

A FRENCH GARDEN IN TASMANIA THE LEGACY OF FÉLIX DELAHAYE (1767–1829)¹

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On 4 February 2003, veteran environmental activists Helen Gee and Bob Graham located rows of moss-covered stones in dense bushland on the north-eastern peninsula of Recherche Bay in Tasmania. The stones formed a rectangle roughly 9 metres × 7.7 metres in size; this was further divided into four smaller rectangles and enclosed a “plinth” measuring 1.8 metres × 1.7 metres. It was not a chance discovery. Gee and Graham, like numerous other local conservationists, were deeply concerned by a proposal to clearfell 140 hectares of private land on the peninsula.² The same peninsula was known to have numerous associations with Bruny d’Entrecasteaux’s expedition, which visited Van Diemen’s Land (Tasmania) in 1792 and 1793.³ What Gee and Graham had searched for, and located, was almost certainly the site of a garden established by expedition member Félix Delahaye⁴ in 1792.

Close by, at Bennetts Point, the French had established an observatory in 1792 in order to undertake pioneering geophysical research which proved that the earth’s magnetic field intensified north and south of the equator.⁵ This was also where the expedition’s naturalist Jacques-Julien Houtou de Labillardière (1755–1834)⁶ made his very first landfall in Tasmania—and where he began collecting for what would effectively become the first published general flora of New Holland. The peninsula was thus the likely source of many Australian “type” specimens now held in herbaria in Paris, Geneva and Florence. Also of great significance was the joyous and non-violent intercultural exploration that occurred in this area between the French and the Indigenous inhabitants.

To affirm the peninsula’s great scientific and historical significance, concerned locals had made repeated attempts⁷ to find physical traces of the eighteenth-century garden, which had last been sighted in 1838 by Jane, Lady Franklin, wife of Governor John Franklin. Helen Gee and Bob Graham returned the day after their discovery, with other local activists,⁸ to measure and photograph the site. The announcement to the press, however, was delayed and carefully stage-managed by Greens Senator Bob Brown after a site visit was made by John Mulvaney (Emeritus Professor of Prehistory, Australian National University) together with Sydney-based historical archaeologist Anne Bickford on 10 February.⁹ As a result, on 20 February 2003, the Tasmanian Heritage Council provisionally listed the

presumed site of Delahaye's garden on its heritage register.¹⁰ After further submissions on 19 November it recommended that 250 hectares of Recherche Bay be placed under a Temporary Protection Order.¹¹ Unfortunately, on 14 October 2004, after further deliberations, the Tasmanian Government announced that it would only protect a 100-metre coastal strip and an additional 100-metre area around the garden and observatory sites. This effectively gave approval for logging to take place on the rest of the peninsula.

But who was Félix Delahaye and what do we know of his garden and his role in d'Entrecasteaux's expedition? Born in Caumont (Seine-Maritime) in 1767, Félix Delahaye was the son of Abraham Delahaye and Marie-Anne-Élisabeth Sapeigne. At the age of 17 he left his parents' farm and gained employment as a gardener's boy in the botanical garden of the Académie des Sciences in Rouen under the direction of a Monsieur Varin. In 1788, however, he left Rouen and found work with the Ecole Botanique of the Jardin du Roi in Paris under André Thouin (after whom Thoin Bay in Tasmania is named). This was the same year in which the explorer La Pérouse disappeared after leaving Botany Bay in New South Wales. Unbeknown to those who waited in Europe, it appears that some time in June 1788 a cyclone struck La Pérouse's vessels, the *Astrolabe* and the *Boussole*, and drove them onto reefs off Vanikoro in the Solomons. Despite the revolutionary turmoil that erupted in France in 1789, the fate of the missing explorer became something of a national obsession. On 9 February 1791, France's National Assembly agreed to send a search and rescue mission. The man chosen to lead this expedition, the first humanitarian mission on a global scale, was Antoine-Raymond-Joseph Bruny d'Entrecasteaux, born in Aix-en-Provence in 1737. Two *gabares* or storeships of approximately 350 tons each were chosen for the expedition. The first, the four-year-old *Truite* from Lorient, was renamed *Recherche* (Search or Research). The second, the ten-year-old Toulon-built *Durance*, was renamed *Espérance* (Hope) and was placed under the command of Jean-Michel Huon de Kermadec (1748–1793). Although d'Entrecasteaux retained overall command of the expedition, the *Recherche* was placed under the command of Alexandre d'Hesmivy d'Auribeau (1760–1794).

