejudice, where Australia is the *terminus ad quem* of the search for *Terra australis*, and return to a time in the past when most of the Southern Hemisphere was a mysterious zone where everything was possible and the unknown *Terra australis* a rich prize to be won.

The history of the French and *Terra australis* is a complex one and has many loose ends. It begins during the Renaissance with the French search for territories in the new world and beyond which it could call its own. The question is taken up again in the mid-seventeenth century by an obscure French Abbé, Jean Paulmier, who argued in a work entitled *Mémoires pour l'établissement d'une mission dans les terres australes, antarctiques et inconnues* [*Memoirs for the Establishment of a Mission in the Austral, Antarctic, Unknown Lands*] that the Great Southern Continent should be sought actively by France and that a Christian mission should be established there. Paulmier's work was to influence French exploration in the Southern Hemisphere

until the end of the eighteenth century. From the late seventeenth century on, there were repeated French attempts to find the fabled South Land, right up to the time of Kerguelen's ill-fated voyages which were contemporaneous with those of Cook.

The lack of documentary evidence from the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries has provided many gaps for imaginative historians and others to fill in. Those who have written about this area have not always substantiated their facts, inventing details and altering others to make a good story. Many errors thus initiated have been taken up as truths by subsequent historians. The Abbé Paulmier himself, whose imaginative presentation of *Terra australis* persuaded both Pope Alexander VII and Louis XIV to support the project, perhaps favoured imagination over truth in some crucial areas, as we shall see. What I shall attempt to do here is to steer my way through the fact and fiction to delineate the archeology and history of an idea, as it is manifested in the French consciousness.

I shall first contextualise the notion of *Terra australis* as it emerged in early modern Europe. In antiquity, there were various proponents of the idea of the Antipodes, such as Parmenides. In the second century BC the grammarian Crates of Mallos had postulated that the earth was spherical and that therefore there must be another land, the Antichthone, situated at the Antipodes to counterbalance the continents of the Northern Hemisphere. It was believed that the Southern Continent was impossible to reach because of the torrid zone and opinions were divided as to whether it was inhabited or not. Later, in the fifth century AD, the Roman geographer Macrobius thought that there was a frigid zone in the south, separated from the countries of the north by a great sea.¹

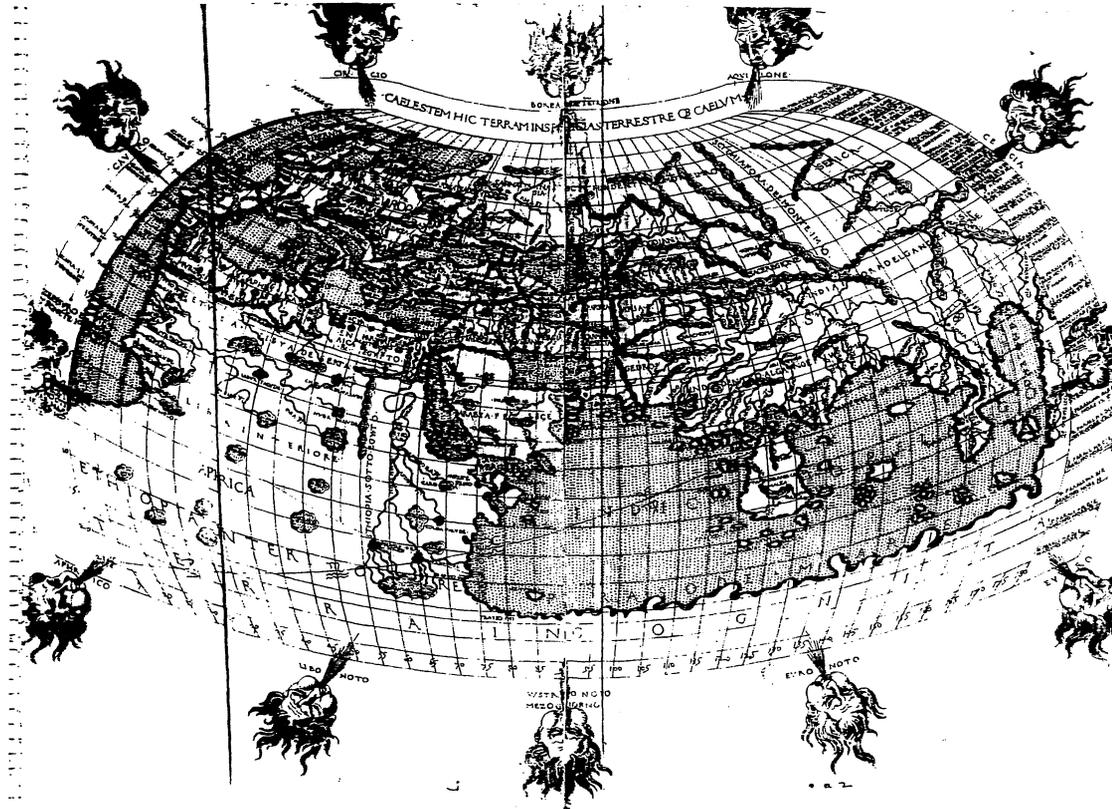
During the Middle Ages, scholars were divided on the question and many felt repugnance for imagining lands not mentioned in the Bible. Some believed that the earth was flat, and in that scenario the idea of the Antipodes had no sense. Albert the Great, however, in the twelfth century defended the notion and argued in favour of the existence of a land mass in the Southern Hemisphere. The writings of the second-century AD Alexandrian, Claudius Ptolemy, and of the thirteenth-century Venetian, Marco

Polo, also contributed to the idea that there was a land on the other side of the Equator, centred on the South Pole and endowed with fabulous riches.

When the great maritime voyages began in the thirteenth century, navigators traced their routes on portulans, sea charts in a flat projection which represented in detail the coastlines, together with important towns, and which indicated the directions for mariners to follow by means of diagrams called 'wind roses'. The rediscovery and widespread diffusion of Ptolemy's *Geographia* in Europe at the end of the fifteenth century gave rise during the sixteenth century to a new representation of the world (Map 1),² no longer based on the portulans. On Ptolemy's world map, the unknown South Land (*terra incognita*) formed the southern border of a vast interior sea, the Indian Sea, and was attached to South Africa. This land stretched from Africa to China, which formed its eastern border.

The account of Marco Polo's voyages in the second half of the thirteenth century³ added new elements to the idea of *Terra australis*. The countries visited by the Venetian were depicted on certain world maps from the beginning of the sixteenth century. That of Martin Waldseemüller (Strasbourg, 1507) indicated for the first time the places mentioned by the explorer, in particular Beach, the great Southern Continent about which the Chinese had spoken to Polo. This map also depicted Java Major, which became a site of speculation concerning the South Lands. Brazil had been discovered by the Portuguese Cabral in 1500 and on Waldseemüller's map the name '*Brasilia sive Terra papagalli*' [*Brazil or Land of the Parrots*] figures on the east coast of the outline of the South American continent.

Martin Behaim's globe of 1492 had given an ambiguous depiction of a southern land mass, but the oldest post-Columbian representation of a large continent centred on the South Pole is the 1515 globe of Johannes Schöner on which this land is called *Brasilia Regio* or Brazil. *Brasilia Regio* was represented as being situated to the west of Madagascar. The cartographic error locating Brazil as part of the Antarctic mass persisted for some time⁴ and caused confusion and, even after Brazil became correctly



Map.1: Francesco Berlinghieri, *Caelestem hic terram inspicias Terrestre QB Caelum*, before 10.xi.1482.

situated, the Land of the Parrots continued to figure in many maps as part of the *Terres australes*.

The uncertainty concerning the relationship between the South American continent and the putative *Terres australes* was also evident in the controversy surrounding Tierra del Fuego. In 1520 Magellan, crossing the strait that was to bear his name, glimpsed Tierra del Fuego but could not determine whether it was an archipelago, an island or the tip of a continent. This ambiguity was to play an important role in the conceptualisation of *Terra australis* until 1578, when Francis Drake was to confirm its island nature, thus disappointing the partisans of *Terra australis* and demonstrating that the Fuegian archipelago could not be the beginning of the South Lands.⁵

French interest in *Terra australis* was evident from the early sixteenth century, as is illustrated in mapmaking of the Renaissance period. The first map on which *Terra australis* is thus named is that of Oronce Fine in 1531.⁶ *Brasilia Regio* remains part of it. Mercator subsequently popularised this representation and gave it wider diffusion. In his globe of 1541,⁷ *Terra australis* rises as far as the 17th degree of latitude, south of Java. On this map can be seen, in *Terra australis* below Java, the countries which Marco Polo called Beach and Maletur, and, below Africa, *Psitacorum* [sic] *Regio* ['Land of Parrots']. Further westward, between Africa and South America, is depicted a cape, named on other maps '*Promontorium Terra australis*'. The name 'Brazil' has disappeared from *Terra australis* and appears now on the east side of the South American continent.

