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# MISCELLANÉES

## The voyage of Captain Lucas and the daguerreotype to Sydney

by R. Derek WOOD

All writings on the history of Photography in Australia agree that an episode in 1841 represents the first use there of the camera. Thus a recent account begins :

« Taking of the first photograph in Australia seems to have been a rather casual affair. On 13 April 1841 the *Australasian Chronicle* announced the arrival of the daguerreotype in New South Wales : the inhabitants of Sydney will now have the opportunity of witnessing the effects of this very singular invention, one of the instruments having been brought to the colony by Captain Lucas, late commander of the Naval School expedition'... »<sup>1</sup>.

But who was Captain Lucas : where did he come from and what was the « Naval School Expedition » ? Such questions have remained entirely obscure. A recently published entry in the *Dictionary of Australian Artists* on « Lucas, Captain, amateur photographer (?), camera salesman and ship's captain », has attempted to bring together some possible identifications but was confused by the fact that two or even three Captains of that name seem to have been in Sydney in 1841 : was he French or English ? The present article offers a new approach to these problems. Even though Lucas does persist in offering a somewhat dual existence, it is apparent that the first use of the daguerreotype in Sydney can be

considered as the farthest diffusion of the daguerreotype from France, comparable to the earlier and shorter stages to London and New York<sup>2</sup>. Unlike those two places it is necessary to make the journey from Europe to Australia with at least one stop-over : our first attention therefore goes to a ship *L'Oriental*, at a half-way point.

### *L'Oriental* to South America

A Frenchman, Louis Comte, gave the first demonstration of the daguerreotype south of the equator. It was in South America at the Uruguayan Legislature, Palacio del Cabildo, in Montevideo on 29 February 1840<sup>3</sup>. Comte had sailed to South America on an intended expedition round the world on a French frigate, *L'Oriental* that had left France at the end of September 1839<sup>4</sup>. Described in France as an « école flottante », and in other countries as « Colegio hidrográfico » and « Naval School Expedition », the voyage was expected to last from two to two and a half years. It had been organised throughout the first half of 1839 by Captain Augustin Lucas (1804-?1854). He was born in 1804 on Belle-Ile, Morbihan. In 1832 he had married Elizabeth Bellais, who, with their two young children, went on the expedition with him. In the mid 1830s he was Captain of *Jeune Lise* of

1. Gael Newton. *Shades of Light : Photography and Australia. 1839-1988*. Canberra : Australian National Gallery 1988, pp. 5 173n.

2. R.D. Wood, 'Ste Croix in London'. *History of Photography*, vol. 17 (Spring 1993), pp. 101-7 : R.D. Wood, « The Arrival of the Daguerreotype in New York ». *Daguerreian Annual 1994* (in press).

3. J.M. Fernandez Saldana. « La Fotografía en el Rio de La Plata... ». *La Prensa* (Buenos Aires), 26 January 1936, seccion tercera (unpaginated 2nd page), deals with l'Abbe « Comte » in La Plata and *L'Oriental* in South America : and Keith McElroy. The daguerrean Era in Peru 1839-1859. *History of Photography*, vol. 3 (1979), pp. 111-123.

4. Adrien Carré. « La singulière histoire de l'Oriental-Hydrographe », *Bulletin, Comité Nantais de Documentation Historique de la Marine*, N° 2, 1970, pp. 17-35. The present writer thanks William Main of Wellington, Nouvelle-Zélande, for kindly drawing his attention to this excellent study by Carré of the voyage of *L'Oriental*. Although it does not mention the daguerreotype, it has enabled several gaps to be filled in the author's first version of this article as previously issued at a symposium of the Association Européenne de l'Histoire de la Photographie in Spain in June 1993.