D'Entrecasteaux appears to have attracted many capable officers to his project. The enormous social changes in France had already led many officers of noble descent to flee the country: despite the dangers and hardships involved, a sea voyage offered a less extreme alternative to emigration;

revolutionary turmoil—some officers thought—might subside while the expedition was away. The party also included two hydrographers (Beautemps-Beaupré on the *Recherche* and Miroir-Jouvençy on the *Espérance*), four naturalists (Labillardière, Deschamps,¹² Riche¹³ and Ventenat¹⁴), a mineralogist (Blavier), two artists (Piron and Chailly-Ely), two astronomers (Bertrand and Pierson) and our gardener Félix Delahaye. Ventenat and Pierson, who were both priests, also served as chaplains to the expedition. The savants were not subject to naval discipline and, with the exception of Deschamps, they all appear to have had revolutionary sympathies.

Félix Delahaye was nominated for the expedition by André Thouin of the Jardin du Roi. After outlining his previous work experience in Rouen and Paris, Thouin went on to describe his young assistant to d'Entrecasteaux as

[. . .] strong, vigorous and well-suited for voyages. Gentle, honest and of an exact probity. Active, hardworking and passionately loving his calling. Knowing by theory and by practice the processes of gardening and knowing very well the plants cultivated in the Jardin du Roi.¹⁵

Thouin received word in late July 1791 that d'Entrecasteaux had accepted his glowing recommendation. It would seem Delahaye left Paris for Brest on Sunday 28 August 1791 in a stagecoach laden with seven cases: "4 of vegetable seeds, 1 of nuts of fruit trees, 1 of gardening utensils and the last of the gardener's clothes".¹⁶ The gardener was also given detailed instructions; information on how to collect dried seeds; a list of plants at the Isle de France (Mauritius), Bourbon (Réunion), Madagascar, the South Seas, China and the Cape of Good Hope which were lacking at the Jardin du Roi; and letters of introduction to gardeners residing in many of these localities.

Delahaye was paid by the Jardin des Plantes for his last two months of work in Paris, but when he joined d'Entrecasteaux's expedition he commenced an annual salary of 1,000 livres from the navy¹⁷ and was reimbursed 1,236 livres for equipment.¹⁸ Although he found d'Entrecasteaux "likeable", he was soon disappointed to discover that he was not to be accommodated as one of the savants or to dine with the officers.¹⁹ No doubt used to fresh garden produce, he was also unimpressed by the poor food he was served on board. Throughout the voyage, nonetheless, Delahaye worked with great diligence and honesty and kept meticulous horticultural notes in his journal. During his landfalls, he collected seeds and made a numbered collection of 2,699 dried plant specimens under Labillardière's

guidance.²⁰ Delahaye also appears to have adhered to the instructions of André Thouin that he study Latin during the voyage, attempt to translate the works of Linnaeus, and read and write in French. In particular he was given Pierre Buliard's *Dictionnaire élémentaire de botanique* (1783) and the "works of Duhamel" to read.²¹ The latter was almost certainly Henri-Louis Duhamel du Monceau (1700–1782), who published books on forestry, naval architecture (particularly relating to timber), agriculture, fruit-tree cultivation, seed conservation and insect pests affecting seeds. (Thouin had reason to believe Delahaye was in need of schooling; the letter from Brest was addressed to "*Monsieur Thouin, membre de cadémie des Ciance [sic]*"²².)

The *Recherche* and *Espérance* left Brest on 28 September 1791. Their first port of call was Tenerife in the Canary Islands. Here Delahaye accompanied Labillardière to the towns of La Laguna and La Orotava, before making an arduous ascent of Pico de Teide via the famous caldera of Cañadas. He also accompanied Labillardière on a difficult (and deliberately longer) return route to the port of Santa Cruz in order to botanize.²³ At the Cape of Good Hope—where the mineralogist Blavier, the artist Chailly-Ely and the astronomer Bertrand quit the expedition because of discontent and ill-health—Delahaye once again joined Labillardière on a number of excursions and mountain climbs in the immediate vicinity of Cape Town, before being drawn further afield to the Franschhoekberge range to the east. Armed with a passport from the Dutch East India Company and letters of recommendation, Labillardière and Delahaye set off for Franschhoek via Stellenbosch. After two days climbing and botanizing in the nearby mountains, they returned to Cape Town via Paarl Berg.

At the Cape of Good Hope, d'Entrecasteaux received a despatch from the Isle de France (Mauritius) advising him of reports attributed to Captain John Hunter, who was supposed to have seen inhabitants of the Admiralty Islands "adorned with French uniforms and marine sword belts".²⁴ D'Entrecasteaux was suspicious of these reports, but nevertheless decided to investigate them. First, however, he would fulfil his orders to determine the exact locations of the islands of Amsterdam and St Paul in the southern Indian Ocean. It was not until 28 March 1792 that Amsterdam Island was sighted and their survey work commenced. Having already taken forty-three days to reach the island group, d'Entrecasteaux was reluctant to linger. For almost a month, however, extremely violent winds blew from the west and south-west without interruption. They forced d'Entrecasteaux to abandon, for the time being, his plan to reconnoitre the south-west coast of New Holland. He would instead visit Van Diemen's Land to take on fresh

water and find timber to repair his vessels. The expedition reached Van Diemen's Land on 21 April 1792 and two days later discovered Recherche Bay, where fresh water was found.