Progressively the imagined antipodean land came to be seen in the French imagination both as a kind of Utopia and as a land that rightly belonged to France. The Age of Discovery, from the time of Columbus, had pitted against each other the two principal maritime powers, Spain and Portugal, as they vied for possessions in the new world and in the east. After many years of conflict, the signing of the Treaty of Tordesillas⁸ on the 7 June 1494, with the blessing of the Pope, divided this imagined land between Spain and Portugal, with the line of demarcation being between the Portuguese Azores and the Spanish West Indies, 370 leagues

to the west of the Azores. This partition of the continent between the two countries left the other predominantly Catholic country, France, with no share. It is on record that France, the 'eldest daughter of the Church', felt cheated. The King, François I, questioned the legitimacy of the transaction in the following words: 'The sun shines for me as much as for anyone else; I should like to see that clause in Adam's testament which excludes me from the division of the world'.⁹

François I's strategy was to maintain that occupation rather than discovery created possession, and it was on this basis and on that of the promise to evangelise rather than to exploit commercially that Canada was colonised in 1541, and the French set their sights on Brazil several years later. In 1551, the King (Henri II) sent to Brazil the pilot and cartographer Guillaume Le Testu, from Le Havre, accompanied by the Capuchin friar and cosmographer, André Thévet. They sailed the whole length of the Brazilian coast from Paraiba to São Paulo, producing copious geographic, economic and ethnographic data. Rio de Janeiro received special attention with a view to establishing a colony there. In 1555 the Admiral Coligny, a French Protestant aristocratic leader, wanting to create establishments where Protestants could take refuge and which would form the basis for future expansion, sent Nicolas Durand de Villegagnon¹⁰ to the bay of Rio de Janeiro to found a colony, 'Antarctic France',¹¹ as it was called. The initiative failed because of internal religious quarrels and the hostility of the Portuguese who seized the *Ile aux Français* in 1560 after the departure of Villegagnon in 1559. The voyage gave rise to two important and conflicting accounts, those of André Thévet¹² (who later returned to France with Villegagnon) and Jean de Léry.¹³

At the same time as these ephemeral conquests were being made, the idea of *Terra australis* remained present in the French consciousness as a site of unfulfilled promise. In 1556, Le Testu had published his *Cosmographie universelle* in which he detailed the results of the 1551 expedition. The South Land was depicted as rising up, almost to join the tip of South America. But it is interesting to note that in his annotations to the map, Le Testu

drew attention to the hypothetical nature of these representations, warning his readers to be wary of cartographic fictions:

Ceste Terre est dicte la Region Australle ... Toutefois ce que je en ay marque et depainct n'est que par imagination ... pour ce qu'il n'y a pas encore eu homme qui en aict faict decouverte certaine.¹⁴

[This land is called the Austral region ... however all that I have indicated and depicted concerning it is purely imaginary ... because there has never been anyone who has made sure and certain discovery of it.]

And again:

Ceste piece est une partie de la Terre du Su ou Australle, situee par imagination soubz la zone froide, pourautant que plusieurs ont opinion que la terre du detroit de Magellan et la grant Jave se tienent ensemble : ce qui n'est encore certainement congnu: est pour ceste raison ne puis je rien decripre des comodités d'icelle.¹⁵

[This area is a part of the South or Austral Land, of which the imaginary situation is beneath the frigid zone, inasmuch as several people are of the opinion that the land in the strait of Magellan and Java Major are connected: which is not yet known for certain: and for this reason I cannot describe any of its features.]

These two notions, that of the lost 'Antarctic France' and that of the undiscovered *Terres australes*, continued to resonate in the French consciousness throughout the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, the elusive Land of the Parrots also playing an important role.

In parallel, another French cartographic tradition concerning *Terra australis* emerged in the middle of the sixteenth century. Inaugurated by Jean Rotz in 1542 in his *Boke of Idrography*, which he wrote for King Henry VIII of England whose official hydrographer he was, this tradition situated a large land, called Jave-la-Grande, to the south of Sumatra and constituting part of *Terra australis*. Rotz, originally from Dieppe, had participated in the voyage of the Parmentier brothers to Sumatra in 1529. Other mapmakers continued this tradition, the School of Dieppe, as it has since been called, and their depictions raise the question of

the prior discovery of Australia, possibly by both the French and the Portuguese.¹⁶ The most famous representation of the School of Dieppe is the anonymous world map called the Dauphin or Harleian.¹⁷ Desceliers in his 1550 and 1553 maps continued this tradition. On the latter map, the South Land is linked to Jave-la-Grande and depicts the elephants of Sumatra (Map 2).¹⁸ Nicolas Desliens also represented Jave-la-Grande and *Terra australis* in his world map of 1567.¹⁹

At the end of the sixteenth century the French interest in *Terra australis* took a more practical bent in a book entitled *Les Trois Mondes* by Lancelot Voisin de La Popelinière,²⁰ a French historian and soldier from Vendée, belonging to the minor nobility. A Protestant in a France torn apart by religious dissension, La Popelinière imagined unclaimed lands in which the French could settle without being persecuted. He was a Utopist and encouraged his countrymen to seek the *Terre australe* actively as a compensation for having lost out in Brazil and Florida, using as support for his argument Ortelius's 1570 map (Map 3),²¹ which depicted the *Terra australis*. In 1589 La Popelinière left La Rochelle with three ships in search of the South Lands but was forced to give up his plan on reaching Cap Blanc in Africa. La Popelinière's suggestions were not to have much influence until their resurrection by the Abbé Jean Paulmier some seventy years later.

From the beginning of the seventeenth century, the Dutch exploration of the Southern Hemisphere became preeminent. The Dutch East India Company (or VOC as it is known from its Dutch initials, *Verenigde Oostindische Compagnie*) was founded in 1602. The journeys the Company made towards the West Indies assumed a position of dominance in European cartography as the VOC navigators and mapmakers recorded their discoveries.

The Company's trading post in Batavia (present-day Jakarta) was established by Jan Pietersz Coen in 1619, the Dutch having landed on various parts of the coast of the country they would subsequently name New Holland.²² From this time the fortunes of *Terra australis* were bound up with the gradual but inexorable mapping of the Australian coastline. The first world map which



Map 2: Pierre Desceliers, no title, 1553.

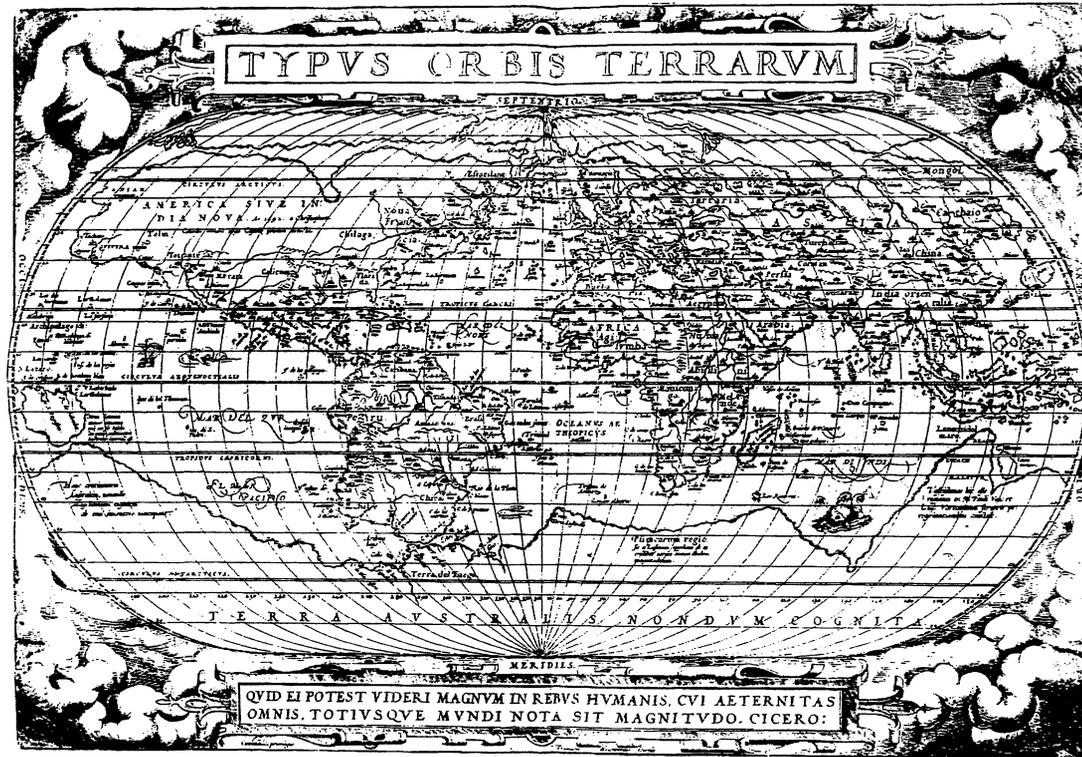
omitted the mythical South Land, while including the Dutch discoveries, was that of Jodocus Hondius in 1625,²³ inspired by the map of the Indian Ocean by the VOC cartographer, Hessel Gerritsz.

Abel Tasman's²⁴ initial journey in 1642 was represented for the first time by the Dutch cartographers, Willem J. Blaeu and his son Joan Blaeu, on one of the states of their great world map of 1645–46. Three quarters of the outline of the island continent²⁵ are depicted and the unknown South Lands²⁶ have disappeared.²⁷ In 1648, Joan Blaeu published an entirely new world map (Map 4)²⁸ on which, together with the disappearance of *Terra australis* (although the words 'Australis incognita' still appear), Tasman's latest discoveries were depicted and the names 'Nova Hollandia' and 'Nova Zeelandia' appeared for the first time.

