



**HAL**  
open science

## “‘L’Île du Géographe’ Revisited: Unofficial Diplomacy in Post-Federation French Australian Relations.”

Matthew Graves

► **To cite this version:**

Matthew Graves. “‘L’Île du Géographe’ Revisited: Unofficial Diplomacy in Post-Federation French Australian Relations.”. *The French Australian Review*, 2024, Number 75 Australian Summer 2023-2024, Special Conference Issue, pp.28-53. hal-04942983

**HAL Id: hal-04942983**

**<https://amu.hal.science/hal-04942983v1>**

Submitted on 12 Feb 2025

**HAL** is a multi-disciplinary open access archive for the deposit and dissemination of scientific research documents, whether they are published or not. The documents may come from teaching and research institutions in France or abroad, or from public or private research centers.

L’archive ouverte pluridisciplinaire **HAL**, est destinée au dépôt et à la diffusion de documents scientifiques de niveau recherche, publiés ou non, émanant des établissements d’enseignement et de recherche français ou étrangers, des laboratoires publics ou privés.

# ***L'Île du Géographe Revisited: Unofficial Diplomacy in Post-Federation French-Australian Relations***

**Matthew Graves**

*Aix-Marseille Université, LERMA,  
Aix-en-Provence, France*

– Draft version –

**ABSTRACT:** The role of learned societies in international relations has long been acknowledged by historians of diplomacy, while the agency of non-state actors in general, and of scientific institutions in particular, has attracted closer attention since the “cultural turn” of the 1990s and the emphasis placed by critical geographers in recent years on the material and personal conditions of diplomatic activity. The Fleurieu missions undertaken in the wake of Federation and the Entente Cordiale “on matters of geographical interest to Australia” were inspired by the International Geographical Congress, backed by the Société de Géographie and hosted by the Royal Geographical Society of Australasia. Part of a wider Asia-Pacific initiative that encompassed New Zealand and Japan, they combined personal, scientific and public diplomacy in a concerted effort to persuade state and Commonwealth authorities to amend the charts of Australia and bestow the names given by the French navigators to otherwise “unnamed” features of coastal toponymy, albeit with mixed results. The present paper draws on archival research for a forthcoming book about the unofficial diplomacy of Alphonse de Fleurieu and his contemporaries to argue that it set a template for diplomatic exchange – of media, objects and practices – that would influence later missions and is, to a degree, still extant in French-Australian relations.

**Keywords**

French-Australian relations – unofficial diplomacy – geographical societies – French navigators – coastal toponymy.

## **Introductory remarks**

The role of learned societies in international relations has long been acknowledged by historians of diplomacy, while the agency of non-state actors in general, and of scientific institutions in particular, has attracted closer attention since the ‘cultural turn’ of the 1990s and the emphasis placed lately by

critical geographers on the material and personal conditions of diplomatic activity.

Two informal missions ‘on matters of geographical interest to Australia’ undertaken in 1907 and 1911–1912 by a French geographer in the wake of Federation and the Entente Cordiale were inspired by the International Geographical Congress, sponsored by the Société de Géographie and hosted by the Royal Geographical Societies of Australasia. Part of a wider Asia-Pacific initiative that encompassed New Zealand and Japan, they combined personal, scientific and public diplomacy in a concerted effort to persuade state and national governments to amend maps of the Australia and New Zealand seaboard by restoring the names given by the French navigators to unnamed, misnamed, or otherwise mis-appropriated features of coastal toponymy. The first of these missions was inconclusive, the second met with qualified success.

This essay draws on archival research for a forthcoming book about the unofficial diplomacy of Alphonse de Fleurieu (1870–1926) and his contemporaries to argue that it set a template for diplomatic exchange—involving media, objects and practices—which would influence later missions and help establish maritime history and geography as a familiar idiom of French-Australian relations.

## **1. The amateur geographer and scientific *habitus***

Count Alphonse Claret de Fleurieu (1870–1926) was a traveller, collector and geographer, a graduate of the French Naval Academy, and a great nephew of the renowned eighteenth-century explorer and hydrographer Charles Pierre Claret de Fleurieu (1738–1810) who served France under the Ancien Régime, and survived incarceration during The Terror to serve again under the Consulat and the First Empire. As Louis XVI’s Minister of the Navy and Colonies, de Fleurieu commissioned the voyages of discovery of the era, including La Pérouse’s fateful expedition to the South Seas.<sup>1</sup> Alphonse was a gentleman of independent means who drew a living from the estate of the family seat at the Château de Marzac, near Tursac in the Périgord, where he was born in 1870; he kept an apartment at 26 avenue Kléber in the sixteenth arrondissement of Paris, where he died in 1926. In addition to Australasia, his travels took him to America, India and Japan; he left a paper trail of correspondence from Yokohama, Kobe and Nagoya in the period 1905–1913. During these visits he forged a friendship with August Gérard, French ambassador to Japan 1907–1913. The numerous objects he collected from his travels were gifted to regional

---

<sup>1</sup> The Claret de Fleurieu family belongs to the ‘noblesse de robe’ under a title bestowed on Jacques Annibal Claret de la Tourette by Louis XIV in 1689.

and national museums shortly before his death. Fleurieu's papers were bequeathed to the Société de Géographie de Paris and are held in the society's collections at the Bibliothèque Nationale de France (Richelieu site).

Douglas and Stone define informal diplomacy 'as a mode of unofficial or semi-official diplomatic activity or discussion [which] involves academics and intellectuals, journalists, business elites and others as well as government officials and political leaders "acting in their private capacity"'.<sup>2</sup> This essay looks specifically at how the geographical societies of France, Britain and Australia became the arena for Fleurieu's private-public initiative to restore the French navigators to their place in the history of the young Australian nation.

Alphonse de Fleurieu was not (at least to begin with) a member of the French diplomatic corps. His motives for travelling to the Asia-Pacific are reported to have been familial. According to a memoir by Germaine de Fleurieu, the catalyst for her uncle's globetrotting was a scolding delivered by a visiting cousin, doyen de la famille:

'Voyons, mon garçon, tu n'es pas marié, tu ne fais rien ! Tu devrais voyager et aller voir un peu pourquoi les Anglais se permettent de débaptiser les terres qui portent le nom de Fleurieu ! Ils ont même appelé la Baie Fleurieu "Baie des huîtres", en Anglais "Oyster Bay", c'est intolérable !'<sup>3</sup>

Fleurieu's social status and his self-styled vocation as an explorer, mark him out as a gentleman tourist and amateur geographer in the imperial age of globalisation, steamships and the telegraph, of the travel fiction of Mayne Reid or Jules Verne. As he would put it in a paper to the ninth International Geographical Congress in Geneva in 1908, 'L'étude de la géographie par les voyages scolaires' : 'C'est devenu si simple, aujourd'hui, de faire "le tour du monde". Et c'est la façon la plus commode et la moins longue d'apprendre la géographie'.<sup>4</sup> A naval officer by training, Fleurieu was an empirical, rather than a scientific geographer. One of his arguments for commending globe-trotting school trips to the IGC is that they would not only be character-forming for the nations' youth, but also fill the shipping lines unoccupied first-class cabins. Nevertheless, as we shall see, Fleurieu's wanderlust embarked him on a

---

<sup>2</sup> Elena Douglas and Diane Stone, 'The informal diplomacy of the Australian American leadership dialogue', *Australian Journal of International Affairs* 69, no. 1 (2015): 18–34, citing Jones, 2008: 2.