It appears Delahaye made his first excursion on the afternoon of 23 April, accompanying Labillardière and two others to the north-east of the anchorage. According to Abbé Louis Ventenat, during their five-week sojourn the naturalists collected some 5000 specimens comprising thirty genera and about 100 new species.²⁵ Because the expedition made another visit to Van Diemen's Land the following year, there are problems discerning which species were collected during which sojourn. The matter is further complicated by the incorrect habitat labelling of some specimens published in Labillardière's *Novae Hollandiae plantarum specimen*.²⁶ For example, he attributes *Eucalyptus ovata* to south-western Western Australia, whereas it is restricted to Tasmania and south-eastern Australia. The genus *Eucalyptus* was at this time new to science: Delahaye, who was unaware of the fact that it was a Frenchman, Labillardière's friend Charles-Louis L'Héritier de Brutelle (1746–1800),²⁷ who actually named the genus in 1788, made a naïve record in his journal of "a big tree which the English call *calipsus* [sic]".²⁸ Labillardière would ultimately publish descriptions of seven eucalypt species, including the famous blue gum *Eucalyptus globulus* (collected on 6 May 1792), the floral emblem of Tasmania. It was also during this visit to Recherche Bay that Delahaye planted his garden. According to d'Entrecasteaux:

Various seeds sowed by M. La Haye, gardener-botanist, might in future furnish supplies to navigators who will shelter in this haven, if however their produce escapes the destructive zeal of the natives who might mistake the new plants, the properties of which they are ignorant of, for all the other herbs which they seem to allow to perish with their fires.²⁹

Delahaye's principal duty during the expedition was to collect useful seeds and seedlings, but in his instructions one can gain some understanding of why he planted a garden at Recherche Bay:

If the gardener is provided with fruit trees and plants of an economic nature either in Brest, the Canaries or at the Cape of Good Hope, he will not fail to plant some of these vegetables in the places which appear to him to be most favourable to their multiplication in New

Holland and choose localities where it is probable that European vessels will be able to call. But above all, he is urged to deposit them in the hands of some inhabitants of Botany Bay, choosing people who will attach value and who will take care to propagate them. This will always be to advance towards the object proposed: to deposit at the entry to the South Seas, our useful vegetables which, multiplying there (with some hope of success because of the similar climate), will one day be transported to the islands and on to the continents of this great part of the world. It will be good to leave in this place the seeds of all our species of vegetables that the gardener takes with him, as well as the nuts and seedlings of our fruit trees.³⁰

The expedition never called at Botany Bay and it was by no means certain that it would return to Van Diemen's Land. The garden, therefore, was probably planted with altruistic motives rather than as an investment in future fresh provisions for the expedition itself. For similar reasons a male and female goat were released on Bruny Island when the expedition returned to Van Diemen's Land the following year. Labillardière naively hoped that the naturalized offspring might "occasion a total change in the manner of life of the inhabitants, who may then become a pastoral people, quit without regret the borders of the sea, and taste the pleasure of not being obliged to dive in search of food, at the risk of being devoured by sharks".³¹

During its five-week stay in Van Diemen's Land, which lasted until 28 May 1792, the expedition also made one of its most significant geographical discoveries: the D'Entrecasteaux Channel. Despite a preliminary survey, d'Entrecasteaux remained mindful of La Pérouse's itinerary, and sailed north to the Isle of Pines and along the west coast of New Caledonia, to New Ireland, the Admiralty Islands, and to the Dutch colony of Ambon (where Delahaye exchanged seeds with the Dutch Governor). Alas, no trace of the missing expedition was found along the way.

From the Dutch East Indies the expedition headed for south-western New Holland, and after negotiating the hazardous "Archipelago of the Recherche" made another important discovery on 9 December 1792: Esperance Bay. The French remained anchored off Observatory Island until 17 December (a longer sojourn than intended because the naturalist Claude Riche became lost) and here Labillardière made many other important botanical discoveries—including the *Anigozanthus rufa* (or kangaroo paw), *Chorizema ilicifolia*, *Banksia repens*, *Dryandra nivea* and *Eucalyptus cornuta*. D'Entrecasteaux then sailed east, but was forced to break off his

survey of the south-west coast of New Holland because of lack of water. Once more he sailed to Recherche Bay on the south-eastern coast of Van Diemen's Land to replenish. In his account d'Entrecasteaux tells us of their return visit to the garden site:

The garden had not been a success; nothing, or nearly nothing, had grown. Was it because the season was not favourable, or because the seeds that had been sown had deteriorated? I instructed M. La Haye, gardener-botanist, to proceed to the spot and try to discover the cause.³²

After yet another visit to the garden—this time in the company of one of the Indigenous inhabitants—d'Entrecasteaux provided more detail: “a few chicory plants, cabbages, sorrel, radishes, cress and a few potatoes had grown, but had only produced the first two seminal leaves”.³³ Labillardière wrote that he had hoped the seeds had been planted in moist humus-rich soil but had seen, with regret, that a very dry and very sandy spot, pretty near the head of the bay, had instead been selected.³⁴ In his journal Delahaye blamed the fate of the garden on the “drought” and remarked that the earth was very hard.³⁵ To d'Entrecasteaux, however, he apparently declared that the lack of success of the garden was owing “to the seeds having been sown in too advanced a season”.³⁶ The fact remains, however, that it was not an absolute failure; Delahaye tells us that he picked a number of very small potatoes and attempted to explain to the Aboriginal people “that this root cooked simply on embers was good to eat”.³⁷

Delahaye also participated in several important excursions with Labillardière during his second visit to Van Diemen's Land. On 25 January 1793, he and Labillardière and presumably Ventenat “landed in the south-west, and followed a path, traced nearly in that direction by the natives”.³⁸ It seems likely that they travelled the course of the present South Coast Track, which provides bushwalkers with access to South Cape Bay and the eastern limits of the Western Tasmania Wilderness Area. Many plant specimens were collected along the way. Labillardière's journal suggests that the naturalists camped overnight on the west bank of South Cape Rivulet. Although they improvised a shelter from branches, their construction skills did not match those of the Indigenous inhabitants and they had little protection from a south-westerly gale blowing straight off the Southern Ocean. The piercing cold drove them to huddle by the fire despite the soaking rain—little wonder that Félix Delahaye described it as “such a disagreeable

night".³⁹ Yet the following morning, cold and weary, they were back at their scientific endeavours. When Labillardière finally returned to the *Recherche*, laden with his botanical treasures, he and his companions were extremely tired, not having closed their eyes "for more than forty hours".⁴⁰

Delahaye also accompanied Labillardière up the D'Entrecasteaux River and then to the shores of the Southport Lagoon, which they had visited the previous year. It was an excursion that would prove profoundly important in Tasmanian ethnography. They spent yet another night in the open, but found it so cold—the temperature dropped overnight from 23° Centigrade to just 6°—that they were once again obliged to light a large fire to keep warm. Rising at 4 a.m., Delahaye and Labillardière arranged a rendezvous with their companions and set off to collect plants and seeds on the opposite side of the lake. At about eight o'clock, after collecting several species of acacia, they became aware of a number of Aborigines, "most of whom appeared to be fishing on the borders of the lake".⁴¹ Uncertain about the demeanour of the Indigenous people and, according to Delahaye, "without any other weapons, but a pruning hook each, facing 40 savages",⁴² they ran for the cover of the woods in order to rejoin their companions, who carried muskets. Delahaye's journal indicates that they were pursued by the Aborigines and that initially their companions did not believe that they had "just seen such a large number of savages". There is even a degree of nervous panic in Delahaye's account, for he tells us that they attempted to load their muskets and fire a few rounds before going forward to "face" their pursuers.⁴³ Labillardière's published account presents a calmer picture and both records indicate that anxiety quickly gave way to relief. Labillardière, sensing no "hostile design", approached the oldest member of the group with a piece of biscuit and held out his hand as a sign of friendship. Labillardière was delighted to see the man reciprocate by holding out his hand, "inclining himself a little, and raising at the same time the left foot, which he carried backward in proportion as he bent his body forward". "These motions", he added, "were accompanied by a pleasing smile".⁴⁴

Although Labillardière asserted that his companions followed his example, Delahaye's account suggests they simultaneously extended their hands in friendship to the Aborigines. Whatever the truth, there is no disputing Labillardière's claim that "immediately the best understanding prevailed among us". Delahaye recorded that they invited the Aborigines to visit their campsite and they were followed "with great trust". The sight of European possessions caused astonishment: "We gave them a few small items", wrote Delahaye, "among which was a waistcoat that I passed on to a young girl,

who after placing it on her back, observed herself, just as we do when our tailors have us try on an outfit".⁴⁵ Delahaye added that he and his companions "cooked some sago and some tea", and that the Aborigines were "very surprised to see hot water. They seemed unable to comprehend this".⁴⁶ Having brought a large number of extra clothes as protection against the night cold, the French were able to bestow "the greater part on these islanders". Nevertheless, they were amazed that at such a latitude and in such a severe climate the Aborigines did not seem to feel the need to wear clothes: "Even the women were for the most part entirely naked, as well as the men. Some of them only had the shoulders and part of the back covered with a kangaroo skin, worn with the hair next to the body: and among these we observed two, each of whom had an infant at the breast".⁴⁷

On the naturalists' walk to their rendezvous with the ship's boat at Bennett's Point, the escorting Aborigines continued to bestow obliging attentions on them: removing branches and obstructions from their path and steadying them to prevent them slipping on grassy slopes. Their route took them back via the site of Delahaye's garden and Labillardière was impressed when one of their guides revealed a very clear discernment of the non-indigenous species that had been planted.