Bordeaux but a few weeks after returning to France on 4 June 1838 from Guadeloupe<sup>5</sup> he went to stay in Paris to pursue his ideas for leading this educational and training voyage round the world. During the following year he published a 31-page pamphlet on the organisation of maritime commerce<sup>6</sup>. Lucas approached various departments of state and was soon able to state that his project was « sous les auspices du Gouvernement » although this was probably limited to letters of support written by Ministres de la Marine and of Instruction Publique amongst others. Various organisations, such as the Académie des Sciences and the Société de Géographie<sup>7</sup> in France, and in Belgium, were also approached for support and advice. Most significant was Captain Augustin Lucas's approach – as early as March 1839 – to an influential Paris organisation concerned with industry and commerce, la Société d'Encouragement pour l'Industrie Nationale. They considered that his expedition was of interest to them, although the nature of the support which they gave by 31 July was not specified<sup>8</sup>. When Lucas reached Montevideo in February 1840 he sent back to that Society, for publication in their monthly *Bulletin*, a report on the commercial relationships between France and Brazil<sup>9</sup>. No doubt daguerreotype apparatus would have been taken on the voyage anyway (its value to travellers was greatly emphasised in France in the earliest discussions of photography) for Daguerre's invention was causing great excitement in France especially during the two months before *L'Oriental* sailed. But his connection with that Society may have provided a particular encouragement to take a commercial interest in the daguerreotype. It is well known that Daguerre's secret was not divulged until François Arago presented a lecture on Daguerre's behalf at the Académie des Sciences on 19th August 1839, and that Daguerre gave the first of three public demonstrations at the palais d'Orsay on the left bank of the Seine in Paris on 7th September. At the

end of that first week of September 1839 both apparatus and Daguerre's Manual on the technique at last became available to the public in Paris. Less well known is the fact that Daguerre gave a talk about his technique to the Société d'Encouragement pour l'Industrie Nationale at rue du Bac in Paris on Wednesday 4th September 1839. It is thus conceivable that Lucas or Comte could have been at the meeting of the Society to hear Daguerre speak. His discussion with the members of the society was reported in detail in two Paris newspapers<sup>10</sup>. More significantly it resulted in a description of Daguerre's technique, with detailed drawings of the camera and processing equipment, being printed in the September 1839 issue of the society's *Bulletin*<sup>11</sup>, an issue that very likely could have gone on the voyage with Augustin Lucas.

A Prospectus for the expedition was issued<sup>12</sup>. A total of seventy-one persons, forty-two being French students and twelve from Belgium, went on the voyage. Most of the teachers were from Belgium where effective organising was done for Lucas by Professor L.A. Vendcl-Heyl. The education was to include general studies and languages, but training was specifically for commercial and marine careers with instruction in navigation by Lucas, and lectures from a Professor Moreau of l'Ecole Centrale du Commerce de Bruxelles. The cost for each young student was 5 000 Francs. Lucas had at first hoped the Ministre de la Marine would allow him to use a navy ship *L'Hydrographe*, and his plans could have collapsed when this support was not forthcoming. Luckily the expedition was still able to take place when he obtained the use of *L'Oriental*<sup>13</sup>, at 82 000 Francs from her owners Despacher and Bonnefin of Nantes. The departure was during the last days of September 1839, with *L'Oriental* calling at Lisbon on 7 October 1839, and at Madeira from 23 to 25 October. Bahia was reached on 7 December after visiting Recife (« Fernambouc ») the most nor-

5. *Lloyd's List* (London), 9 June 1838, 4.

6. The Bibliothèque Nationale in Paris holds his *Extrait d'un Mémoire sur quelques changements à apporter dans l'organisation de la marine... et la faiblesse de notre commerce maritime*. Paris 1839, as well as *Le Candidat... pour tous les échelons de la carrière de la marine du commerce*, par A. Lucas. Vannes 1850, and a 26-page pamphlet by « Lucas (Auguste) résident français à Papeete », *Mémoire sur les colonies françaises des Iles de la Société*, Paris 1848.

7. *Bulletin de la Société de Géographie* (Paris), tom. 11 (séance 19 avril 1839), p. 255. *Comptes rendus Académie des Sciences*, Paris, tome 9 (séance 5 août 1839), p. 223.