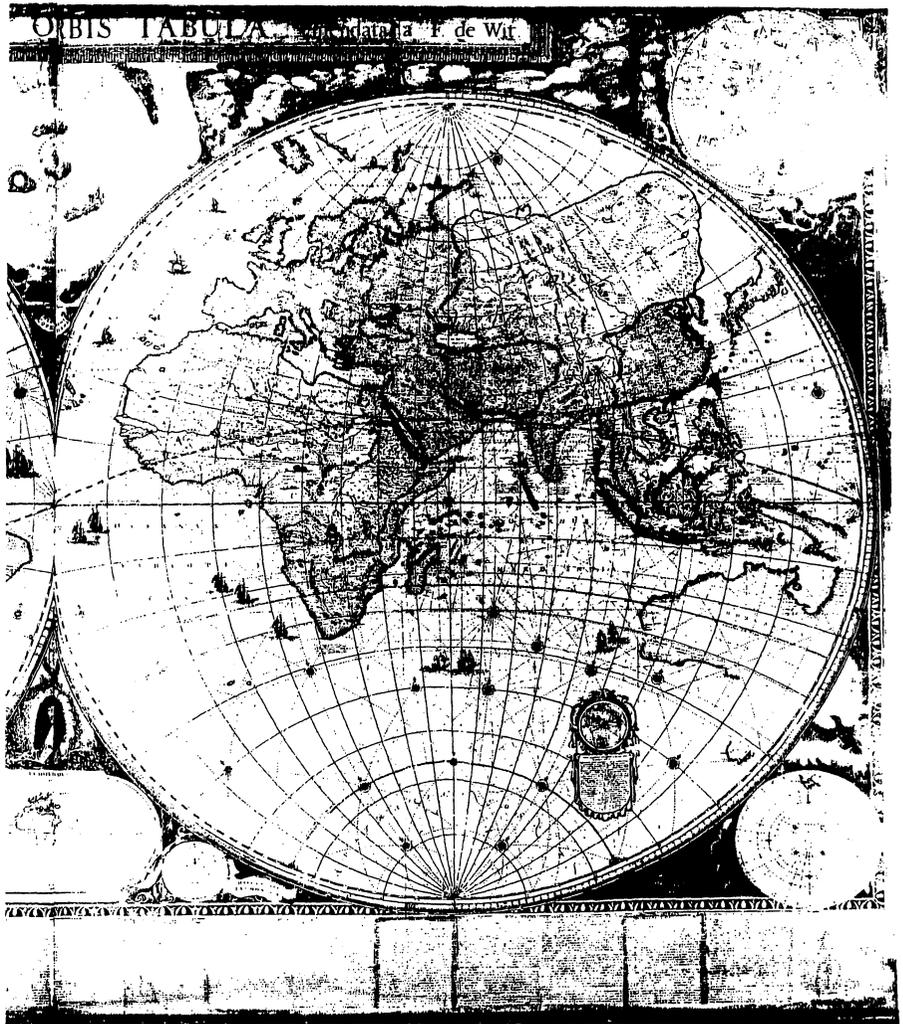
The two cartographic traditions, that with and that without *Terra australis*, survived side by side for more than a hundred years subsequently and only disappeared at the end of the eighteenth century.²⁹ The French, for the reasons which I shall give below, were to be the main players in keeping the myth alive.

In 1654 the Abbé Paulmier, a young priest from Normandy who had already distinguished himself by his anti-Protestantism, wrote the first version of his argument for the establishment of a mission in the *Terres australes*.³⁰ In 1664 Paulmier, now canon of the cathedral church of St Pierre in Lisieux, published a considerably expanded version of the initial work. The full name of the book was *Memoires touchant l'établissement d'une mission chrestienne dans le troisieme Monde, Autrement appellé, La Terre Australe, Meridionale, Antartique, & Inconnuë. Presentez à Nostre S. Pere le Pape Alexandre VII. Par un Ecclesiastique Originnaire de cette mesme Terre*³¹ [*Memoirs concerning the establishment of a Christian mission in the Third World, otherwise called the Austral, South, Antarctic, Unknown Land. Presented to our Holy father Pope Alexander VII. By a priest originally from that land*]. At the beginning of his work, Paulmier included the world map of Antoine de Fer depicting *Terra australis* (Map 5).³²

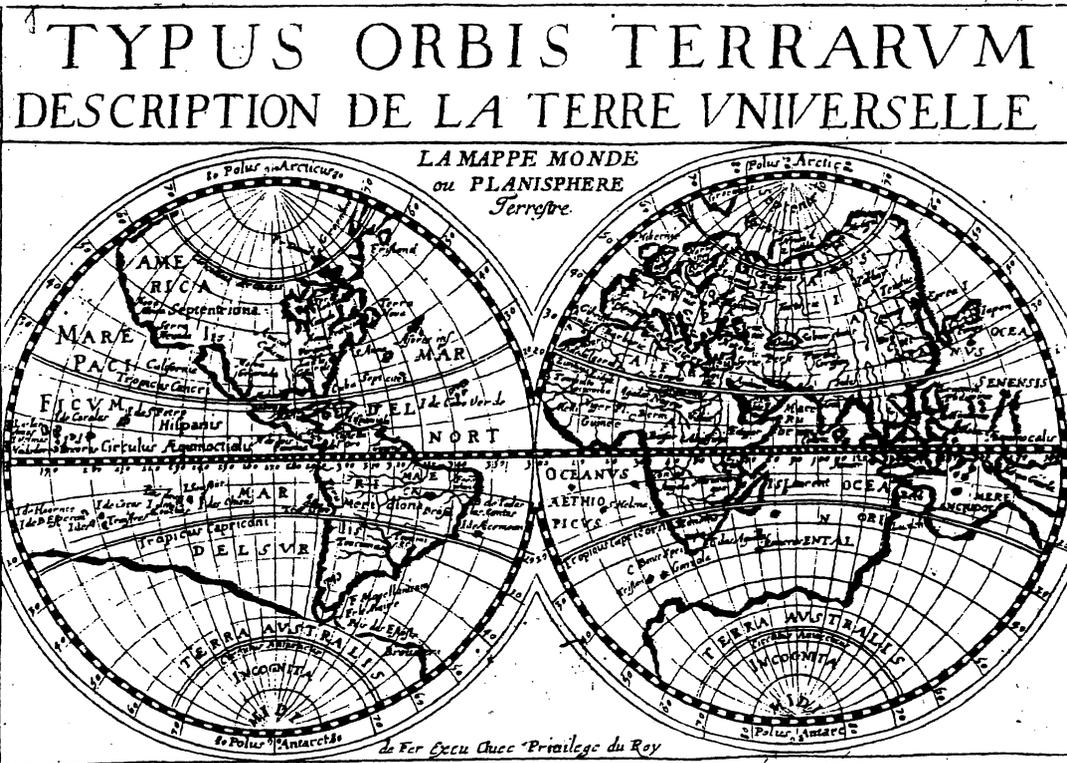
The name of the book was itself a programme, linking as it did



Map.3: Abraham Ortelius, *Typus Orbis Terrarum*, 1570.



Map.4: Joanne Blaeu, *Nova et accuratissima totius terrarum orbis tabula*, 1666.



Map 5: Antoine de Fer, *Typus orbis terrarum*.

the words Austral, Southern, Antarctic and Unknown. It was aimed at persuading both ecclesiastical and civil authorities that the French should be given the responsibility for discovering and evangelising the *Terres australes*. Paulmier argued that, because of past history, the French had both the duty and the right to carry out this project. Paulmier admitted, however, that the exact location of the South Land was not yet known and the first expedition would be as much a voyage of discovery as a civilising mission. His arguments in the first part of his text were aimed both at demonstrating the existence of *Terra australis* and pinpointing its location. He then went on to discuss in subsequent chapters the details of the organisation of the mission itself.

Paulmier's work is of interest to us now primarily as a written record and compendium of French notions of *Terra australis* in mid-seventeenth-century France. It gestures backwards as well as forwards. It is grounded in the earliest European imagining of the *Terres australes* and inspired some of the first French voyages of discovery to the Southern Hemisphere. Paulmier, having made it his business to keep abreast of the latest discoveries and the mapping of previously unknown regions, mentions many geographers, cartographers and maps in his *Mémoires*. Although he was well aware of the most recent Dutch discoveries and described the Blaeu 1648 world map, he continued to believe that the coastal outlines of New Holland were part of the larger *Terra australis*.

As well as seeking the approval of the Pope, in 1659 Paulmier circulated a manuscript of his *Mémoires* in Paris amongst the group working to establish the *Missions Etrangères* [Seminary of the Foreign Missions], to which belonged the Duchess of Aiguillon, the niece of Richelieu, and François Pallu and Pierre Lambert de la Motte, who would be appointed bishops of Héliopolis and Bérithe, respectively. With this manuscript he included a map by Sanson with a depiction of *Terra australis* slightly different from that which would accompany the 1664 publication.³³

Paulmier also directed his attention towards seeking the support of Louis XIV (who would be responsible for funding the hypothetical mission) and addressed numerous letters to the monarch.

With this aim, he also composed in 1658 a dossier of documents which he submitted to the royal historiographer, Du Chesne. The dossier consisted of copies of maps, together with extracts from the accounts of previous voyagers such as Marco Polo, and from geographers, cosmographers and others who had mentioned *Terra australis*.³⁴

Two important influences acknowledged by Paulmier were La Popelinière (the Protestant mentioned above) and the Portuguese De Quir (or Queiros, as he is known in English). Paulmier quotes La Popelinière principally for his arguments concerning the necessary existence of *Terra australis* in order to counterbalance the weight of the planet. La Popelinière's arguments were drawn from the writers of antiquity but he also claimed scientific validity for his proofs, based on the mathematical reasoning that the three worlds must all be of equal size so as to balance the weight of the earth.

Pedro Ferdinand de Queiros was a Portuguese navigator in the service of the King of Spain and a pilot on the voyage in 1595, captained by Mendana, in search of the Solomon Islands that the latter had discovered in 1565. A second voyage in 1606, captained by De Queiros, resulted in the discovery of the New Hebrides. The navigator thought that these islands were part of a large continent and sought over many years to raise support for a new voyage. Returning to Spain, he wrote a series of more than fifty memorials, or petitions, addressed to King Philip III, describing the size and wealth of the lands discovered and asking to lead another expedition to explore and colonise the new continent, an aim he never achieved. Various of De Queiros's petitions were translated into French and Paulmier argued that the eighth petition (*VIIIe Requête*),³⁵ centred on the lost paradise waiting to be rediscovered, and, translated by his friend and governor of the island of Madagascar, Etienne de Flacourt,³⁶ was a strong argument in favour of the existence of *Terra australis*.