While friendship with the Aboriginal people was reaffirmed in the days that followed, tensions between the naturalists and the Royalist officers were never far from the surface. Returning to a prearranged embarkation point on the shore one evening, after two hours of rain, Labillardière, Ventenat and Delahaye had to deal with the indifference and spite of some of the officers aboard, who appear to have blamed them for encouraging insubordination among the lower ranks. Delahaye recorded in his journal that after firing their guns, burning gunpowder and even walking to the closest point on the shore to the ship, they still failed to gain a response. In the intensely cold driving rain they were forced to take refuge in an Aboriginal shelter, but were unable to start a fire. Delahaye wrote bitterly: "We were obliged to spend the night in the most dismal situation. This was a private vengeance which was exercised on the part of an officer of the guard, because we gathered from several sailors aboard that our gunshots and cries had been heard perfectly. This was not the first time they sought to inflict this kind of harshness on us".⁴⁸

On 9 February, the expedition began to pack up its camp on the shore of Rocky Bay. Delahaye and Labillardière were already aboard preparing the specimens they had collected.⁴⁹ At daybreak on 13 February, the *Recherche* and *Espérance* took advantage of a south-westerly and finally

cleared the shore. After two weeks of surveys in the D'Entrecasteaux Channel and on the Adventure Bay side of Bruny Island (where Delahaye examined and tended two pomegranate, one quince and three fig trees planted by William Bligh's expedition in 1792), the two ships sailed on to Tonga. Here Delahaye was able to fulfil one of the most important parts of his instructions:

[. . .] to employ all the means in his power to procure the greatest quantity that he can take of the stalks of the best variety of breadfruit and to do the impossible in nurturing them for live transportation to the Isle de France or other French or European colonies he will encounter on his route, and finally to bring them to Europe. If he succeeds in enriching us with this precious tree, he will give to his country the most useful of all gifts, and he alone will have done more for the happiness of men than all the savants of the world.⁵⁰

The breadfruit plants Delahaye selected for transportation in Tonga were installed in specially designed rectangular wooden chests with drainage holes and a frame that allowed the mounting of glass panes or grills to regulate the temperature (monitored with thermometers).

The expedition's next landfall was Balade in New Caledonia. During its five-week sojourn, Delahaye accompanied Labillardière on botanical excursions into the neighbouring mountains and into the Diahot Valley. It was in New Caledonia that Huon de Kermadec died and was buried on the offshore island of Poudioué. The expedition then passed Vanikoro Island (unaware that the relics of La Pérouse's expedition were strewn upon its reefs!), confirmed the location of the principal islands of the Solomons, and discovered and surveyed the D'Entrecasteaux and Trobriand Islands in the Louisiade Archipelago. Finally, just before his death on 20 July 1793 (probably arising from scurvy), d'Entrecasteaux accomplished important survey work on the coasts of eastern New Guinea and northern New Britain.

With command now in the hands of the ailing thirty-three year old d'Hesmivy d'Auribeau, the expedition reached Sourabaya, in Java, in late October 1793. There its members were shocked to learn that France and the Netherlands had been at war for the past eight months. Even worse was the news that France was also at war with England, Prussia, Austria and Spain, that a republic had been declared and Louis XVI had been executed on 21 January 1793. Although the Dutch eventually accepted the safe conducts the ships carried from the States-General, the expedition began to disintegrate

along Royalist and Republican lines. With the agreement of the largely Royalist officers under d'Auribeau, the Dutch seized the ships and imprisoned the Republicans. The naturalists were also separated from their scientific collections and papers. Disease then began to take a terrible toll.