<sup>3</sup> 'Look here, my boy, you're not married, you've got nothing to do. You should do some travelling and find out why the English have taken the liberty of renaming places that bear the name Fleurieu. They've even called Fleurieu Bay "Oyster Bay", it's intolerable!' Paul Alphonse Claret de Fleurieu dit 'Phonse' ou 'Quiqui' par Germaine de Fleurieu, <http://s.claretdefleurieu.free.fr/histoire%20paul%20alphonse%20de%20fleurieu.htm>. All translations by the author.

<sup>4</sup> Alphonse de Fleurieu, 'L'étude de la géographie par les voyages scolaires', *Congrès international de géographie IX<sup>ème</sup>*, tome 3, Genève, oct., 1908: 291.

geographical apprenticeship which would connect him to the ‘collective intellectual’ in the scientific sphere.<sup>5</sup>

In France, Fleurieu is remembered as an eclectic collector and regional figure, principally in his native Dordogne, where in 2021 the Musée d’Art et d’Archéologie du Périgoureux exhibited, under the title *Les Voyages d’Alphonse*, over 400 objects from his travels through Africa, Oceania, and Asia (formerly displayed at the Société de Géographie) which he had donated to the Museum’s ethnographic collections between 1906 and 1922.<sup>6</sup> The MAAP prides itself on having one of the most substantial extra-European collections of its kind in France. Fleurieu maintained close links with the museum in his lifetime, and its curator the Marquis de Fayolle (a former curator of the Louvre) was a regular correspondent. Fleurieu was also a sometime patron of the arts: on returning from Australia via Japan in 1913, he took the young Japanese artists Tsuguharu Foujita (1886–1968) and Riichiro Kawashima (1886–1971) under his wing, hosting them at Marzac for more than a year during the First World War. Foujita would go on to find fame with the Paris school of artists in the interwar years.<sup>7</sup>

## 2. Rethinking the geographies of diplomacy

Fleurieu might then be said a bit-part player in the historical geography of Australasia. However, contemporary scholarship in critical geographies and the history of diplomacy invites us to rethink the geographies of diplomacy and to examine the place of peripheral actors and spaces in international relations more closely, with the prospect of opening up fresh perspectives in otherwise familiar territory.<sup>8</sup>

In Australia, Fleurieu has been afforded marginally more consideration than in France, not least in the local history of South Australia. The Fleurieu Peninsula Family History Group, on its website, acknowledges his role in the official adoption of the name for the peninsula by the South Australian government in

---

<sup>5</sup> For a discussion of Pierre Bourdieu’s ‘collective intellectual’ in scientific habitus see Rémi Lenoir, ‘Scientific Habitus: Pierre Bourdieu and the Collective Intellectual’, *Theory, Culture & Society* 23, no. 6, (2006): 25–43, <https://doi.org/10.1177/0263276406069>.

<sup>6</sup> *Les Voyages d’Alphonse, ou la vie d’un voyageur Périgourdin*, Dossier de presse de l’exposition, Musée d’Art et d’Archéologie de Périgoureux, 12 juillet – 22 septembre 2021: 4. The exhibition’s title alludes to Daudet, Lamartine, and Jacques Tardi’s eponymous children’s picture book *Le voyage d’Alphonse* (2004), with its ‘savant fou’ protagonist.

<sup>7</sup> *Ibid*, 5. ‘Marzac, lieu de mémoire du peintre Foujita’, <https://www.chateaudemarzac.com/copie-de-histoire-du-ch%C3%A2teau>.

<sup>8</sup> See Fiona McConnell, ‘Rethinking the Geographies of Diplomacy’, *Diplomatica 1* (2019): 46-55 ; Fiona McConnell, Terri Moreau and Jason Dittmer, ‘Mimicking State Diplomacy: the Legitimizing Strategies of Unofficial Diplomacies’, *Geoforum* 43, no. 4 (2012).

1911, on the recommendation of the state branch of the Royal Geographical Society of Australasia:

In the early 1900's Charles Pierre Claret Fleurieu's great nephew, Count Alphonse de Fleurieu visited South Australia and made representation to the South Australian Government through the local branch of the Geographical Society that places named by Nicolas Baudin on his 1802 voyage and discovered by, but not named by, Matthew Flinders be given the names proposed during Baudin's expedition.<sup>9</sup>

In the field of French-Australian studies, the Baudin Legacy research team has drawn attention to Fleurieu's role as a *porteur* of French maritime history. Primary researcher Margaret Sankey assesses how the availability of the Baudin archives in translation has impacted the writing of Australian history, pointing out that Alphonse de Fleurieu's visit to Australia to campaign for the restoration of the French names coincided with Ernest Scott's efforts 'to recognise the contribution of France to the early exploration of Australia' and the publication of his books *Terre Napoléon: A History of French Explorations in Australia* (1911) and *La Pérouse* (1912).<sup>10</sup> In spite of its limited success, she concludes that '[Fleurieu's] visit nevertheless served to make a new generation aware of the role played by the French in the early exploration of Australia and to motivate further research in the area' (34–35). Scott's assistance would be reciprocated by Fleurieu who facilitated his visit to the French national archives in July-September 1914 to examine the primary sources for the French discovery of Australia.

In his eulogy for the Comte de Fleurieu before the Société Historique et Archéologique du Périgord, of which he was a 'distinguished member', the Marquis de Fayolle evoked the idea that his travels served a higher purpose—'les longs voyages autour du monde qu'il s'était fait un devoir national d'entreprendre dans les régions les moins fréquentées de l'Amérique, des Indes et de l'Australie'<sup>11</sup>—and it is this passage from private initiative to public duty (or his sense thereof) that enables us to assimilate Fleurieu's travels with current notions of unofficial or semi-official public diplomacy, where the latter is understood as the triangulation between government, media, and public opinion, and—by extension here—a 'quadrilatère' with the learned societies.