However imaginary from our vantage point, the seemingly solid geographical basis of Paulmier's argument, together with the attractive prospect of the discovery of a Utopian paradise, was a powerful incentive for those to whom Paulmier's project

was addressed. There was, however, an even more important aspect of his argument which would guarantee the influence of Paulmier's *Mémoires* on future French exploration. This was the Abbé's claim that he was the descendant of an inhabitant of the *Terres australes*, a native called Essomericq, who had been brought to France at the beginning of the sixteenth century by a French sea captain and explorer, Gonneville.

Paulmier tells how the latter's ship, on the way to the Spice Islands at the beginning of the sixteenth century, was disoriented during a storm and finally reached an unidentified foreign land. The country was fertile and the native inhabitants friendly, and the voyagers remained for six months before returning home, taking the chieftain Arosca's son, Essomericq, with them to be trained in warfare. It was promised that the young man would be returned to his family twenty months thence. Before reaching France on the return trip, Gonneville's ship was attacked in the English Channel and all records were lost. Gonneville, unable to organise a further voyage to Essomericq's homeland, married him to one of his kinswomen and Essomericq was thus, claimed Paulmier, his great grandfather. Paulmier described how the travellers made a deposition at the Admiralty in Rouen, describing their voyage, and included a copy of this account in the dossier for the Royal historiographer Du Chesne (mentioned above) and an extract from it in his own *Mémoires*, focussing specifically on the stay in the idyllic unknown land.

It was Paulmier's contention that the unknown land from which his ancestor came was the *Terre australe* and it is for this personal reason, apart from religious and political considerations, that he wanted to bring to the inhabitants the benefits of Christianity. Paulmier was anxious to gain official recognition for Gonneville's discovery and a letter in the dossier for Du Chesne requests that the captain be mentioned in the history of France.

It is a curious fact that before Paulmier one finds no mention anywhere of Gonneville. Several contemporaries and acquaintances of the Abbé mention the captain from Normandy and the land he discovered: Etienne de Flacourt, the governor of Madagascar, the Duchess of Aiguillon, Cabart de Villermont,

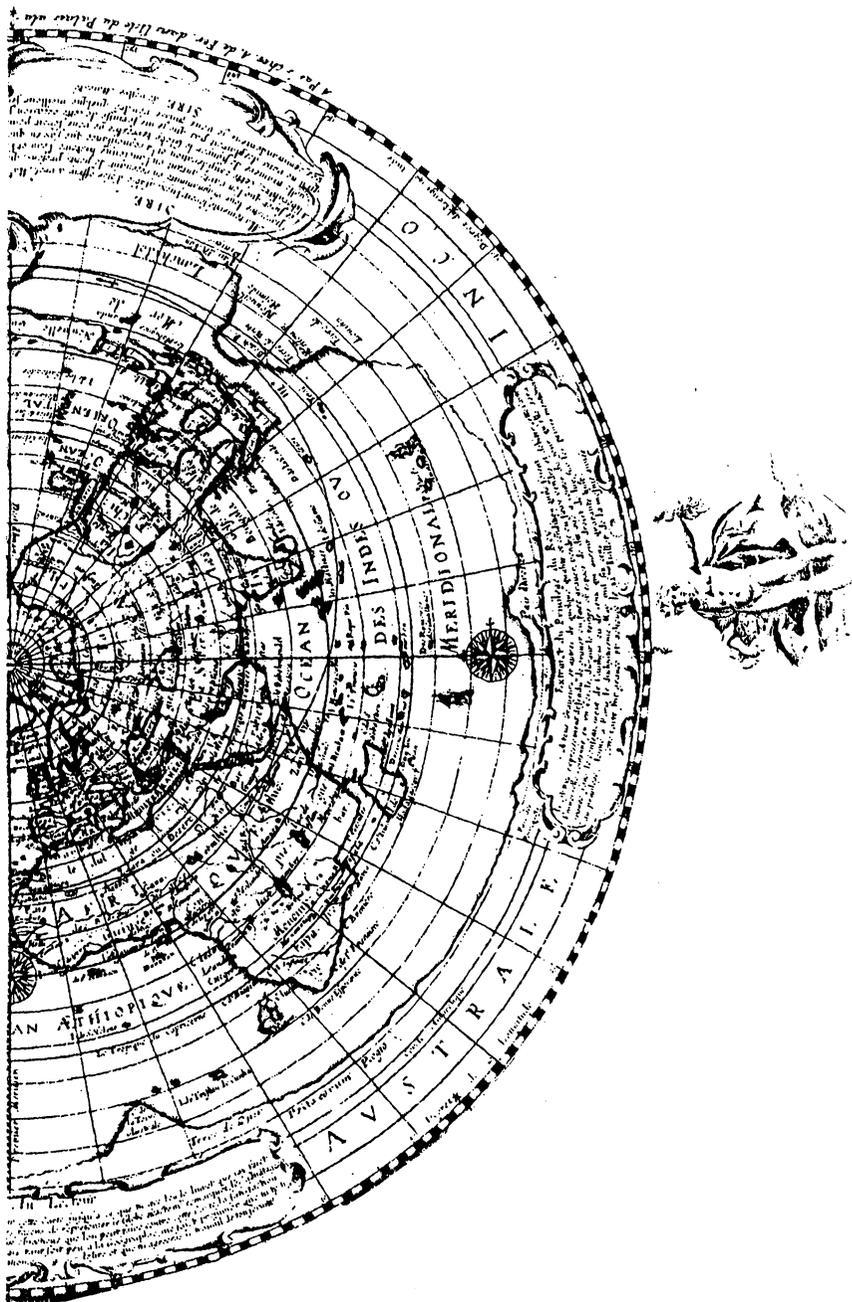
among others. It is clear that these have learnt about Gonneville and Paulmier's ancestry from the Abbé himself. One mention of Gonneville I found appeared at first sight to be too early to have emanated from Paulmier. It was that of the cartographer Louis Mayerne Turquet whose map *La Nouvelle manière de représenter le globe terrestre en laquelle il est entièrement réduit dans un cercle, sans aucune division de ses parties* (Map 6)³⁷ [*The New Manner of Presenting the World Globe ...*] shows the *Terre australe* and depicts on it Arosca's land. This map bears the date 1648, giving the impression that Mayerne Turquet's mention of Gonneville is independent of Paulmier. However, a closer examination reveals that the map mentioning Arosca is in fact a different state of the 1648 map, revised around 1662, as is attested by the changing of the coat of arms from that of Louis XIII to that of Louis XIV.

After Paulmier, and because of his efforts, Gonneville's land, as it was then called, became a geographical and historical entity, albeit with the ambiguous status of belonging to the as yet undiscovered *Terra australis*. At the end of the seventeenth century and throughout the eighteenth century the *Terre de Gonneville* was the focus of the French search for the *Terres australes* and inspired literary works and plans for voyages.

Paulmier had hypothesised that the part of the *Terres australes* which Gonneville had discovered was situated in the Indian Ocean between 60° and 80° of longitude, south and east of South Africa. It was on this general location (allowing for a certain vagueness because of the impossibility at the time of determining longitude exactly) that French fictional writing as well as voyages of discovery would centre.

In the period following the publication of Paulmier's *Mémoires*, at the end of the seventeenth century and at the beginning of the eighteenth century, three French Utopias were based on the *Terres australes* and several voyages projected.

Gabriel de Foigny published *La Terre australe connue*³⁸ in 1676, Denis Vairasse *L'Histoire des Sévarambes*³⁹ in 1677 and Simon Tyssot de Patot *Les Voyages et aventures de Jacques Massé*⁴⁰ in 1714–16. The three Utopias were situated in the



Map 6: Louis Mayerne Turquet.

region in which Paulmier had located the *Terres australes*, in the Indian Ocean between the meridians of 40° and 70° on Mercator's projection and below the Cape of Good Hope. Each land had a perfect climate, as did the land described in Gonneville's account. On the other hand, whereas Paulmier wanted to propagate the one true religion throughout the world, the three Utopian novels only focussed on religion in order to criticise Catholicism, its dogmas and practices. It is not by chance that all the writers had links with Protestantism and were thus excluded from society in various ways. In a nice twist, the inhabitants of the Utopian lands were far from expecting the Europeans to enlighten them—it was the inhabitants of *Terra australis* who educated the Europeans landing on their shores. Although inspired by Paulmier, these Utopias take up critically and ironically his evangelisation project and put forward a strong criticism of the state of France during the reign of Louis XIV.

In 1685, the Abbé de Choisy accompanied the Chevalier de Chaumont, named by Louis XIV as Ambassador extraordinary to the King of Siam. After leaving the Cape and as they were passing Madagascar, Choisy recalled in his Journal Paulmier's supposed ancestor:

Ne vous souvient-il point d'avoir lu l'histoire du bonhomme Arosca, roitelet austral? Nous ne devons pas être bien loin de son pays. Il reçut si bien le capitaine Gonneville; je crois que le petit-fils de son petit-fils (car il y a cent cinquante ans) nous recevrait encore mieux. Ainsi je me console par avance de tout ce qui peut arriver. Je crois pourtant qu'il ne serait pas trop sûr d'aborder la terre Australe. Le bonhomme Arosca donna son fils à Gonneville pour l'amener en France, à condition de lui ramener en dix-huit lunes avec deux pièces de canon pour faire peur à ses voisins. Gonneville manqua de parole: Arosca attend encore. Si on allait nous faire procès là-dessus ... Il vaut mieux aller à Batavie.⁴¹

[Do you remember having read the story of the Arosca fellow, a minor austral king? We can't be far from his country. He was so hospitable to Captain Gonneville: I believe that his grandson's grandson (for that was 150 years ago) would be even more hospitable. So I'm not worried, whatever happens. On second thoughts perhaps it's not such a good idea to land in the Austral land. Arosca gave his

son to Gonneville to take to France on the condition that he bring him back within eighteen months, together with two cannons to frighten his neighbours. Gonneville didn't keep his word: Arosca is still waiting. Perhaps they'll put us on trial.... It's better to go to Batavia.]