To pay the expedition's victualling debts to the Dutch, d'Auribeau agreed to sell the *Recherche* and the *Espérance*. On 21 August 1793 he died of dysentery and was succeeded, as commander, by Elisabeth-Paul-Edouard de Rossel (1765–1829). Two weeks before the ships were auctioned, Rossel, seven other officers, the hydrographer Charles-François Beautemps-Beaupré and twenty-three crew members set sail with a convoy of thirty Dutch merchantmen bound for the Netherlands. On one of the vessels, the *Hougty*, Rossel stowed the expedition's papers, maps and natural history specimens in some 143 cases. They would all be captured by HMS *Sceptre* off Saint Helena. France had conquered the Netherlands; in British eyes Dutch ships were now enemy ships. The Republicans imprisoned in Java were eventually released in prisoner-of-war exchanges.⁵¹ On his return to France the naturalist Labillardière ultimately succeeded in his representations to Sir Joseph Banks, whom he had met in London in 1783, to secure the release of the natural history specimens. With them he produced his magnificent two-volume *Novae Hollandiae plantarum specimen* (1804–1806) and his *Sertum austro-caledonicum* (1824–1825), pioneering works of Australian and New Caledonian botany. Labillardière also published his *Relation du voyage à la recherche de la Pérouse* in 1800. Meanwhile, Rossel, who remained in Britain until the signing of the Peace of Amiens, edited d'Entrecasteaux's journal and published it in 1808 (along with his own journal and observations) as the two-volume *Voyage de d'Entrecasteaux envoyé à la recherche de La Pérouse*.

Although Félix Delahaye was also detained by the Dutch in Java, he continued to care for the breadfruit plants he had transported from Tonga: only fourteen had survived by the time he reached Sourabaya and only ten plants were alive by the time he reached Samarang. It was not until late 1796 that Jean-Baptiste-Philibert Willaumez⁵² returned to Java on *La Régénérée* and found Delahaye in dire circumstances. Together they sailed for the Isle de France with the breadfruit trees in January 1797. On arrival, Delahaye handed his precious seedlings to Jean Nicolas Céré (1737–1810) at the Pamplémousses Botanical Gardens, where they prospered and from where they were successfully introduced to the French West Indies. This may have been assisted by the publication of Delahaye's *Observations sur la culture de l'arbre à pain* in Port Nord-Ouest (Port Louis) in 1797.⁵³ (In

honour of this achievement, the name “Lahaie” appears on the Liénard obelisk in the gardens.) Delahaye also collected 280 separately numbered plant specimens on the Isle de France between March and April 1797. These were added to his collection of dried plant specimens from Java and seeds from 50 Australian species, 700 Javanese species and 110 species from the Isle de France.⁵⁴

Delahaye departed the island in May 1797 on the *Cibèle* and arrived in France on 9 July 1797.⁵⁵ André Thouin was not there to greet him; he and Labillardière were part of an official commission sent to Italy to plunder the libraries and museums of northern Italy in the wake of Napoléon’s victories. In 1798 Delahaye became chief gardener firstly at the Trianon and then, in 1805, at the Empress Joséphine’s estate at Malmaison.⁵⁶ After Joséphine’s death in 1814, he went into business as a private nurseryman.⁵⁷

Delahaye died at his home, n° 6 rue Symphorien, Versailles, on 20 August 1829 and was survived by his wife, Anne Serreaux, two sons and a daughter.⁵⁸ On 16 August 1879 the Muséum national d’histoire naturelle purchased his herbarium, 84-folio catalogue and journal from the antiquarian bookseller Pironin for 295 francs. A small collection of seeds was also donated to the Ecole nationale d’horticulture de Versailles by Delahaye’s grandson Emile Bertin. D’Entrecasteaux named an island in Port Espérance (Tasmania) in Delahaye’s honour, but it is now known as Hope Island.

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Notes

1. This is an updated version of a chapter first published in the collection *Pacific Journeys: Essays in Honour of John Dunmore*, edited by Glynnis M. Cropp, Noel R. Watts, Roger D. J. Collins & K. R. Howe, Wellington, Victoria University Press, 2005.
2. See Danielle Wood, “Precious Cabbage Patch”, *The Saturday Mercury* (Hobart), 22 February 2003, p. 31.
3. Bruny d’Entrecasteaux, *Voyage to Australia and the Pacific, 1791–1793*, ed. and trans. Edward Duyker & Maryse Duyker, Carlton, Vic., Melbourne University Press at the Miegunyah Press, 2001.
4. There is considerable variation in the gardener’s name in historical sources. Although d’Entrecasteaux referred to him as “La Haye” and he often signed Lahaye, I have chosen to use the spelling preferred by the Archives départementales des Yvelines (Versailles), since it appears on his death registration and in the inventory of his estate.