---

<sup>9</sup> 'Fleurieu Peninsula', Fleurieu Peninsula Family History Group, <https://fleurieufamilyhistory.org/naming-of-fleurieu-peninsula/>

<sup>10</sup> Margaret Sankey, 'Mirroring the Archives: the Writing of Australian History and the Baudin Expedition', *The French-Australian Review* 57, (2014–2015): 28–44, 33, 34–35.

<sup>11</sup> 'The long voyages around the world that he made it his duty to the nation to undertake in the remoter regions of America, the Indian subcontinent and Australia', Présidence de M. le marquis de Fayolle (président), "Séance du jeudi 2 décembre 1926", *Bulletin de la Société Historique et Archéologique du Périgord*, Tome LIV, janvier-février 1927: 37–38.

In their 2012 article ‘Mimicking State Diplomacy’, Fiona McConnell, Terri Moreau and Jason Dittmer step outside the realm of inter-state diplomatic relations to look at how non-state diplomacies draw on and mimic formal political agencies, at once idealising state diplomatic discourse and, paradoxically, subverting it by diluting the distinction with unofficial diplomacies. In doing so, they highlight the place of legitimacy, recognition and interconnection between official and unofficial agencies. The authors’ examples of non-state actors differ markedly from the present case: a government in exile (the Tibetan), a religious community and micropatrias (self-declared nations, think of **the fictional** Burgundy-on-Thames in *Passport to Pimlico*). Learned societies, and the geographical societies specifically, diverge in at least two ways: their proximity to the institutions of state (embodied in the royal patronage of the Royal Geographical Society of London, **for example**, a stone’s throw from Whitehall); and their transnational links with the international scientific community as an arena for international scientific cooperation, or science diplomacy, underpinned by the transcultural notion of shared scientific values. We might think of how members of the learned societies of Europe joined together to petition the French government to pardon Élisée Reclus in the aftermath of the Commune (tried by court martial at St. Germain on November 15, 1871, his sentence of banishment was commuted to exile for a period of ten years). Signatories included Charles Darwin, and the President and the Secretary of the Société de Géographie—Messrs Charton and Monois—appeared as character witnesses for the defendant.<sup>12</sup>

Fleurieu was mandated by the Société de Géographie de Paris, founded in 1821, whose motto is ‘La plus ancienne Société de Géographie du Monde’.<sup>13</sup> He interacted with members of the Royal Geographical Society of London, founded in 1830, and its offshoot the Royal Geographical Society of Australasia founded in Sydney (NSW) half a century later (1883), with branches in Victoria (1883), Queensland and South Australia (1885). In Tasmania there was no RGS, but the oldest Royal Society outside of the UK was founded there in 1834; the Royal Society of Western Australia was not founded until 1914, after Fleurieu’s last mission to Australia. Fleurieu would seek to make his case to State and Federal authorities through the intermediary of learned societies with between seventy and ninety years of accumulated and shared scientific endeavour.

What then made the geographical societies a forum for non-state diplomacy in Australia at this juncture? A combination of political and scientific factors. The

---

<sup>12</sup> ‘Affaire Elysée Reclus – L’Intervention du président et du secrétaire de la Société française de géographie’, *Le Temps*, November 17, 1871, <https://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/bpt6k224817f/f2.item> .

<sup>13</sup> ‘The oldest geographical society in the world’, ‘A propos de la Société de géographie’, *Société de géographie*, <https://socgeo.com/qui-sommes-nous/>



Entente Cordiale (1904) had turned the page on the view of ‘France as an enemy empire in the Pacific’ and dissipated the invasion fears that followed the French possession of New Caledonia in 1853.<sup>14</sup> The settlement of outstanding colonial differences between France and the United Kingdom in the Mediterranean, North Africa, North America and South-East Asia, is widely seen as a precursor of ‘soft diplomacy’ (avoiding the ‘T’ word) and an enterprise in public diplomacy which endeavoured to persuade their public opinions to put aside their anti-British and anti-French sentiments steeped in centuries of rivalry and conflict. It is notable that when Fleurieu refers to the 1904 agreement, he uses the expression consecrated by Louis-Philippe in its first iteration (1843–1846), ‘une cordiale entente’.

In the immediate post-Federation period, when Australia was a nascent Dominion transitioning from six self-governing colonies to federated states, there was room for paradiplomacy at the sub-national level, as federal and state institutions carved out their sovereign and subsidiary prerogatives.<sup>15</sup> The Seat of Government Bill designated Canberra as the future capital of the Australian Commonwealth **in October 1908** between Fleurieu’s two missions; commencement of the National Capital would not begin until 1913, after the second Fleurieu mission (1911–1912); and the Federal Parliament would not begin sitting there until 1927. The missions focused on the infra-national level, the States, with the learned bodies—la Société de Géographie, the International Geographical Congress, the Royal Geographical Society, the Royal Geographical Society of Australasia (and its State branches)—interacting with State authorities at the instigation of a non-state actor, Alphonse de Fleurieu, who used them as a forum to amplify his personal goals and access government decision-makers.

One early scientific initiative in post-Federation politics was the preparation of the first official topographical map of the Commonwealth of Australia (**published 1912**) at prime minister Alfred Deakin’s initiative in 1906, shortly after Fleurieu’s first visit. The first proof copies were received by the NSW Lands Department in January 1913 in the wake of his second mission. In 1921, the Commonwealth Surveyor called for a gazeteer of names to be added to the map state-by-state and for this to include historical information.<sup>16</sup> An opportunity therefore presented itself to integrate new names into the coastal

---

<sup>14</sup> Alexis Bergantz, ‘Q & A with Alexis Bergantz, author of *French Connection*’, *APH Australian Policy and History*, August 19, 2021, <https://aph.org.au/2021/08/qa-with-alexis-bergantz-author-of-french-connection/>.

<sup>15</sup> ‘Paradiplomacy [is] understood as the foreign policy capacity of sub-national, regional or local governments ... with empirical attention focused on the international relations of regional governments’, Fiona McConnell, Terri Moreau, Jason Dittmer, ‘Mimicking State Diplomacy: The Legitimizing Strategies of Unofficial Diplomacies’, *Geoforum* 43, no. 4 (2012): **804–814**, 805.