8. *Bulletin de la Société d'Encouragement pour l'Industrie Nationale* (Paris), tom. 38 (1839), pp. 136-139-323.

9. « Commerce : Note sur le voyage de circumnavigation entrepris par M. le capitaine Lucas... Montevideo, sous la date du 21 février », *Bulletin de la Société d'Encouragement*, tom. 39 (juillet 1840), pp. 261-3.

10. *Le Constitutionnel*, 6 septembre 1839, pp. 1-2. *Moniteur Universel*, 8 septembre 1839, pp. 1 738-9.

11. « Description du procédé de M. Daguerre, et de la manière d'en faire usage », *Bulletin de la Société d'Encouragement*, tom. 38, N° 423 (septembre 1839), pp. 342-9, and two fold-out plates (N° 774-775). More about Daguerre at the meeting appears on pp. 341-2, 364, 378. Also in the same septembre *Bulletin*, pp. 325-341, is Arago's lecture of 19 août on the Daguerreotype, reprinted from *Comptes rendus Académie des Sciences*.

12. A page of the Prospectus is reproduced in A. Carré, and extracts were published in Brussels in *L'Indépendant*, 11 juillet 1839, p. 1.

13. *L'Oriental* was built in 1835. Before Lucas used the ship the previous two voyages from mid-1837 were both from Nantes to Bourbon and Mauritius and back, returning to the Loire on 16 June 1839. *Lloyd's List*, 10 April 1838, 3 : 9 June 1838, 4 : 4 March 1839, 3 : 22 June 1839, 2. Financial arrangements for Lucas's voyage in *Gazette des Tribunaux* (Paris), 20 août 1840, p. 1 022.

thern point encountered on the Brazilian coast. The exact position of L'abbé Louis Comte on the voyage is unclear as he was listed as one of three French passengers. Yet he is also recorded as Chapelain on the ship and to teach music. In South America the reports of him taking the first daguerreotypes there speak of « Comte » rather than Comte, but the latter name is likely to be correct. Apparently at that time he was aged thirty nine, born in Nantes, but having lived for many years on the other side of France at la Grande-Verrière, a small village near Autun<sup>14</sup>. With his daguerreotype equipment he stayed on in Uruguay where he had a studio for many years, but *L'Oriental* continued her voyage under the command of Captain Lucas. The intention was to go up the west coast of South America to California, across the Pacific to la Nouvelle-Hollande – i.e., Australia. Parents of the pupils had been advised to send mail via England to Sydney. The Philippines were to be visited, down to India, which appeared to feature largely in plans for the students. The last part of the expedition was via the Red sea, south to Bourbon and Madagascar, back across to South America, north to Boston and Madagascar, back across to South America, north to Boston and across the Atlantic back to France. But, after staying a few days at Valparaiso. *L'Oriental* was wrecked on the coast of Chile immediately after leaving that port on 23 June 1840<sup>15</sup>. Everything on the ship was recovered and the students were to sail back to France and Belgium on normal services.

### The *Justine* and Australia

Yet *L'Oriental* must have left France with more than one Daguerreotype outfit. For it surely cannot be only a coincidence that another French ship, *Justine*, arrived in Sydney from Valparaiso on 29 March 1841 and it was her Captain Lucas, described in the *Australian Chronicle* of 13 April 1841 as 'late commander of the Naval School expedition', who offered Daguerreotype apparatus for sale in April 1841. The place of sale was in Macquarie Place at the offices of Joubert and Murphy<sup>16</sup>, food and wine merchants, who were general agents for French ships. The purchaser was to be « fully instructed in the method of taking

views ». A daguerreotype view of Bridge Street from Macquarie Place (the first photographic image obtained in Australia, although it does not appear to have survived) was certainly taken by some « gentleman » on 13 May. Presumably Lucas was involved in this demonstration, not only Joubert and Murphy. Further demonstrations were offered at their premises. It seems unlikely that the camera was sold at that time, but remained in Joubert's hands : when he decided to return to Europe almost two years later, « a very superior daguerreotype [camera], complete, with all the apparatus, and a great number of plates » was amongst his furniture and books placed on auction at his residence in Macquarie Place<sup>17</sup>.