Chaumont's voyage is represented on the globes made for Louis XIV in 1683 by the Italian priest, Vincenzo Coronelli. Both the *Terres australes* and New Holland are depicted, together with Tasman's 1642–44 discoveries. The *Terre australe* (entitled *Terra magellanica australe meridionale et incognita*) begins below and to the east of Cape Horn and stretches east to below Madagascar. In his captions on the globe, Coronelli indicates clearly his scepticism concerning the existence of certain parts of *Terra australis*. For example, regarding a promontory slightly west of the Cape of Good Hope one reads: *Terra di papagalli/detta da Francesi/Terre des perroquets/creduta favolosa* [*Terra di papagalli, called by the French the Land of the Parrots, believed to be imaginary*].

As well as being mentioned anecdotally, Paulmier's *Mémoires* gave a new impetus to French exploration in the Southern Hemisphere. The Abbé's planning and politicking had not resulted in an attempt during his lifetime to find the *Terres australes*, in spite of favorable reception of his plan by both Louis XIV and Rome. Although it was reported that Pope Alexander was in agreement, it would seem that Paulmier's plans finally came to nought because of opposition from the order of the Lazaristes who had been active in Madagascar and who feared that the Pope was planning to name Paulmier bishop of that island as well as of the *Terres australes*. There is evidence that Paulmier kept pushing his plan until at least 1667 and he died a few years later, probably in 1670, without seeing his dream realised.

Three decades later, however, Paulmier's arguments were still fresh in some minds and led to suggestions for setting up expeditions whose aim was principally commercial. Between 1696 and 1698 a certain Monsieur Beaujeu begged the King to allow him to search for Gonneville's land, and in 1699 a Captain Voutron asked to be charged with the mission of finding *Terra australis*,

which he believed to be on the route from the Cape of Good Hope to Batavia. He thought it likely that the Dutch had already discovered these lands and were keeping the secret to themselves. Paulmier before him had been of the opinion that the Dutch were not revealing all they knew and Voutron's correspondent supposes that the country sought was in fact New Holland.

J'ay reçu la lettre que vous m'avez écrite le 3. De ce mois. Je l'ay lue avec attention et j'ay esté très aise d'y voir les sentimens ou vous estes et je vous proposeray volontiers au Roy quand sa Majesté voudra tenter la decouverte des terres nommées sur la Carte Nouvelle Hollande⁴².

[I have received the letter that you wrote me on the 3rd of this month. I read it attentively and I was very pleased to see in it what your wishes are and I shall willingly suggest your name to the King when His Majesty wishes to attempt the discovery of the lands names on the map New Holland.]

This confusion between the hypothetical *Terres australes* and the coasts of New Holland, linked to the French conviction concerning the duplicity of the Dutch, was one of the factors which kept alive the *Terra australis* myth in seventeenth- and eighteenth-century France. The fact that the great Australian continent was an island, although more and more obvious since the Dutch discoveries, had not yet been demonstrated, and it was still possible that it was simply a part of the larger hypothetical *Terra australis*.

Another seventeenth-century memoir from a sieur de Sainte-Marie, closer in spirit to that of Paulmier, insisted on the necessity of spreading the gospel in the distant Austral lands, and suggested that the *Terres australes* were vast and that Gonneville's land, which was populated and fertile, was below South Africa between 20 and 60 degrees of latitude.⁴³

Neither Beaujeu, Voutron nor Marie were successful in their requests for support and it was not until the following century that the French would make a real attempt to find the *Terres australes* and Gonneville's land.

By the early eighteenth century, Gonneville had entered the pantheon of French explorers. In 1722, he was designated in the

Voyages de François Coréal as the discoverer of the *Terres australes*:

Pierre Ferdinand de Queiros n'est pas le premier qui ait abordé les Terres Australes & si la première découverte des nouvelles terres en acquiert la possession à la Nation qui l'a abordée la première, aucune Nation de l'Europe ne peut disputer les Terres Australes à nos François, puis qu'ils les ont reconnues dès l'an 1503.

Binot Paulmier dit le Capitaine de Gonneville Gentilhomme de la Maison de Buschet en Normandie près Honfleur ... se trouvant à la hauteur du cap de Bonne-Espérance fut surpris d'une violente tempête qui lui fit perdre sa route, & le jeta sur les côtes des Terres Australes qu'il nomma Indes Méridionales.⁴⁴

[Pierre Ferdinand de Queiros is not the first to have landed in the Austral Lands and if the first discovery of new lands confers possession to the nation which arrived there first, no European nation can contest claim of the French, since they landed there and identified them in 1503.

Binot Paulmier called Captain de Gonneville, a nobleman from the house of Buschet in Normandy near Honfleur... finding himself near the Cape of Good Hope was caught in a violent storm which caused him to lose his way and cast him up on the coasts of the Austral Lands which he named the Southern Indies.]

In 1734 Jean-Baptiste Bouvet de Lozier,⁴⁵ an employee of the French Company of the East Indies, inspired during his childhood by Paulmier's *Mémoires*, and disappointed that he had not been able to find the full account of Gonneville's *Relation*, put forward a project to discover the *Terres australes*. Bouvet's primary aim was to establish new trading posts and to find a maritime base on the route to the East Indies. After several petitions he was granted the permission he sought and in 1738 he set out from Lorient, in charge of the *Aigle* and the *Marie*. The expedition sailed towards Brazil, reaching the island of Ste Catherine and then turned towards the south-west (to look for the Terre de Vue, a part of the *Terres australes*, situated on De Lisle's map between Cape Horn and the Cape of Good Hope). Although it was summer it got colder and colder and no trace of land was found until on 1 January 1739 the travellers caught sight of land at 54°20' of latitude and 25° 47' of longitude. Bouvet believed that the land was part of the *Terres*

australes and named it Cap de la Circoncision. The French tried to land for twelve days but could not because of the ice, wind and snow. Bouvet returned to the Cape and arrived back in France towards the end of June.

On his return, he wrote a letter to the French Company of the East Indies: *Messieurs, j'ai le chagrin de vous dire que les Terres australes ... sont aussi de beaucoup trop reculées vers le Pôle pour servir de relâche aux vaisseaux de l'Inde* [Dear Sirs, I regret to tell you that the *Terres australes* are much too far towards the Pole to serve as a port of call for the ships on the route to India]. The account of his voyage was published in the influential French periodical, the *Journal de Trévoux*.⁴⁶ In 1740–41, Bouvet, still convinced that the *Terres australes* of his childhood reading and imagining existed, attempted in vain to persuade the Count of Maurepas, Louis XV's minister for the navy, to finance a new expedition to look for the *Terres australes*.⁴⁷

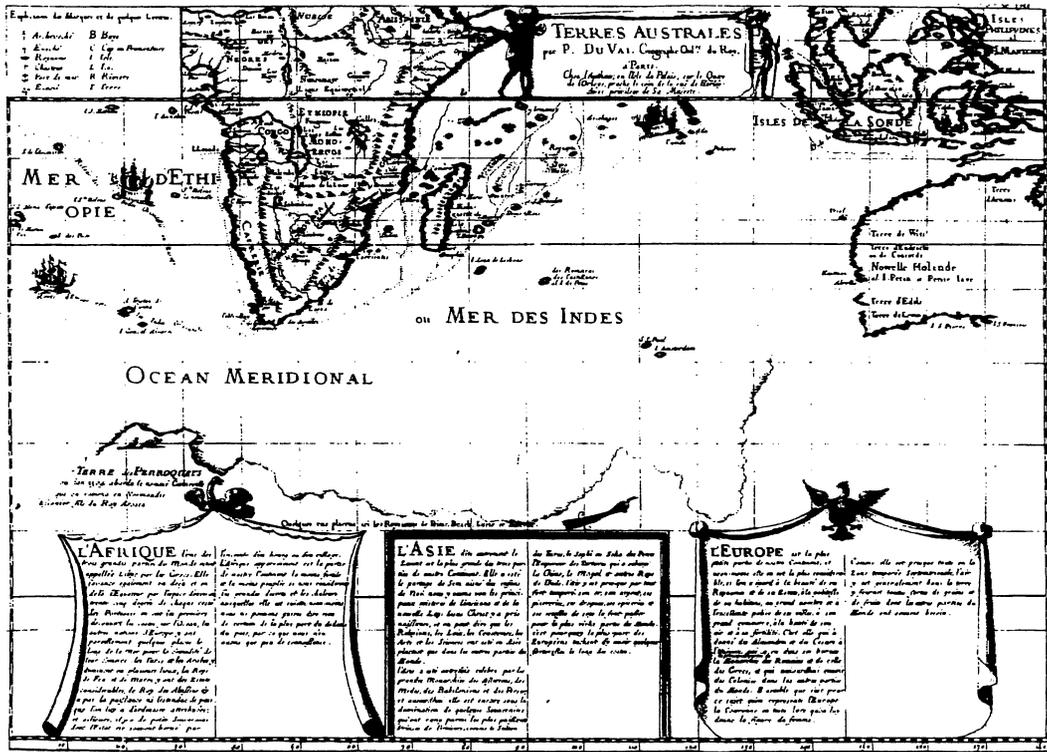
The inhospitable nature of the icy land discovered by Bouvet invalidated the notion of a Utopian *Terra australis*, and the feeling that the *Terres australes* were not worth the attention that had been paid them probably guided Maurepas's negative decision. In Bouvet's imagination, however, the ice and snow became a barrier behind which lay a beautiful, fertile land.

In 1739, on Bouvet's return from his voyage, the cartographer Philippe Buache⁴⁸ published a map incorporating the navigator's discovery.⁴⁹ The centre of Buache's map is the South Pole and the routes of the *Aigle* and the *Marie* are clearly traced as well as Bouvet's 'discovery', the Cap de la Circoncision. On the map are also indicated by means of discontinuous lines the west and south coasts of New Holland, Van Diemen's Land and New Zealand. Tasman, Van Diemen and Dampier figure as the discoverers of these lands. The *Terres australes* are represented only as fragments organised around the South Pole.