5. F. A. M. Lilley & A. A. Day, "D'Entrecasteaux, 1792: Celebrating a Bicentennial in Geomagnetism", *Eos: Transactions [of the] American Geophysical Union*, vol. 74, n° 9, 2 March 1993, pp. 97, 102–103.
6. See E. Duyker, *Citizen Labillardière: a Naturalist's Life in Revolution and Exploration (1755–1834)*, Carlton, Vic., Melbourne University Press at the Miegunyah Press, 2003.
7. Nerida Moore and Mr Greg Hogg attempted to locate the garden in the summer of 1999–2000, but failed.
8. Paddy Prosser, Bruce Poulson, Laurie Fraser, Robyn Muir, Braiden Muir, Cate Burke, Martin Wohlgemuth and geologist Chris Vanderbosch from Flinders University.
9. Greg Hogg, "Tasmania's Oldest European Artifacts", *Huon Valley News*, 19 February 2003, p. 9.
10. Nick Clark, "Recherche Bay Historic Site World-Class, says National Trust Supremo: Garden Praises Grow", *Mercury*, 20 February, 2003, p. 3; Nick Clark, "Interim Heritage Listing but Owners Threaten to Sue Trespassers: Protection for Garden", *Mercury*, 21 February 2003, p. 3.
11. Although this encompassed the entire north-east peninsula, the onus still fell on the Premier, Mr Jim Bacon, to ensure that the recommendation was not over-ridden by the forestry exemption in the state's Cultural Heritage Act; see M. Paine, "Protection Bid on Bay", *Mercury*, 20 November 2003, p. 5. Although Denise Gaughwin, archaeologist for the Tasmanian Forest Practices Board, has made a preliminary report (D. Gaughwin, "Report on Reconnaissance of Parts of North East Peninsula, Recherche Bay, South East Tasmania", Forest Practices Board, 11 March 2003), the site still awaits a full archaeological excavation and analysis. Aside from the search for physical artefacts, there is the opportunity to conduct phytolithic, pollen, phosphate and other studies of the soil held between the stones. Gaughwin has questioned whether the stones actually mark the garden site. She and the owners of the land have seized on a discrepancy between the site's distance from the shore (about 80 metres) and the location of the garden indicated on a manuscript map drafted by d'Entrecasteaux's hydrographer Charles-François Beautemps-Beaupré (1766–1854) (some 80 toises = circa 146 metres); this manuscript map is reproduced in B. Plomley & J. Piard-Bernier, *The General: the Visits of the Expedition led by Bruny d'Entrecasteaux to Tasmanian Waters in 1792 and 1793*, Launceston, Queen Victoria Museum, 1993, p. 103. However, it is worth considering that the coastline at Recherche Bay may have changed since 1792—especially if there was erosion after readily accessible coastal trees were logged from the shore after the Leprena Mill opened in 1884. Indeed, one authority, E. C. Bird, estimates that 70% of the world's coastline is receding: see *Coastline Changes: a Global Review*, Chichester, John Wiley, 1985. The lack of mature re-growth on the site has also been used to cast doubt on the presumed garden site, but this may simply be a result of fire succession in the area.

12. E. Duyker, "Deschamps, Louis Auguste (1765–1842)", in *Dictionnaire de biographie mauricienne*, n° 54, October 2000, pp. 1743–1744.
13. E. Duyker, "Riche, Claude Antoine Gaspard (1762–1797)", in *Dictionnaire de biographie mauricienne*, n° 53, October 1999, pp. 1709–1710.
14. E. Duyker, "Ventenat, Louis (1765–1794)", in *Dictionnaire de biographie mauricienne*, n° 54, October 2000, pp. 1786–1788.
15. Thouin quoted by L. Letouzay, ed., in *Le Jardin des Plantes à la croisée des chemins avec André Thouin 1747–1824*, Paris, Editions du Muséum, 1989, p. 228.
16. *Ibid.*, p. 229.
17. H. Richard, *Le Voyage de d'Entrecasteaux à la recherche de Lapérouse*, Paris, Editions du Comité des travaux historiques et scientifiques, 1986, p. 271.
18. *Ibid.*, p. 245.
19. Lahaye to Thouin, 8 September 1791, Bibliothèque centrale du Muséum national d'histoire naturelle, MS 46.
20. A. Chevalier, "Félix Delahaye, le jardinier de l'expédition envoyée en 1791 à la recherche de La Pérouse", *Revue internationale de botanique appliquée & d'agriculture tropicale*, 32, 1953.
21. "Instructions pour le Jardinier de l'Expédition autour du monde de M. d'Entrecasteaux", in L. Letouzay, ed., *Le Jardin des Plantes à la croisée des chemins avec André Thouin 1747–1824*, Paris, Editions du Muséum, 1989, p. 231.
22. *Ibid.*, p. 235.
23. J. J. H. de Labillardière, *Relation du voyage à la recherche de La Pérouse: fait par ordre de l'Assemblée Constituante, pendant les années 1791, 1792, et pendant la 1ère et la 2ème année de la République Française*, Paris, H. J. Jansen, An VIII [1800], 2 vols, I, pp. 17–26.
24. D'Entrecasteaux, *Voyage to Australia and the Pacific*, p. 12.
25. Ventenat, "Journal", Archives nationales, Marine, 5JJ4, dossier 4.
26. E. C. Nelson, "The Location of Collections and Collectors of Specimens Described by Labillardière in 'Novae Hollandiae Plantarum Specimen'—Additional Notes", *Papers and Proceedings of the Royal Society of Tasmania*, 108, 1974, pp. 159–170 and E. C. Nelson, "The Collectors and Type Locations of some of Labillardière's 'Terra van-Leuwin' (Western Australia) Specimens", *Taxon*, 24, 1975, pp. 319–336.
27. F. A. Stafleu, "L'Héritier de Brutelle: the Man and his Work", in C. L. L'Héritier de Brutelle, *Sertum Anglicum*, 1788, facsimile with critical studies and a translation, Pittsburgh, Hunt Botanical Library, 1963, pp. xiii–xliii.
28. Delahaye, "Journal", Archives nationales, Marine 3JJ 397.
29. D'Entrecasteaux, *Voyage to Australia and the Pacific*, p. 38.
30. "Instructions pour le Jardinier de l'Expédition autour du monde de M. d'Entrecasteaux", pp. 232–233.
31. Labillardière, *Relation du voyage*, II, p. 79.
32. D'Entrecasteaux, *Voyage to Australia and the Pacific*, p. 140.