The *Justine* had sailed for Nouvelle-Zélande and Australia from Valparaiso on 6 November 1840<sup>18</sup> so that the opportunity to take over goods from *L'Oriental* is evident. It would seem almost certain that the Captain Lucas who brought the daguerreotype to Australia, was the leader of the marine school expedition of *L'Oriental* that left France at the beginning of October 1839. Thus the taking of the first photographic image in Australia is in direct line with the first daguerreotype taken in South America. Yet this article cannot simply stop here. Because it cannot be entirely indisputable that the man in Sydney was exactly the same man as the Captain Lucas who had sailed from France !

When Augustin Lucas sailed from the French Brittany ports on *L'Oriental* at the end of September 1839, he was accompanied by his wife and two young children. On Belle-Ile in January 1839 his sister Louise-Augustine had married J.F. Briel described as a simple fisherman and coastal sailor. He served for Lucas as third lieutenant on *L'Oriental* accompanied by his wife. It was thus quite a family voyage, completed by the youngest member of the crew being the sixteen year old brother of Lucas's wife. Indeed family relationship is the connecting link in the arrival of the *Justine* at Sydney. For Augustin Lucas had not only a sister but a younger brother. Born on 11 February 1808 on Belle-Ile. François-Marie Lucas also became a Capitaine au long-cours about the same time as his brother. Indeed he was captain of the *Justine* !

In 1837 the *Justine* had left Le Havre captained by the younger François Lucas under a scheme to

14. A. Carré, 1970, p. 25.

15. *L'Indépendant* (Bruxelles), 11 juillet 1839. 1 : 24 octobre 1839, p. 2. *Lloyd's List*, 11 november 1839, column. 10 : 29 january 1840, 4 : 18 february, 7 : 29 august, 7 : 10 september, 11 : 29 september 1840, 14. « Naufrage de l'Oriental-Hydrographe », *L'Indépendant*, 3 octobre 1840, p. 1 : 4 octobre 1840, p. 2.

16. Joubert and Murphy acted as agents for French ships : Jack Cato, *The Story of the Camera in Australia*, Melbourne : Georgian House 1955, pp. 1-2. See also entry on 'D.N. Joubert' in J. Kerr (editor). *Dictionary of Australian Artists*, Melbourne : Oxford University Press 1992.

17. *Sydney Morning Herald*, 21 March 1843, 3. Advertisement for auction of D.N. Joubert's property to be held at his residence in Macquarie Place on 23 March 1843. Sandy Barrie of Sydney drew attention to this auction, in his *Historical retrospective. George Barron Goodman* (Australia's first professional photographer), privately published, Sydney 1992, pp. 9-31.

18. *Lloyd's List*. N° 8 406. 16 February 1841. 10.