Buache modified this earlier map considerably in his presentation of it to the *Académie royale des sciences* in 1744. When the new map (Map 7) was published for the first time in 1754 it was quite different from that of 1739.⁵⁰ The new map gave a concrete existence to the Austral, Antarctic Lands.



Map 7: Philippe Buache, Carte des Terres Australes, 1754.



Map 8: Pierre Du Val, Terre australes, end of seventeenth century.

Instead of an empty space around the South Pole, there were now two land masses, a large and a small. They were separated by the South Pole and Bouvet's Cap de la Circoncision was situated at the 'African' extremity. The straits separating the two masses were the passages through which passed ice that then emptied into the Southern ocean in two places. The ice thus constituted a barrier blocking the entrance to the immense *Terres australes*.

On this new map, Van Diemen's Land and New Holland were situated as they had been previously, but New Zealand formed the tip of the larger mass. This mass was now called the 'Terres antarctiques', on which were indicated the *Terre des Perroquets* and the *Terre de Gonneville*. At this time, the contours of a large part of New Holland were already known and it is interesting that Buache does not represent the continent here, although other maps of De Lisle and Buache do.

The next impetus to the French search for the *Terres australes* was provided by Charles de Brosses.⁵¹ Inspired by the 'Lettre sur le progrès des sciences'⁵² ['Letter on the Progress of the sciences'] of Maupertuis, who felt that Bouvet had given up too easily, and encouraged by Buffon, Charles de Brosses published his *Histoire des Navigations aux Terres Australes*⁵³ [*History of Navigations to the Terres Australes*] in 1756. The author first of all detailed everything that was known about the *Terres australes* and explained why it was in the French interest actively to seek these lands. Speaking as a geographer and as a citizen, he sought to show that such a discovery would not only bring glory to the nation but would be useful commercially.⁵⁴

De Brosses's authoritative historical account gave Gonneville the consecration and legitimacy so fervently sought by Paulmier.⁵⁵ De Brosses included the totality of the Gonneville extract quoted by the Abbé in his *Mémoires* and regretted that the original document was unable to be found. In all, De Brosses devoted eighteen pages to the voyage of Gonneville (whom he called Binot Paulmyer de Gonneville) to Australasia, a term invented by De Brosse.⁵⁶ After situating him in context, he analysed the detail of Gonneville's account:

Vincent de Paul devoit les [*Mémoires* de Paulmier] présenter au pape, s'il n'eut été prévenu par la mort.... Ce détail étoit nécessaire ici pour constater la fidélité de cet ouvrage, & la vérité d'une expédition maritime des plus anciennes, qui assure sans difficulté à la nation française l'honneur de la première découverte des *Terres australes*, 16 ans avant le départ de Magellan. Ces mémoires quoi qu'informes, paroissent en effet très-fidèles, & portent avec eux le caractère de la vérité si facile à discerner.⁵⁷

[Vincent de Paul would have presented Paulmier's *Mémoires* to the Pope if death had not overtaken him.... This detail was necessary in order to demonstrate the accuracy of this work and the authenticity of this very ancient maritime expedition, which guarantees the French nation the honour of the first discovery of the *Terres australes*, 16 years before Magellan's departure. These memoirs, although lacking in order, nevertheless appear to be very accurate and bear the stamp of easily discerned truth.]

De Brosse situated Gonneville's land to the south of the Little Moluccas in what he called Australasia, closer to the coast of New Holland than had Paulmier, but certainly not forming part of it. Following Paulmier, who had Gonneville rounding the Cape of Good Hope, de Brosse took issue with the cartographers Duval (Map 8)⁵⁸ and Nolin,⁵⁹ who each assimilated Gonneville's land to the Land of Parrots, situating it at 48° of latitude and 20° of longitude, west of the Cape of Good Hope.

As we have said previously, many contemporary maps of De Brosse's time, including some by Nolin, no longer represented the *Terres australes*. I have mentioned how these hypothetical outlines begin gradually to disappear with the progressive knowledge of the coastlines of New Holland from 1625 onward. De Brosse's book was to revive the question of the *Terres australes* and to have an important influence on future exploration of the Southern Hemisphere, both French and English.

Bougainville was sent to circumnavigate the globe in 1766. In 1771 Marion, sieur du Fresne of the Ile de France (present-day Mauritius), was sent by the administrator Poivre to repatriate Ahu-Toru, the Tahitian brought to France by Bougainville. Marion was also given the task of identifying the Great South Land sought in vain by Bouvet thirty years previously, to the south of the Cape

of Good Hope. Ahu-Toru died of smallpox two weeks after departure and the voyagers saw two small islands which they believed to be part of *Terra australis*, and then continued eastward, discovering the Iles Crozet.⁶⁰ After landing in Van Diemen's land,⁶¹ Marion arrived on 4 April 1772 in New Zealand. He named the north island 'France australe' and was massacred there by the islanders on 12 June in the same year.⁶²

Likewise on 1 May 1771, Yves-Joseph de Kerguelen-Tremarec left France for the Ile de France to search for Gonneville's land, sent by the Minister for the Navy. His mission was to seek

... un grand continent dans le sud des îles de St Paul et Amsterdam, et qui doit occuper cette partie du globe, depuis les 45° de latitude sud, jusqu'aux environs du pôle, dans un espace immense où l'on n'a point encore pénétré. Il paraît assez constant cependant que le sieur de Gonneville y aborda vers l'an 1504, et y séjourna près de six mois, pendant lesquels il fut bien traité par les gens du pays.⁶³

[... a large continent south of the islands of St Paul and Amsterdam and which must occupy that part of the globe, from 45 degrees latitude south, to the Pole, in an immense space where no-one has yet gone. It does appear however that Gonneville landed there in 1504 and stayed for almost six months, during which he was well treated by the natives of the country.]

Kerguelen's aim was to establish friendly and commercial relations with the inhabitants. He was then to go to New Holland and to stop at the River Plate on the return journey for supplies.

When he left the Ile de France in the *Fortune*, Kerguelen was accompanied by François Alesno, comte de St Allouarn in the *Gros Ventre*. Like Bouvet and Marion Du Fresne, he saw lands enveloped in ice and snow,⁶⁴ which he took to be the *Terres australes*. Like them, he believed that the ice constituted a barrier beyond which lay temperate inhabited lands. Hastening back to the Ile de France he announced that he had found the Great South Land and that it would be possible to establish a colony there. St Allouarn, who in the meanwhile had lost sight of the *Fortune*, continued his journey, following his instructions, and sailed to the west coast of New Holland, where he buried two bottles to commemorate his visit.

Surprising as it may seem and indicative of the tenacity of the *Terra australis* myth and the intense rivalry of the French with the English, Kerguelen in 1773 was provided by the authorities with the means of making a second voyage and founding a colony. This time the results were no better and he returned again to the Ile de France without reaching New Holland. He was obliged now to confess his failure and when he returned to France he was court-martialled and imprisoned for his incompetence in commanding the expedition and for his false representation of his discoveries. Kerguelen in later life became convinced that Madagascar must have been the land discovered by Gonneville.

Cook's second voyage (1772–73), combing the Southern Seas in search of *Terra australis*, finally put paid to the myth. The account of this voyage was published in French in 1778, and the writer Nicolas-Edmé Restif de la Bretonne in his Utopian *La découverte australe par un homme-volant* [The southern discovery by a man with wings], published in 1781, marks the literary end of the myth. In this satirical, philosophical novel Restif evokes Captain Cook and his discoveries. The imaginary nature of the *Terres australes* is emphasised, as is the impossibility of finding them, except through dreams and imagination.

Notwithstanding this, an individual calling himself the Baron de Gonneville in 1783 tried to revive again in France the search for the *Terres australes*, alleging the perfidious nature of the English who were perhaps keeping their discoveries secret:

Les derniers navigateurs anglais tels que le comodore Byron, le capitaine Wallis, le capitaine Carteret et le célèbre Cook, prétendent avoir traversé ce pays en tous sens et pour décourager les autres nations, veulent-ils nous faire entendre que toute la besogne est faite qu'il ne reste plus que quelques îles entrecoupées de courants et que le continent austral se réduit à peu de chose, mais que l'on prenne garde, que ce langage est à peu près celui des Hollandais qui avaient de grandes raisons pour cacher leurs possessions qui avoisinent les côtes australes, par des raisons d'intérêt et de commerce, qu'ils se proposaient d'étendre exclusivement aux autres Européens.⁶⁵

[The last English navigators such as Commodore Byron, Captain Wallis, Captain Carteret and the famous Cook claim to have traversed

this country in all directions and, to discourage other nations, they want us to believe that all the work is done and that there are only a few islands interspersed with currents and that the austral continent does not amount to much, but we should be aware that this language is almost the same as that of the Dutch who had every reason to hide their possessions bordering on the austral coasts, for reasons of interest and trade, that they proposed to extend exclusively to other Europeans.]

The Baron, who claimed to be a descendant of the sixteenth-century captain of the same name, produced spurious 'family papers' to support his claim, as well as an account of Gonneville's journey and of his own genealogy, which were both manifestly invented. Likewise his claims concerning the English were perceived as being ridiculous as it was now accepted in France that the myth of a French *Terra australis* had finally been laid to rest.

If Gonneville's land could not be to the south-east and below the Cape of Good Hope, the French were left by the end of the eighteenth century with the puzzle as to where, if it existed, it really was.