<sup>16</sup> Brian Goodchild, ‘The First Official Topographical Map of the Commonwealth of Australia, 1912’, MSIA 2011 Conference: ‘100 Years of National Topographic Mapping’, March 2011, available online at [http://www.xnatmap.org/adnm/conf\\_06\\_11/c11/Paper%2002.pdf](http://www.xnatmap.org/adnm/conf_06_11/c11/Paper%2002.pdf).



topography of Australia before completion of the Commonwealth map and Fleurieu makes repeated references to this window in his correspondence: ‘je travaille en ce moment pour les rectifications à faire sur la grande carte du Commonwealth actuellement en cours d’achèvement’ (15).<sup>17</sup> His initiative anticipates that shift in the national imaginary identified by Elizabeth McMahon between the colonial view of Australia as a continent, to the mid-twentieth century self-perception of Australia as an island.<sup>18</sup>

The compilation of the Commonwealth map of Australia coincided with the resolutions of the ninth International Congress of Geography in Geneva (1908) to advance work on the International Map of the World to the scale of 1:1,000,000 first moved by the German geographer Professor A. Penck at the Fifth International Congress held in Berne in 1891. Delegates voted to appoint an international commission composed of the Secretary-generals of the geographical societies to study the transcription of geographical names (article XVII) and adopted as a matter of principle that names first attributed should be restored where possible: ‘Il convient de conserver ou de rétablir sur les cartes les noms primitifs là où ils ont été valablement donnés’ (article XIX). The last resolution is reported to have been the outcome of ‘lively’ panel discussions on nomenclature involving, among others, Fleurieu and the Swiss mathematician and linguist René de Saussure, the brother of Ferdinand.<sup>19</sup>

A book review published in the *Bulletin de la Société de Géographie* in 1914 after Fleurieu’s return from his second Australasian mission suggests that the scholarly debate on nomenclature, specifically toponomastics (the study of the origin and meaning of place names), was taking a nationalist turn in face of the rivalry between the European empires: ‘Le premier manuel de toponomastique française est en cours de publication et c’est en Allemagne qu’il est édité’.<sup>20</sup> The reviewer regrets that the acknowledged French expert, Auguste Lognon, died without publishing more than two decades worth of research on French place names at the *École des Hautes Études*, leaving his German counterpart, Hermann Gröhler, as the acknowledged expert in the field.

If the geographical societies set great store on the establishment of accurate nomenclature, especially in marine cartography, it is because it touches upon issues of the sovereignty for nation-states as well as on the safety of mariners.

---

<sup>17</sup> ‘I am currently working on changes to be made to the great map of the Commonwealth which is close to completion’, Lettre du Comte de Fleurieu du Grand Hôtel, Melbourne, January 12, 1912, 6.

<sup>18</sup> Elizabeth McMahon, ‘Australia, the Island Continent: How Contradictory Geography Shapes the National Imaginary’, *Space and Culture* 13, no. 2, (2010): 178–187, <https://doi.org/10.1177/1206331209358224>.

<sup>19</sup> ‘The original names should be kept or restored on maps wherever they were validly given’ in ‘The Ninth International Geographical Congress’, *The Geographical Journal*, Vol. 32, No. 4 (Oct. 1908): 353-54.

<sup>20</sup> ‘The first manual of French toponomastics is soon to be published and its place of publication is Germany’, Étienne Clouzot, ‘Toponomastique’, *Bulletin de la Société de Géographie* (January 1, 1914): 63.

Alphonse de Fleurieu lays out his own protocol for name changes in a letter from Hobart of August 16, 1911, to the President of the Société de Géographie detailing his demands for Tasmania:

- 1) French names should be restored where they have not been superseded.
- 2) Local maps should be harmonised with the Admiralty maps (which preserve more French names).
- 3) Spelling mistakes should be systematically corrected (he complains that Le Cap de la Sortie is, for instance, spelled Delasorte).
- 4) Anodyne names should be changed, and the name Fleurieu reintegrated, ‘bien entendu’.<sup>21</sup>

### 3. Fleurieu’s first ‘mission’: informal diplomacy

We have established that Fleurieu embarked on not one but two voyages to Australia and New Zealand, separated by an interval of six years. The first in 1905 was personal and informal, albeit with a geographical objective in mind: to have the Fleurieu name restored to the maps of South Australia and Tasmania. The second mission in 1911–1912 was semi-official, and it was a substantially longer sojourn in the South Pacific of some fourteen months duration. When Fleurieu returned to Australasia after a six-year hiatus in April 1911 it was having acquired scientific credentials in the interim by obtaining accreditation from the learned societies.

French diplomatic representation in Australia at the time centred upon the two consulates in Sydney (opened in 1842) and Melbourne (1854), the acting capital of the Commonwealth, which Fleurieu elected to make his base, staying at the Grand Hotel. While these appear to have been outside his scientific orbit, there is evidence that he interacted with at least one French consular official in Tasmania who, as member of the Marine Board, joined the delegation from the Royal Society and the Tourist Board to press his case with the Minister of Lands in Tasmania. The geographer’s proximity to the French diplomatic corps is also alluded to in one late press report which refers to Fleurieu as ‘the present secretary to the French ambassador in London’.<sup>22</sup>

On his first voyage to the south seas, Fleurieu embarked in London for Tasmania via Cape Town, landing in Hobart on March 23, 1905, a fortnight before the first anniversary of the signing of the Entente Cordiale. After visiting Adelaide, in early May he sailed for New Zealand, travelling from Dunedin in

---

<sup>21</sup> In **Fleurieu** (Alphonse de). ‘Correspondance’, cartes, notes relatives à ses recherches sur le nom de Fleurieu dans la géographie, 1904-1916’, Inventaire des Manuscrits de la Société de Géographie, Bibliothèque Nationale de France, Sg carton F (419) (n°86), 7.

<sup>22</sup> ‘French Names’, *Kangaroo Island Courier*, February 22, 1913, 6.

the South Island to Wellington and Auckland in the North. From there, he embarked for Sydney via the New Hebrides and Noumea, arriving on June 18, 1905, leaving three days later via for Japan after a three-month sojourn in Australasia. According to later, sympathetic press reports,<sup>23</sup> it was on this visit that Fleurieu first petitioned the governments of South Australia and Tasmania to restore his family's name to their maps. He is variously described as 'an ardent French traveller'<sup>24</sup> and a tourist in the press; this in an era when the arrival of individual passengers was a newsworthy item. The New Zealand press speaks of him visiting Akaroa, the site of the French colony on the South Island, as well as the landing sites of French explorers in Australia and New Zealand.<sup>25</sup> The impression of a French gentleman playing the amateur diplomat on the sole strength of his aristocratic habitus is misleading. If Fleurieu did not succeed in his initial mission, his 1905 fact-finding tour sowed the seeds of change in Australian opinion. Under the title, 'No Room for a Famous Frenchman', the *Adelaide Register* of June 17, 1908, suggests to its readers that 'no harm would have been done by changing Cape Jervis to Fleurieu Peninsula'.<sup>26</sup>

#### 4. Legitimacy: intermission (1906–1911)

What happens in the six-year gap between the first and second voyages comforts this interpretation. Fleurieu sets out to formalise his credentials as a savant. First by putting himself forward for a fellowship at the Société de Géographie in July of 1906, where his candidacy is proposed by its president, the former colonial administrator of Cochinchina and member of the National Assembly Charles Le Myre de Vilers (1918) and seconded by the hydrographer Anatole Bouquet de la Grye (1827–1909) who mapped New Caledonia in 1853. Next by giving a scholarly paper to the Académie des Sciences—'Sur le nom de Fleurieu dans la Géographie'—read by its former president Bouquet de la Grye which in turn is cited by the Royal Geographical Society in the March 1909 edition of *The Geographical Journal* in its 'New Maps' section.<sup>27</sup> Then by presenting the results of his research into cartographical nomenclature to the ninth International Geographical Congress in Geneva, in July-August 1908. Fleurieu's presence at the reception organised in January 1909 by the Société de Géographie for the Mission Tilho to Africa (1906–1909), fresh from redrawing the colonial

---

<sup>23</sup> 'Nomenclature of South Australia', *Register*, May 20, 1908, 5.