take 240 emigrants to Sydney<sup>19</sup>. Also on the voyage was J. Bernard, owner of the *Justine* and organiser of the enterprise. After arriving at Rio Janeiro in November, the emigrants were persuaded by government agents that Brazil could be a substitute for Australia. First taking on a cargo of sugar the *Justine* after being damaged a little at Montevideo in January 1838<sup>20</sup>, continued round to the Pacific coast of South America. Hereafter in 1838 and 1839 shipping news sometimes reported the progress of the ship as captained by Lucas, sometimes as Bernard. The *Justine* left Valparaiso with horses on 1 November 1838, touching in at Tahiti and Nouvelle-Zélande before reaching Sydney on 25 April 1839<sup>21</sup>. Three months later the *Justine* sailed from Sydney, not to recross the Pacific but going west without a cargo to Mauritius and Bourbon (i.e. Réunion). Returning with a cargo of sugar, they were back to Sydney in February 1840<sup>22</sup>. Within a few weeks, on 7 April the barque left Sydney, sailing via Nouvelle-Zélande to Chile : the Captain was recorded as Lucas at Sydney and on arrival at Valparaiso<sup>23</sup>. So in April 1840 both *L'Oriental* and the *Justine* were heading for Valparaiso from opposite directions : both ships under the command of « Captain Lucas ». At no time in shipping news were forenames mentioned but it is an established fact that Augustin was on the first, and the younger François was on the second ship. So there is no doubt that not long after *L'Oriental* was wrecked on the coast of South America at Valparaiso, the *Justine* arrived there on 23 September 1840. When the captain of the *Justine* later wrote an account of his voyage he merely said that « Je retournai à Valparaiso pour refaire un chargement semblable au premier [chevaux], augmenté seulement de quelques articles »<sup>24</sup>. There was no official requirement for him to write any report but he wished to present his thoughts to the authorities about potential for French colonisation in the Pacific. Therefore it is not surprising that he made no mention of meeting up with his older brother. The *Justine* departed again on 6 November from Valparaiso touching in at Tahiti and at Nouvelle-Zélande to return to Sydney on 29 March 1841<sup>25</sup> :

*Sydney Gazette*. 30 March 1841 : Shipping Intelligence. Arrivals. From Valparaiso, via the Bay of Islands (New Zealand), yesterday (29 March 1841), having left the former port on 6th November, and the latter 17th instant, the barque *Justine*, Captain Lucas, with flour, wines & c. Passengers Captain Bernard, Captain Elliot, William Eastcott, Esq. Messieurs Dessuth and Guion, Mademoiselle Lucas [sic], and three in the steerage.

*Sydney Herald*. 6 April 1841 : Sydney General Trade List, under the authority of the Customs. Imports. Reports, April 2 (1841) – *Justine*, bargue 265 tons, Lucas, master, from the Bay of Islands (NZ) : 85 barrels of flour, 80 barrels of beef, 2 cases jardines, 50 cases pickles, 1 case raisins, 3 cases almonds, 2 cases ink, 10 barrels shot, 50 boxes walnuts, 20 bags beans, 150 boxes soap, 4 boxes candles, 75 bags wheat, 12 bags lucerne seed, 20 bags barley, 15 tons shells, 1 000 coconuts, 1 barrel lime juice, Captain Bernard.

Obviously the owner Captain Bernard, not a Lucas, registered the cargo with Customs and was agent for the goods in Sydney. It will be noticed that no daguerreotype apparatus was listed amongst the goods being imported. Two Captain Lucas's are not listed, but we do have the presence of « Mademoiselle Lucas ». M. Adrien Carré, who previously well researched the history of the expedition of *L'Oriental*, commented that « Après le naufrage, Lucas disparaît pour faire en 1841, une réapparition, combien bruyante, à Tahiti »<sup>26</sup>. The period of this « disappearance » is exactly that of the arrival of the camera in Australia. The Australian newspaper description in April 1841 of the man who arrived with the daguerreotype « Captain Lucas, late of the Naval School Expedition » is one that exactly fits Augustin, captain of the wrecked *L'Oriental*, rather than his younger brother François. There can be little doubt that the apparatus was late of the voyage of *L'Oriental*, but it is indeed also likely that both brothers did arrive on the *Justine*. Obviously the Captain of the *Justine* would already have known Joubert in Sydney but the fact that a few months later Augustin was writing to Joubert on 15 September from Tahiti<sup>27</sup> indicates that he also had already become acquainted.

19. *Justine* rapport 1842 : S. [sic] M. Lucas (« demeurant à Belle-Isle »). « Extrait du rapport adressé au ministre de la marine par le capitaine Lucas, commandant le navire *La Justine*, de Bordeaux, sur les circonstances de son voyage dans l'Océanie, en 1837-1841 ». *Annales Maritimes et Coloniales* (Paris). 1842. Partie 2 (non officielle), tom. 2. pp. 496-503.

20. *Lloyd's List*, 1 february 1838, 2 : 24 february 1838, 2 : 30 may 1838, 3.