The myth of Paulmier's *Terres australes* was well and truly dead when in 1869 a seventeenth-century manuscript copy of Gonneville's account of his journey *Relation* (the deposition that is his account of his voyage) was found at the Bibliothèque de l'Arsenal in Paris and communicated to the geographer Armand d'Avezac. In the Preface to the transcription of it that Avezac published, he contended that it was Brazil⁶⁶ where Gonneville had landed, several years after its discovery by the Portuguese explorer Cabral.⁶⁷ Avezac's opinion, based on some significant misreadings and suspect interpretations of the primary texts, has been commonly accepted almost up to the present day and Gonneville has entered history as the earliest recorded Frenchman to visit Brazil. Antarctic France has indeed come full circle.

In recent years, the deficiencies in Avezac's interpretation have caused there to be renewed speculation as to the situation of Gonneville's land. Was it Maryland as was suggested by Bénard de la Harpe (a contemporary of Bouvet de Lozier), or Madagascar,

as Kerguelen had guessed, or somewhere else in the Indian Ocean? Or could it possibly have been Australia?

It has also been suggested in recent years, notably by a French lawyer from Normandy, Jacques Lévêque de Pontharouart,⁶⁸ that perhaps Gonneville and his land were figments of the Abbé Paulmier's fertile imagination, invented in order to win for the Abbé a coveted bishopric. It is a hypothesis that cannot be excluded. Gonneville's original declaration to the Admiralty in Rouen in 1505 no longer exists—only two seventeenth-century copies of it exist, both taken from a now lost earlier seventeenth-century copy. No other witness of Gonneville's existence survives, apart from the evidence provided by Paulmier. But, as we know, chance plays an important role in the survival or not of historical documents.

In any case it is an interesting tale, playing as it does across the borders of fiction and history and illustrating the way in which imagination and self-interest have been both the motors of history and of historical interpretation.

The controversy about the existence and situation of *Terra australis* which caused so much debate in France from the sixteenth to the late eighteenth century has been replaced now by the questioning of Gonneville's existence and by a reflection on the nature of historical truth and the vagaries of its transmission.

Notes

- 1 Macrobius, [no title], fol. F viii verso (annotation 48v): [*In Somnium Scipionis*], Brixiae [Brescia], per Boninum de Boninis, 1483, Bibliothèque Nationale de France (hereafter BNF), Imprimés, Rés. Z.64.
- 2 Map 1, Caelestum hic terram inspicias Terrestre QB Caelum, in Francesco Berlinghieri, *Geographica di Francesco Berlinghieri fiorentino in terza rima et lingua toscana distincta con le sue tavole invariisiti et provincie secondo la geographia et distinctione de le tavole di Ptolomeo*, Florence, before 10.xi.1482, BNF, Imprimés, Rés. Smith-Lesouëf, Rés. 37, (pl.1).
- 3 Appeared in French translation in 1556: *La Description géographique des provinces et villes plus fameuses de l'Inde orientale, meurs, loix, et coutumes des habitans d'icelles ...* par Marc Paule, ... nouvellement réduit en vulgaire françois, Paris, E. Groulleau, 1556.

- 4 W. A. R. Richardson traces in detail the influence that this cartographic error was to have on the representation of *Terra australis* from the sixteenth to the eighteenth century: 'Mercator's Southern Continent: Its Origin, Influence and Gradual Demise', *Terrae Incognitae: Journal for the History of Discoveries* 25 (1993): 67–98.
- 5 Cape Horn, discovered by Drake, was represented for the first time in 1589 on a map by Hondius, the successor of Mercator.
- 6 Oronce Fine, *Nova, et integra universi orbis descriptio*, Paris, 1531, BNF, CP, Rés. Ge D 6440.
- 7 Mercator, [untitled but for the following notation *Edebat Gerardus Mercator Rupelmundanus ... Lovanii an 1541*], in Rodney W. Shirley, *The Mapping of the World. Early Printed World Maps 1472–1700*, London, 1983, pp.87–89, plate 68.
- 8 It is thus possible that Portugal was already aware of the existence and location of Brazil.
- 9 Quoted in *Portugal Brazil: The Age of Atlantic Discoveries*, Bertrand Editora et al, Lisbon, Milan, New York, 1990, p.230.
- 10 Nicolas Durand, Sieur de Villegagnon or Villegaignon, Vice-Admiral, b. Provins about 1510, d. 9 January, 1571 at Beauvais.
- 11 It should be noted that in the title of his *Mémoires*, Paulmier uses this term as a synonym for 'austral'. Villegagnon, mentioned in the 1654 manuscript, is not mentioned by Paulmier again subsequently.
- 12 André Thévet, *Les Singularitez de la France Antarctique autrement nommée Amérique et de plusieurs terres et isles découvertes de nostre temps*, Paris, les héritiers de M. de La Porte, 1558. André Thévet, *Les singularites de la France antarctique: le Brésil des Cannibales au XVIe siècle*, Paris, 1983. André Thévet, *Les singularites de la France antarctique*, ed. Frank Lestringant, Paris, 1997.
- 13 Jean de Léry, *Histoire d'un voyage fait en la terre du Brésil*, 1578, (ed. A. Chuppin, Geneva, 1580), ed. F. Lestringant, Paris, 1994.
- 14 F.XXXV : [La Terre Australe], quoted by Frank Lestringant, *L'atelier du cosmographe ou l'image du monde à la Renaissance*, Paris, Albin Michel, 1991, p.190.
- 15 F.XXXIX : [La Terre Australe], p.190.
- 16 See Kenneth Gordon McIntyre, *The Secret Discovery of Australia, Portuguese ventures 200 years before Captain Cook*, Medindie, South Australia, and London, 1977.
- 17 Made between 1536 and 1544 for the Dauphin, this map was thus named because it belonged in the eighteenth century to Edward Harley, Duke of Oxford. It is now in the British Library, Ms. 5413.
- 18 Map 2. Desceliers, [no title], faite à Arques, par Pierre Desceliers, Prebstre, 1553 (facsimile, *Die Weltkarte des Pierre Desceliers von 1553*, Vienna, 1924, BNF, CP, Ge A 691).

- 19 See Helen Wallis, 'Java la Grande : the Enigma of the Dieppe Maps', *Terra australis to Australia*, Melbourne, Oxford University Press in association with the Australian Academy of the Humanities, 1988, p.69.
- 20 Born in 1540, died approx. 1608.
- 21 Map 3. Abraham Ortelius, *Typus Orbis Terrarum*, Anvers, 1570, BNF, CP, Ge DD 4796 (134).
- 22 These coasts appear progressively on the Dutch maps beginning with the representation of Cartensz's discoveries. He named four points on the west coast of the Cape York peninsula discovered by Willem Jansz seventeen years previously.
- 23 'Nova totius terrarum Orbis Geographica ac Hydrographica tabula'. The coasts named by the Dutch are also to be found on the 'Charte universelle de tout de monde' by the Dutchman Cornelius Danckerts and the Frenchman Tavernier in 1628 and 1630 .
- 24 Abel Janszoon Tasman (1603–59), a Dutch navigator, was sent by the Governor of the East Indies, Van Diemen, to explore the southern seas. He discovered the southern shore of 'Van Diemen's Land', now Tasmania, as well as part of the west coast of New Zealand and the islands of Fiji (1643). Leaving Batavia in 1644, he explored northern Australia and the east and west coasts of the Gulf of Carpentaria.
- 25 The circumnavigation of Australia was undertaken for the first time by Flinders between 1801–04.
- 26 This map is a reworking of Willem Blaeu's 1619 world map on which the 'traditional' *Terra australis* was represented and on which the only Dutch discovery appearing was the East coast of the Gulf of Carpentaria.
- 27 A single copy exists of this map: 'Nova et accurata totius terrarum orbis tabula', Gul Janssonio, 1619, Maritime Museum 'Prins Hendrik', Rotterdam. Another map by the Blaeus in 1645 continues to represent the unknown South Lands: 'Nouvelle et exacte description du globe terrestre reveue et corrigée et augmenté suivant les dernières relations des Anglois et Hollandois par Guillaume Blaeu', Paris chez Anthoine de Fer, 1645, BNF, Cartes et plans, Ge D 5040.
- 28 Map 4. 'Nova et accuratissima totius terrarum orbis tabula Auctore Joanne Blaeu', *Geographia, quae est cosmographiae blauianae pars prima, qua orbis terrae tabulis ante oculos ponitur, et descriptionibus illustratus*, tome 1, Amstelædami, Labore et Sumptibus Joannis Blaeu, MDCLXII, BNF, CP, Ge. DD. 4796 (19).
- 29 '[I flatter myself] that I have put an end to the searching after a Southern Continent, which has at times ingrossed the attention of some of the Maritime Powers for near two Centuries past and Geographers of all ages', *The Journals of Captain James Cook*, ed. J. C. Beaglehole, Cambridge, 1955–68, II, p.643, quoted in *Terra Australis to Australia*, *op.cit.* p.236.