<sup>24</sup> *Hobart Mercury*, March 3, 1905.

<sup>25</sup> 'Wellington Notes', *Evening Star*, May 10, 1905, 1.

<sup>26</sup> *Register*, June 17, 1908, 5.

<sup>27</sup> The full entry is accompanied by a historical commentary: 'Fleurieu. C.R.A. Sc. Paris 147 (1908): 235–237. Fleurieu. Sur le nom de Fleurieu dans la géographie. Par de Fleurieu. 'As French Minister of Marine, the Chevalier de Fleurieu did much to encourage French maritime discovery towards the close of the eighteenth century, and his name was given to various geographical features in different parts of the world, though dropped out of use in many cases'. 'New Maps', *The Geographical Journal* 33, no. 3 (March 1909): 346–352 <https://www.jstor.org/stable/1776921>.

frontiers between Niger and Tchad, is a measure of his integration into the ranks of the Society.

In a letter dated October 1, 1907, to Charles de Myre Le Vilers, President of the Société de Géographie de Paris (1906–1909), Fleurieu makes his quest for scientific legitimacy explicit. Having explained how his patronym came to be given to different places on the globe, he goes on:

Malheureusement si les cartes françaises portent en général le nom français, les cartographes étrangers ont toujours tendance à rétrécir notre place dans le monde et dans la pratique le nom de Fleurieu est presque abandonné.

Il me semble que réclamer la place à laquelle nous avons droit n'est pas seulement une œuvre familiale mais que c'est d'un intérêt patriotique et national et je voudrais pouvoir compter sur l'appui, sur les conseils de la Société de géographie ... .

Aware that his correspondent is a former diplomat, he insists:

Mais je voudrais Monsieur avoir l'occasion de pouvoir m'entretenir avec vous, pour savoir comment la chose doit être présentée, quels appuis je dois solliciter. Pour que la réclamation soit examinée sérieusement, il faut évidemment qu'elle soit soutenue par des personnes d'une notoriété et d'une compétence indiscutable.<sup>28</sup>

What were Fleurieu's demands? His research files in the Société de Géographie's collection contain a nine-page typescript list of 256 names in Australia alone that he wanted adopted, restored, or changed.<sup>29</sup> Between 1906 and 1908 his research into the British and French navigators took him repeatedly to the British Museum in London, and to consult maps and journals in the national museums of Berlin, Brussels and Stockholm, from which he makes extensive notes and sketch maps. These are the 'materials' that he assembled and would put into circulation in support of his diplomatic efforts, in the sense

---

<sup>28</sup> 'Regrettably, while the French maps generally feature the French name, foreign map-makers all too often reduce our place in the world and in practice the Fleurieu name is almost abandoned. It seems to me that reclaiming our rightful place is not just a family affair but a patriotic one in the national interest, and I would like to be able to count on the support and advice of the Geographical Society (...) But I would like, Sir, to have the opportunity to discuss with you how best to present my case and find the right backing. For the claim to be taken seriously, it goes without saying it will need to be supported by persons of unquestionable prominence and authority.' Lettre à la Société de géographie, Brissac, Maine et Loire, October 1, 1907, Inventaire des Manuscrits de la Société de Géographie, Bibliothèque Nationale de France, Sg carton F (419) (n°86), 2.

<sup>29</sup> These include 'L'Île du géographe' in Western Australia, otherwise known as 'Géographe shoals' which Fleurieu locates 'NE of Cossack' on page 3 of his 9-page typescript of place names. Barely a decade on from Edmund Barton's declaration of 'a nation for a continent, and a continent for a nation', the French geographer would have been alert to the potential of its metonymical symbolism in the early 'national period'. For further discussion of the notion see Robert Dixon, 'A Nation for a Continent: Australian Literature and the Cartographic Imaginary of the Federation Era', *Antipodes* 28, no. 1 (June 2014): 141–154.

of Jason Dittmer's 'geopolitical assemblages' which are the stuff of 'everyday diplomacy'.<sup>30</sup>

## 5. Recognition: Fleurieu's second mission (1911–1912)

Fleurieu's second visit to Australasia in 1911–1912 amounts to a quasi-official mission on behalf of the Société de Géographie which coincides with the centenary of Freycinet's *Atlas* (1811–1911). It is remarkable for its duration: it begins in Adelaide on April 13, 1911, and ends sometime after June 9, which finds him back where he started in South Australia after visiting Hobart twice, Perth, Melbourne, Auckland, Wellington and Sydney, and Adelaide no fewer than three times in the space of fourteen months, because it is there that he meets most resistance, in spite of reporting early success. Invited to speak to the RGSA South Australia branch on May 26, 1911, Fleurieu's paper calling for the re-establishment of the old French names is met by a motion of support and, on July 7, the Society's annual meeting passes a resolution to correct and restore the French names on the official charts.

In the course of these visits to the State capitals, Alphonse de Fleurieu meets with the chairmen of scholarly societies, government officials and journalists. In a letter from the Grand Hotel, Melbourne, dated January 16, 1912, he gives a progress report on his mission: he has obtained the restoration of four place names in Victoria, the Gulf Joseph Bonaparte in Western Australia, and he hopes for ten to fifteen names in South Australia out of the eighty-two requested. The most personal—the Fleurieu Peninsula—has been guaranteed by 'the minister' (probably the Under-Treasurer, Mr T. Gill). Fleurieu adds, almost incidentally, that he has met with Andrew Fisher, the prime minister of the Australian Commonwealth, although he gives no account of the substance of their conversation.<sup>31</sup>

Resistance to recognition of Fleurieu's project emerged between his second and third visits and was led by the Chairman of the Marine Board and Customs Department, Arthur Searcy, who cast doubt over the status of the visitor, casting him as a showboating amateur making unreasonable claims: 'Nobody would be in sympathy with the changing of a large number of names from English to French ... . The people have got used to the present names and are satisfied'.<sup>32</sup> The tension is reflected in a letter from the Grand Hotel, Melbourne, of August 24, 1911, in which Fleurieu confides to the Marquis de Fayolle, 'Je commence à

---

<sup>30</sup> *Diplomatic Material*, Durham NC, Duke University Press, 2017, 3.