21. *Lloyd's List*. 12 february 1839, 3 : 22 june 1839, 2 : 29 june 1839, 3 : 3 september 1839, 3 : 4 october 1839, 7.

22. *Sydney Herald*, 8 july 1839, p. 2 : *Lloyd's List* 12 december 1839, 6 : 20 may 1840, 7 : *Sydney Herald*, 17 february 1840, p. 2a.c., 24 february 1840. Suppl. p. 2.

23. *Sydney Herald*, 8 april 1840, p. 2, *Lloyd's List*, 12 january 1841, 8.

24. *Justine* rapport 1842, p. 498.

25. *Lloyd's List*, 16 february 1841, 10 : *Sydney Gazette*, 30 march 1841, p. 2 : *Sydney Herald*, 30 march 1841, p. 2 : 6 april 1841, p. 2.

26. A. Carré, 1970, p. 32.

27. Léonce Jore, *Un Belge au service de la France dans l'Océan Pacifique : Notice Historique et Biographique concernant J.A. Moerenhout*, Paris : Maisonneuve 1944, letter dated 15 sept. 1841 from « Auguste » Lucas in Tahiti to Joubert in Sydney, pp. 107-9.

When François Lucas had set out from France the whole world was still without photography and the Daguerreotype. But 1839 brought a profound change. So when Augustin Lucas arrived at the east edge of the Pacific in 1840 he had seen how a world could be preserved and reflected in Daguerre's « ingénieux Miroir ». He brought the apparatus to the Pacific. But the first two or three years of the daguerreotype from 1839 to 1841 also cover a critical time in the political affairs of the Pacific. François arrived on the *Justine* in February 1839 to Nouvelle-Zélande : « la position géographique de ce beau pays, ses beaux ports, son climat délicieux, ses forêts immenses, dont la Nouvelle-Hollande est privée, sa proximité de cette nouvelle colonie, me firent entrevoir que cette île jouerait un rôle important dans l'avenir de l'Océanie »<sup>28</sup>. By December 1839 it had become known in his old home of Belle-Ile that he was purchasing seven square miles of land in Nouvelle-Zélande<sup>29</sup>. However his enthusiasm came to nought, « ne prévoyant pas qu'avant un an l'Angleterre viendrait me menacer de m'exproprier, comme cela a eu lieu à l'arrivée du capitaine Hobson, nommé gouverneur de la Nouvelle-Zélande ». Thus Hobson's Proclamation of 30 January 1840 (« does not deem it expedient to recognise as valid any titles to Land in New Zealand which are not derived from or confirmed by Her Majesty »<sup>30</sup>) and the Treaty of Waitangi concluded the following week by the British with the Maori chiefs, undoubtedly influenced the locality of the arrival of photography in the Pacific.

Only a brief account by François remains of his voyage from Valparaiso on which the daguerreotype apparatus was carried : « Je touchai encore à Tahiti, et lorsque j'eus tout vendu à la baie des Iles et liquidé l'opération, je partis pour Sidney, afin d'y charger le doublage et de caréner mon navire, avant de revenir au Chili pour effectuer ensuite mon retour sur Bordeaux ». Thus after the Daguerreotype apparatus was placed on sale in Sydney the *Justine* sailed from Sydney on 4 June to recross the Pacific to Valparaiso yet again<sup>31</sup>. The *Justine* left there on 28 October 1841 for Bordeaux, arriving back to France at the end of February 1842<sup>32</sup>. François Lucas abandon both his hopes in Nou-