33. Ibid., pp. 141–142.
34. Labillardière, *Relation du voyage*, II, p. 25.
35. Delahaye, “Journal”.
36. D’Entrecasteaux, *Voyage to Australia and the Pacific*, p. 142.
37. Delahaye, “Journal”.
38. Labillardière, *Relation du voyage*, II, p. 10.
39. Delahaye, “Journal”.
40. Labillardière, *Relation du voyage*, II, p. 15.
41. Ibid., II, p. 28; English translation in *Voyage in Search of La Pérouse...*, London, printed for J. Stockdale, 1800, p. 295.
42. Delahaye, “Journal”.
43. Ibid.
44. Labillardière, *Relation du voyage*, II, p. 28.
45. Delahaye, “Journal”.
46. Ibid.
47. Labillardière, *Relation du voyage*, II, p. 30.
48. Delahaye, “Journal”.
49. Ibid.
50. “Instructions pour le Jardinier de l’Expédition autour du monde de M. d’Entrecasteaux”, p. 234.
51. Richard, *Le Voyage de d’Entrecasteaux*.
52. S. Pelte, “Willaumez, Jean Baptiste Philibert (1763–1845)”, in *Dictionnaire de biographie mauricienne*, n° 6, October 1942, pp. 191–192; see also J. Vichot, ed., *L’Album de l’Amiral Willaumez*, Paris, Association des Amis des Musées de la Marine, n.d. [c.1973].
53. A copy of *Observations sur la culture de l’arbre à pain* is bound with Marine 3 JJ 397, “Journal de Lahaye” at the Archives nationales in Paris. This early Mauritian printing is not listed in Toussaint’s and Adolphe’s *Bibliography of Mauritius*. Having read Delahaye’s shipboard journal, which is often characterized by a phonetic French, it is clear that this pamphlet must have been well-edited prior to publication. The successful transplantation of breadfruit trees to the Isle de France (Mauritius) was one of the achievements of d’Entrecasteaux’s voyage. This was not long after Bligh’s ill-fated *Bounty* voyage, which had as its principal objective the transplanting of breadfruit seedlings. Félix Delahaye obviously determined to make a record of all that he had learned caring for seedlings gathered in Tongatabu and brought to Java before being taken to the French colony of Mauritius and eventually disseminated in the West Indies. The imprint date is “9 germinal an 5” of the French revolutionary calendar, which was 29 March 1797 in the Gregorian Calendar. The printer of the pamphlet was François Nicolas Bolle, who was born in Strasbourg in 1741 and died on the Isle de France in 1801.
54. “Notes des graines récoltées dans le voyage autour du monde par le Citoyen Lahaye de mai 1792 à courant 1796, à la Nouvelle Hollande et à l’Isle de Java”, Bibliothèque centrale du Muséum national d’histoire naturelle, MS 46.

55. M. A. Guillaumin, "Un membre méconnu de l'expédition à la recherche de La Pérouse: Le Jardinier Lahaie", *Bulletin du Muséum national d'histoire naturelle*, 16, 1910, pp. 356-358.
56. Chevalier, "Félix Delahaye", pp. 62-64.
57. V. Chaudun, "Félix Delahaye, Jardinier au Jardin du Roi, Compagnon de d'Entrecasteaux", *Bulletin du Muséum national d'histoire naturelle*, 2e série, XVIII, 1946, pp. 253-255.
58. Archives départementales des Yvelines, 3E Versailles Gayot 316; 4E 4111 Folio 246 B247; & Répertoire des formalités hypothécaires, vol. 161 & 306.