<sup>31</sup> Inventaire des Manuscrits de la Société de Géographie, Bibliothèque Nationale de France, Sg carton F (419) (n°86), 15.

<sup>32</sup> 'Fleurieu Peninsula', *Observer*, SA, May 4, 1912, 35.

avoir par-dessus la tête de l’Australie’.<sup>33</sup> At the South Australian branch of the Royal Geographical Society he is given a more sympathetic hearing: ‘apart from Count de Fleurieu’s specifically patriotic and filial aims, his work will be found of much value to South Australians in giving precision to many points of coastal nomenclature’<sup>34</sup> reports the *Adelaide Advertiser* in July 1911. While acknowledging that the project ‘is giving the entente cordiale a lift’, the *Australian Worker* objects however: ‘let us rather revert to the aboriginal names, which are pronounced as we spell them, instead of fooling about with foreign puzzles in nomenclature’.<sup>35</sup>

On February 22, 1913, it is reported that the matter has been resolved in the petitioner’s favour: the Council of the RGSA’s South Australia branch approved the request to the Commissioner of Crown Lands, and the Minister commissioned a report from the Surveyor General which was put to the Cabinet in the following terms: ‘In view of the present very cordial relations between Great Britain and France, it would be a graceful act if the name Fleurieu were adopted for the peninsula, which is at present unnamed on the charts’.<sup>36</sup> The restoration of a further nine names was validated by the government.

Having cracked the nut of opposition in South Australia, Fleurieu returned to Paris and reported back to the Sociétés françaises de géographie at their annual congress, where he was invited to give the closing keynote address on July 19, entitled ‘La nomenclature française en Australie et en Tasmanie’. In his response, the president of the Society, **Baron Hulot**, praised his efforts in favour of geographical science and reiterated the learned societies’ ‘letters of mark’:

Notre collègue avait, en tout point de vue, qualité pour traiter de la nomenclature en Australie et en Tasmanie. La Société s’était, d’ailleurs, associée par avance au vœu de M. de Fleurieu, en remerciant le gouvernement du Commonwealth australien de ce qu’il avait déjà fait en vue de cette réintégration.<sup>37</sup>

## 6. Interconnection: the geographical societies and non-state diplomacy

---

<sup>33</sup> ‘I’ve just about had my fill of Australia’, Lettre au Marquis de Fayolle, Grand Hotel Melbourne, 24 août 1911, 1, in Collections of the Musée d’Art et d’Archéologie du Périgord.

<sup>34</sup> ‘Coast Nomenclature’, *Advertiser*, SA, July 8, 1911, 18.

<sup>35</sup> ‘French Names and Early Navigators’, *The Worker*, NSW, August 24, 1911, 10. *The Australian Worker* was the newspaper of the Australian Workers’ Union, printed in Sydney and circulated in New South Wales.

<sup>36</sup> ‘French names’, *Kangaroo Island Courier*, February 22, 1913, 6.

<sup>37</sup> ‘Our colleague was, to all intents and purposes, authorized to discuss nomenclature in Australia and New Zealand. The Society effectively seconded Mr. de Fleurieu’s representation in thanking the government of the Commonwealth of Australia for the steps it had already taken towards restoration.’ ‘Séance de clôture’, *La Géographie : Bulletin de la Société de géographie*, July 1, 1913, 182.



In their introduction to a global history of diplomacy, Laurence Badel and Stanislas Jeannesson (2014) discuss how the ‘cultural turn’ has blown open the narrow, Westphalian definition of diplomacy as a channel for relations between nation-states exclusively, and they call for the reconsideration of the hard and fast distinction between public and private actors. In assessing the role of non-state actors and their diplomacy, they evoke the asymmetrical links between core and periphery within empires, specifically the United Kingdom, its Dominions and colonies. They also note that private actors ought no longer to be considered for their personal attributes, but for the relations they channel with state agencies or inter-state organisations.<sup>38</sup>

At the turn of the nineteenth to twentieth centuries, the internationalism of learned societies made them conduits for incidental diplomatic activity. I have already mentioned the international petition of geographical societies in favour of the pardoning of Élisée Reclus after the Paris Commune which reminds us of their character as ‘broad churches’ representing a range of political opinion; Reclus and Kropotkin were both members of the RGS in the late nineteenth century (see the work of Simon Springer on anarchist and radical geographies). The two anarchist geographers of course played a role in establishing that humanist strand of geography which was revalorised in France and internationally in the 1970s through the work of Yves Lacoste and Béatrice Giblin at the journal *Hérodote* and contributed to the emergence of critical geopolitics.

In his efforts to persuade state and federal governments of the legitimacy of his claims, Alphonse de Fleurieu kept his missions on the agenda of the learned societies. On May 26, 1911, Fleurieu gave a paper to a meeting of the South Australian branch of the RGS in Adelaide chaired by A W Piper on the fruits of his research into the old French names for the Australian discoveries and his campaign for their reinstatement in South Australia and Tasmania (where there was no RGS). Captain John William Evans, the former Premier of Tasmania (1904–1909), moved a motion in favour that was carried by the members. His efforts were relayed back in Britain: in its journal of September 29, 1911, The Royal Society of Arts (founded 1754) reported on Fleurieu’s initiative to have the original names bestowed on the southern Australian coastline by the French navigators restored.

In Paris, the Société de Géographie kept track of Alphonse de Fleurieu’s travels presenting them not just as a scientific project, but as a mission in the national interest. Its archivist, the historian Henri Froidevaux, gave the following account of its progress to the Society in July 1911:

---

<sup>38</sup> Laurence Badel and Stanislas Jeannesson, ‘Introduction: A Global History of Diplomacy’, *Monde(s)* 5, no. 1 (2014): 7–8, 25.