velle-Zélande and a seafaring life. He set up a Sardinian factory on Belle-Ile, but not only did the enterprise soon fail, but apparently he shortly died<sup>33</sup>. The interwoven characters of the two brothers is further illustrated by the fact that it was not François, but Augustin who continued in the Pacific. Augustin Lucas lived in Tahiti from about September 1841 until 1848 when he returned to France. According to a local *History of Belle-Ile*<sup>34</sup> he shortly emigrated to the United States where he is said to have died in 1854. One year after he went to Tahiti an official expedition of the *Reine Blanche* commanded by Amiral Dupetit-Thouars arrived in August 1842 insisting on French protectorat of Tahiti, as well as bringing a Daguerreotype camera officially purchased before they left Paris<sup>35</sup>. There are glimpses of Lucas embroiled in missionary and political intrigue and dealing in alcohol that mirror the disturbed situation of Tahiti at that time<sup>36</sup>. The same is true of Elisabeth Lucas. A description of her merely in terms of being her husband's wife is certainly very inadequate. When she, with the two children and another Captain, not Augustin, visited the Gambier Islands in 1843, she was ostensibly an angel devoted to missionaries. Yet her visit was upsetting to the missionary Père Laval, for « elle était arrivée simulant la femme dévote, et elle est partie d'ici faisant la femme à esprit fort », trading in Mother of Pearl in disreputable company<sup>37</sup>. The glimpses we have of these trading-adventurers in the Pacific in the 1840s surpasses the plots of many novels : the arrival of the daguerreotype is part of that extraordinary true story.

### Conclusion

The most recent opinion amongst photographic historians in Australia has been that the Captain Lucas who brought the daguerreotype to Australia was an English Captain. But it is possible now to have a different and fuller picture of the event. It has been necessary to present complicated evidence regarding the relationship between two French ships, so a summary of the principal course of events is offered :

28. *Justine* rapport 1842, p. 499.

29. A. Carré, 1970, p. 32.

30. United Kingdom, *Parliamentary Papers* (Commons), 1841, vol. 17. Paper 311, 'Correspondence relative to Colonization of New Zealand', pp. 7-9.

31. *Sydney Herald*, 4 June 1841, p. 2 : « For Bourbon [!], yesterday, the French ship, *Justine*, Captain Lucas », *Lloyd's List*, 4 November 1841, 8 : « Valparaiso, July 24, *Justine*, Lucas, arrived from Sydney ».

32. *Lloyd's List*, 8 December 1841, 11 : 3 February 1842, 6 : 7 March 1842, 10 : 9 March 1842, 5.

33. A. Carré, 1970, p. 32.

34. *Ibid.*

35. Patrick O'Reilly, *Les Photographes à Tahiti et leurs œuvres 1842-1962*, Paris : Société des Océanistes, Musée de l'Homme, 1969, p. 11.

36. L. Jore, 1944, pp. 104-116, P. O'Reilly, *Tahitiens, Supplément*. Publications de la Société des Océanistes N° 17, Paris 1966, pp. 585-6.

37. *Honoré Laval : Mémoires pour servir à l'Histoire de Mangareva èra chrétienne 1834-1871*, edited by C.W. Newbury et P. O'Reilly. Publications de la Société des Océanistes N° 15, Paris 1968, pp. 234-8.

*L'Oriental* left France at the end of September 1839. Organised by Captain Augustin Lucas (1804-?1854), it was intended as an expedition around the world lasting about two years to provide an education in maritime commerce. A Daguerreotype was taken by Louis Comte in Montevideo on 29 February 1840, and the ship was wrecked at Valparaiso on 23 June 1840. The *Justine*, sometime under the captaincy of François Lucas, younger brother of Augustin, arrived from across the Pacific to Valparaiso on 23 September. This ship left in November 1840, to arrive back to Sydney on 29 March 1841. On 13 April the *Australasian Chronicle* announced that the « inha-

bitants of Sydney will now have the opportunity of witnessing the effects of this very singular invention (of the Daguerreotype), one of the instruments having been brought to the colony by Captain Lucas, late commander of the Naval School expedition... Captain Lucas intends to dispose of the instrument at prime cost... ». The description of the captain exactly fits that of Augustin Lucas from *L'Oriental* rather than his younger brother François. In this way the first photographic images were obtained in Australia, the earliest documented daguerreotype being taken in association with a French firm Joubert and Murphy at Macquarie Place, Sydney, on 13 May 1841.