- 30 I am grateful to Dr Elizabeth Bonner for making me aware of the existence of this manuscript.
- 31 Paris, Claude Cramoisy, [1664] 1663.
- 32 Map 5. Antoine De Fer, 'Typus orbis terrarum. Description de la Terre Universelle, la Mappemonde ou Planisphère Terrestre', BNF, CP, Ge FF 1201 (3).
- 33 'Mappe Monde, ou Carte générale du Monde, dessinée en deux plan Hemispheres', Par le Sr Sanson d'Abbeville, Géographe, Ordinaire de sa Majesté, A Paris, chez P. Mariette, Rue St. Jacques à l'Espérance. Avec Privilège du Roy pour vingt ans, 1651, BNF, CP, Ge D 12287.
- 34 See maps of Cluver, 'Typus orbis terrarum' and Du Val, 'Le monde terrestre', 1661.
- 35 In Latin in Théodore de Bry's voyages.
- 36 *Requete présentée à Philippes III Roy d'Espagne, par Pierre Ferdinand de Quir, Portugais, pour tascher d'obliger sa Majesté catholique a envoyer des Colonies dans les Terres Australes, contenant une sommaire description d'une partie de ces Terres, decouvertes par Ledit de Quir et ceux de sa flotte.* Translated by M. de Flacourt, a director of the French Oriental Company, and Commandant of the French Colony of Madagascar, BNF, Ms. fol. 202–10/116–23.
- 37 Map 6. Louis Mayerne Turquet, Antoine de Fer (Paris, dans l'Isle du Palais), BNF, CP, Ge CC 1270 (5).
- 38 *C'est à dire, La description de ce pays inconnu jusqu'ici, de ses mœurs & de ses coutumes par Mr Sadeur. Avec les aventures qui le conduisirent en ce Continent, & les particularitez du sejour qu'il y fit durant trentecinq ans & plus, & de son retour, Vannes, Jaques [sic] Verneuil, 1676.* The religion of the Australians was Deist and this book caused its author considerable problems because of its perceived impieties. It was particularly condemned by the Geneva consistory. Armand Rainaud, *Le Continent austral: hypothèses et découvertes*, Paris, 1893, p.392, considers it to be a witty satire of Queiros's imaginings.
- 39 *Histoire des Sévarambes. Peuples qui habitent une partie du troisième continent, communément appelé la terre australe. Contenant un compte exact du Gouvernement, des Mœurs, de la Religion, du langage de cette Nation, jusques aujourd'huy inconnüe des Peuples de l'Europe. Traduit de l'anglois.* Première partie. A Paris, Claude Barbin, 1677.
- 40 See the edition of Aubrey Rosenberg, Paris, Universitas, and Oxford, The Voltaire Foundation, 1993. The first edition is dated 1710: *Voyages et aventures de Jaques Massé*, Bourdeaux (La Haye), Jaques L'Aveugle, 1710.
- 41 François-Timoléon de Choisy, *Journal du voyage de Siam*, présenté et annoté par Dirk Van der Cruysse, Paris, Fayard, 1995 (Cramoisy, 1687), p. 118. The itinerary of this voyage is indicated on Coronelli's globe.

- 42 'Au pr de Vautron [sic], A Fontainebleau, le 13 octobre 1699', BNF, Ms. NAF 9439, fol. 23.
- 43 Archives du Dépôt Hydrographique de la Marine, vol.1053, liasse 1 (Terres australes), quoted in Rainaud, *op.cit.*, p.381.
- 44 *Voyages de François Coreal aux Indes Occidentales, contenant ce qu'il y a vu de plus remarquable pendant son séjour depuis 1666 jusqu'en 1697. Traduits de l'espagnol. Nouvelle édition, Revuë, corrigée, & augmentée d'une nouvelle Découverte des Indes Méridionales & des Terres Australes, enrichie de figures.* Tome second. Paris, Gabriel Amaury, 1622, p.390–91.
- 45 1705–86. Between 1750 and 1763 he was governor of the Ile de France and the Ile Bourbon. Other references: Archives nationales, Série marine, B4: 45, 77, Bibliothèque du Service historique de la Marine, Ms Vol. 1053, 1–18; BNF, Ms. NAF 9341, 9407, 9438, 9439.
- 46 *Mémoires pour l'Histoire des Sciences et des Beaux-Arts*, commencés d'être imprimés, l'an 1701 à Trévoux ... février 1740. 'Relation du voyage aux Terres Australes des vaisseaux l'*Aigle* et la *Marie*', Article XII, pp.251–76.
- 47 BNF, Ms. NAF 9341, fol. 340. Manuscript copies of certain of Bouvet's letters from 1740–41 are to be found in the National Library of Australia, Ms 841. The originals of these are in the James Ford Bell Collection, University of Minnesota Library.
- 48 Buache, 1700–73, was the son-in-law of the royal cartographer Guillaume de l'Isle whom he succeeded and on whose maps he based his own, adapting them to accord with his theories and allowing himself to be guided more by his imagination than by strict observance of what was known.
- 49 Philippe Buache, 'Carte des Terres Australes Comprises entre le Tropique du Capricorne et le Pôle Antarctique Où se voyent les Nouvelles découvertes faites en 1739 au Sud du Cap de Bonne Esperance Par les Ordres de Mrs de la Compagnie des Indes. Dressée sur les Memoires et sur la Carte Originale de Mr de Lozier Bouvet Chargé de cette Expédition', Paris, Sur le Quay de la Mégisserie, 1739, BNF, CP, Ge DD. 2987(142).
- 50 Map 7. Philippe Buache, 'Carte des Terres Australes, Comprises entre le Tropique du Capricorne et le Pole Antarctique, Où se voyent les Nouvelles découvertes faites en 1739 au Sud du Cap de Bonne Espérance. Par les ordres de Mrs de la Compagnie des Indes, Dressée sur les Mémoires et sur la Carte Originale de Mr de Lozier Bouvet Chargé de cette expédition. Augmenté de diverses vues physiques & c. [sic]', Paris, Quay de l'Horloge du Palais, 1754, BNF, CP, Ge. AF Pf 34 (74).
- 51 1709–77. French historian, archæologist and magistrate, the first President of the Parliament of Dijon and a member of the Academy of

Inscriptions.

- 52 Maupertuis attributed the failure of Lozier de Bouvet's voyage to his not having recognised the climatic specificity of the Southern Hemisphere: '... si ceux qu'on avoit envoyés chercher les terres australes, eussent eu plus de connaissance du physique de ces climats, & des ressources qu'on y emploie, il est à croire qu'en arrivant plus tard ils n'auroient pas trouvé de glaces; ou que les glaces qu'ils trouvèrent ne les auroient pas empêchés d'aborder une terre, qui, selon leur relation, n'étoit éloignée d'eux que d'une ou deux lieues', 'Lettre sur le progrès des sciences', 1752, n.p., pp.25–26 [... if those that the *Compagnie des Indes* had sent to seek the Austral lands had known more about the physical nature of these climates and the resources that one uses there, they would no doubt arriving later not have found ice there; or the ice they found would not have prevented them from reaching land, which according to their account, was only one or two leagues distant, 'Letter on the Progress of the Sciences', 1752].
- 53 Charles de Brosses, *Histoire des Navigations aux Terres Australes contenant ce que l'on sçait des mœurs & productions des Contrées découvertes jusqu'à ce jour: & où il est traité de l'utilité d'y faire de plus amples découvertes, & des moyens d'y former un établissement*, (Paris, Durand, 1856), Amsterdam and New York, 1967.
- 54 *Histoire des Navigations*, p.ii.
- 55 In 1658, Paulmier had in vain sought recognition of this from the Royal Historiographer, André Du Chesne.
- 56 *Histoire des Navigations*, vol.1, pp.102–20.
- 57 *Histoire des Navigations*, pp.103–4.
- 58 Map 8. 'Terres australes par Pierre Du Val, Géographe ordinaire du Roi, chez l'auteur en L'Isle du Palais à Paris', *Carte universelle du monde* [n.d. but the catalogue of the BNF places it at the end of the seventeenth century], BNF, CP, Ge D 12308 (4). Marked on the outlines of New Holland are the names of the coasts discovered by the Dutch. Beneath the Terre de Concorde and above the Terre d'Edels is marked: 'Nowelle [sic] Holande al. I. Petan et Petite Jave'. Beneath the Terre des Perroquets can be read 'ou l'an 1504 aborda le nommé Gonnevillle qui en ramena en Normandie Essonier [sic], fils du Roy d'Arosca' [where in the year 1504 landed Gonnevillle who brought back from there Essonier, son of King Arosca]. Further towards the east can be read the following: 'Psitac, Beach, Lucac et Maletur', thus explaining De Brosses's comments.
- 59 'Le Globe terrestre représenté en deux plans hémispheres dressé sur les dernières observations et sur plusieurs Voyages et routes des plus habiles Pilotes, faits en différens temps en toutes les parties du Monde', dédié à Sa Majesté par J. B. Nolin, Géographe de S.A.R. Monsieur, chez l'auteur sur le Quay de l'Horloge du Palais, 1700, BNF, CP, Ge AA

- 1257 (1). Nolin's 1755 map, 'Mappemonde Carte Universelle de la Terre, dressée sur les Relations les plus nouvelles' (BNF, Cartes et plans, Ge D 5062), no longer represents the *Terres australes*.
- 60 Named after Du Fresne's second in command.
- 61 Marion was the first Frenchman to have contact with the natives of Tasmania.
- 62 A detailed account of the voyages of Du Fresne and Kerguelen is to be found in John Dunmore, *French Explorers in the Pacific*, Oxford, 1965, vol.I, pp.168–249. See also Edward Duyker, *An Officer of the Blue: Marc-Joseph Marion Dufresne, South Sea Explorer, 1724–1772*, Melbourne, 1994, and Kerguelen-Tremarec, *Relation de deux voyages dans les mers australes et des Indes...*, Paris, Knapen et fils, 1782.
- 63 'Mémoire pour servir d'instructions', 25 March 1771, signed Louis and countersigned Terray, in *Relation de deux voyages dans les mers australes et des Indes, faits en 1771, 1772, 1773, et 1774*, préface et notes d'Alain Boulaire, Paris, 2000, pp.20–21.
- 64 Subsequently revealed to be an island and named the Ile Kerguelen.
- 65 BNF, Ms NAF 9439.
- 66 *Relation authentique du voyage du Capitaine de Gonneville ès nouvelles terres des indes* publiée intégralement pour la première fois avec une introduction et des éclaircissements par M. d'Avezac, Genève, 1971 (réimpression de l'édition de Paris, 1869).
- 67 This discovery is recorded in the letter of Péro Vaz de Caminha of 1 May 1500, addressed to the King of Portugal. A French translation of it is to be found in *Lisbonne hors les murs: 1415–1580: l'invention du monde par les navigateurs portugais*, ed. Michel Chandeigne, Paris, 1990.
- 68 Lévêque de Pontharouart, Jacques, *Paulmier de Gonneville: son voyage imaginaire*, Beauval en Caux, 2000.