Le comte Alphonse de Fleurieu, qui s'est attaché avec tant de zèle à faire revivre, là où la chose est encore possible, les dénominations données naguère par nos navigateurs à différents points de rivages inconnus avant eux, exécute autour du monde un voyage au cours duquel il s'est arrêté en Australie. *Le comte de Fleurieu sert efficacement la France en travaillant à faire connaître l'œuvre si méritoire de nos anciens voyageurs.*<sup>39</sup>

The Society updated Fleurieu's activities, publishing his correspondence from Hobart (dated August 16, 1911) in the December edition of its journal *La Géographie*, followed by a letter from Melbourne January 16, 1912, (received a month later) in the society's newsletter.<sup>40</sup> In early June, clearly anxious to establish material outcomes on the eve of his return to France, Fleurieu addressed a long letter to Baron Hulot from Adelaide<sup>41</sup> summarizing the name changes agreed or pending State by State. This list would lay the basis for his closing address to the National Congress of French Geographical Societies in mid-July 1913 and the published version of his paper, 'La nomenclature française en Australie et en Tasmanie',<sup>42</sup> in which he lays claim – more than optimistically – to six names replaced in Victoria, ten in South Australia, twenty-three in Tasmania, and three in Western Australia, many of them as yet undetermined.<sup>43</sup>

---

<sup>39</sup> 'Count Alphonse de Fleurieu, who has undertaken with such zeal to revive, wherever it is still possible, the names our navigators gave of yore to diverse coastal features that were formerly unknown, has reached Australia on his voyage around the world. In working to bring to light the remarkable accomplishments of our venerable travellers, Count Fleurieu is serving France to good effect.' 'Les dénominations géographiques des expéditions Baudin sur le littoral australien', *La Géographie : Bulletin de la Société de Géographie* XXIV, no. 1, July 15, 1911, 66. Author's italics.

<sup>40</sup> 'Le voyage du comte de Fleurieu en Australie', *Bulletin de la Société de Géographie* XXV, 1er sem. 1912, 220–221.

<sup>41</sup> *Lettre au Baron Hulot*, Grand Hotel, Adelaide, 9 juin 1912, Inventaire des Manuscrits de la Société de Géographie, Bibliothèque Nationale de France, Sg carton F (419) n° 86, 30-41. The letter runs to twelve pages.

<sup>42</sup> Fleurieu, Alphonse, Comte de, 'La nomenclature française en Australie et en Tasmanie: communication faite au Congrès national des sociétés françaises de géographie tenu à Paris, 15–19 juillet 1913', *Congrès national des Sociétés françaises de géographie, XXXIe session, Paris, 15-19 juillet-août 1913 : comptes rendus*, Paris: Masson et Cie, 1914, 291-93.

<sup>43</sup> In Victoria (six names replaced): cap Montesquieu, baie Descartes, cap Duquesne, cap Réamur, cap Voleney, cap Marengo.

In South Australia (ten names): la presqu'île Fleurieu, le cap Rouge, la baie d'Anville, le cap Carnot, le cap Tournefort, la baie Jussieu, le cap Colbert, la baie Masséna, le cap Euler (adopted February 10, 1913), la baie Duquesne.

In Tasmania (twenty-three names): la baie des Phoques, la pointe Cowper, la baie Sea Elephant, l'île Fleurieu (group ou Hunter), le cap Kéraudren, la baie Cuvier, le cap Péron, la baie Coulomb, le cap Rochon, le cap Adamson, la baie Ransonnet, la pointe Guyton, le cap Fleurieu (ou Oyster), le cap Degérando, le cap Sonnerat, le cap Faure, la pointe des Galets, la pointe Renard, la pointe Rossel, la pointe Labillardière, la baie Dolomieu (corrected from Fortescue), le cap de la Sortie (preserved), l'île Bruny (corrected spelling).

In Western Australia (three names): le golfe Joseph Bonaparte in the vicinity of Port Darwin (partly on federal territory), l'archipel Bonaparte, and the îles Louis Napoléon (all decisions pending, but with an engagement by Mr Eades, the Deputy Government statistician, to restore them).

As in the case of Western Australia, many of the changes pending were not adopted finally.

Of the names pending in the four States, Fleurieu counts on the intercession of the Admiralty to persuade the State authorities to do the right thing, appealing to the history of mutual respect between British and French hydrographers and the dictates of practicality (a euphemism for navigational safety).<sup>44</sup> His address ends on a memorial note with a call for the society to support a commemorative plaque for Marion Dufresne and his crew in the Bay of Islands, New Zealand, and to replace the mausoleum to La Pérouse and his men in Vanikoro.<sup>45</sup>

Despite the modest returns on the names claimed (roughly one sixth), Fleurieu's campaign mobilised significant resources amongst the government agencies solicited by the geographical societies: in Victoria, the Minister (Mr MacKenzie) and Surveyor General; in South Australia, the Under-Treasurer (Mr Gill) and the Surveyor General (MEM Smith) on the recommendation of the RGSA; in Tasmania, the Minister of Lands and the Surveyor General acting on the advice of the Marine Board and the Royal Society; in Western Australia, the Hydrographic Service, the Perth authorities and 'influential Commonwealth figures'.

### **Conclusion: the legacy of the Fleurieu missions**

Fleurieu's missions offer remarkable insight into the process by which unofficial diplomacy may achieve quasi-official sanction. We have seen how Alphonse de Fleurieu's personal diplomacy mimicked to a degree the formal political agencies with regard to legitimacy, recognition and interconnection, in terms theorised by McConnell, Moreau and Dittmer. By circumventing state-to-state diplomatic channels through the learned societies, while at the same time looking to bring their influence to bear in government decision-making, his initiative helped set a geographical template for later, official missions.<sup>46</sup>

The Pau Mission to Australia (1918–1919) was the first of these formal diplomatic missions post-Federation. It yielded the report *Les relations économiques de la France et de l'Australie* (1919) co-signed by André Siegfried (1875–1959) of the *École libre des sciences politiques*, a political geographer who acted as its General Secretary. Siegfried had previously visited Australia on a world tour 1898–1900; he was the author of books about the British Empire, an interpreter with the British Army during the war, the author of a PhD on Edward Gibbon Wakefield and a study of New Zealand democracy. He would

---

<sup>44</sup> *Congrès national des Sociétés françaises de géographie, XXXIe session, Paris, 15-19 juillet-août 1913 : comptes rendus*, Paris: Masson et Cie, 1914, 296.

<sup>45</sup> *Ibid.*, 295.

<sup>46</sup> 'We argue that such "unofficial" diplomacies are, somewhat paradoxically, important to the hegemony of "formal" diplomacy, and we foreground the role of mimicry in producing diplomacy from the margins', McConnell, Moreau and Dittmer, 'Mimicking State Diplomacy', 805.

go on to be elected to the French Academy in 1944, yet Paul Claval describes him as an outlier amongst academic geographers:

Personnalité inclassable en marge de la corporation des géographes français puisque professeur à l'École des Sciences Politiques et au Collège de France, André Siegfried (1875–1959) plaça sous l'éclairage de la géographie politique une production continue de 1904 à 1960.<sup>47</sup>

If Fleurieu drafted the geographies of exploration and maritime history into the idioms of French-Australian relations, a geographer's presence in the Pau mission helped consolidate its place. On departing Melbourne for New Zealand, its leader was presented with a gift from Commonwealth government, parliament and people of an oil-painting by Will Ashton of the La Pérouse monument at Botany Bay. In his letter of thanks General Pau wrote: 'La Pérouse belongs as much to Australian as to French history. He is a link between the two nations. Will you allow me also to mention that the hundreds of thousands of brave and fine boys from Australia who fought at the front in Europe belong also both to Australian and French history?'<sup>48</sup> Pau thereby outlined the two strands of subsequent memorial diplomacy: the explorers and the Anzac narrative. Seventy years later France would reciprocate, presenting a special edition of the *Atlas du voyage de La Pérouse* as its Bicentennial gift to Australia.

In this regard, contemporary thinking in critical geographies and the history of diplomacy promises to throw new light on diplomatic relations between France and Australia in the past century. Recent research into the history of exploration and cartography of the French navigators by the Baudin Legacy project, or the French-Australian Shared History Symposium convened by Jean Fornaserio and John-West Sooby in 2018, and state-curated travelling exhibitions like the Australian embassy's 'Explorateurs français en Australie' (2017), continue to furnish the 'materials' of public diplomacy.<sup>49</sup> In the early twentieth century, Fleurieu anticipated the efforts of 'cohorts of archivists and historians' to coordinate research into the French maritime exploration of Australia transnationally:

---

<sup>47</sup> 'An unclassifiable and marginal individual in relation to the corporation of French geographers, since he was a professor at l'École des Sciences Politiques and at the Collège de France, André Siegfried (1875-1959) made a sustained contribution to political geography from 1904 to 1960.' Paul Claval, André-Louis Sanguin, *La géographie française à l'époque classique* (1918–1968), Paris: L'Harmattan, 1996, 204. See also Robert Aldrich's article 'La Mission Française en Australie de 1918 : l'Australie et les relations franco-australiennes au lendemain de la guerre', in André Dommergues and Maryvonne Nedeljkovic (eds), *Les Français et l'Australie : voyages de découverte et missions scientifiques de 1756 à nos jours*, Paris: Université de Paris X Nanterre, 1989, 295–305.

<sup>48</sup> General Pau, letter of March 11, 1919.

<sup>49</sup> It is tempting to see the *Songlines / Chant des Pistes* travelling exhibition which opened in Paris on April 4, 2023 as a postcolonial reformulation of the geo-diplomatic idiom, a case of Australia 'writing back' to France and Europe.

‘He believes that the history of Australia cannot be written wholly either in the [Australian] Commonwealth or in England and France, but that both sides of the world must co-relate their documentary evidence.’<sup>50</sup>

The unofficial diplomacy of the Fleurieu missions has remained a footnote in the history of French-Australian relations, its significance underestimated, perhaps, as an eccentric flight of ‘filial duty’. Yet in the first two decades of the Commonwealth, it seeded and sustained public interest in France’s contribution to the mapping of the island continent.

## Bibliography

‘Affaire d’Élisée Reclus – L’Intervention du président et du secrétaire de la Société française de géographie’, *Le Temps*, November 17, 1871,

<https://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/bpt6k224817f/f2.item>.

‘A French Geographer’, *The Register* (Adelaide, SA), April 14, 1911, 4.

Aldrich, Robert. ‘La Mission Française en Australie de 1918 : l’Australie et les relations franco-australiennes au lendemain de la guerre’. In *Les Français et l’Australie : voyages de découverte et missions scientifiques de 1756 à nos jours*, edited by André Dommergues and Maryvonne Nedeljkovic, 295–305. Paris: Université de Paris X Nanterre, 1989.

‘An Ardent French Traveller’, *Hobart Mercury*, March 3, 1905.

Badel, Laurence and Stanislas Jeannesson. ‘Introduction: A Global History of Diplomacy’. *Monde(s)* 5, no. 1 (2014): 6-26.

---

<sup>50</sup> ‘A French Geographer’, *The Register* (Adelaide, SA), April 14, 1911, 4.

Bergantz, Alexis. 'Q & A with Alexis Bergantz, author of *French Connection*'. *APH Australian Policy and History*, August 19, 2021.  
<https://aph.org.au/2021/08/qa-with-alexis-bergantz-author-of-french-connection/>.

'Coast Nomenclature', *Advertiser*, SA, July 8, 1911, 18.

Claval, Paul, and André-Louis Sanguin. *La géographie française à l'époque classique* (1918–1968). Paris: L'Harmattan, 1996.

Clouzot, Étienne. 'Toponomastique'. *Bulletin de la Société de Géographie* (January 1, 1914): 63.

Dittmer, Jason. *Diplomatic Material. Affect, Assemblage and Foreign Policy*. Durham NC: Duke University Press, 2017.

Dixon, Robert. 'A Nation for a Continent: Australian Literature and the Cartographic Imaginary of the Federation Era'. *Antipodes* 28, no. 1 (June 2014): 141–154.

Douglas, Elena and Diane Stone. 'The informal diplomacy of the Australian-American leadership dialogue'. *Australian Journal of International Affairs* 69, no. 1 (2015): 18–34.

Fayolle, Marquis de (président). *Bulletin de la Société Historique et Archéologique du Périgord*, Tome LIV, janvier-février 1927, 305 p.

Fleurieu, Alphonse de. 'Correspondance, cartes, notes relatives à ses recherches sur le nom de Fleurieu dans la géographie, 1904–1916'.



Inventaire des Manuscrits de la Société de Géographie, Bibliothèque Nationale de France, Sg carton F (419) no. 86.

~~Fleurieu, Alphonse de. 'L'étude de la géographie par les voyages scolaires'.  
—— Paper given at the ninth International Geographical Congress, vol 36,  
—— Geneva, 1908. <https://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/bpt6k9810485h/texteBrut>.~~

Fleurieu, Alphonse de. 'L'étude de la géographie par les voyages scolaires',  
Congrès international de géographie IX<sup>ème</sup>, tome 3, Genève, oct., 1908: 291-96.

Fleurieu, Alphonse de. Letter to Baron Hulot, Grand Hotel, Melbourne, January  
16, 2012, Inventaire des Manuscrits de la Société de Géographie, Bibliothèque  
Nationale de France, Sg carton F (419) no. 86.

Fleurieu, Alphonse de. Letter to the Marquis de Fayolle, Grand Hotel  
Melbourne, August 24, 1911. In *Collections of the Musée d'Art et  
d'Archéologie du Périgord*.

Fleurieu, Alphonse de. Letter to the Société de Géographie, Brissac, Maine et  
Loire, October 1, 1907. Inventaire des Manuscrits de la Société de  
Géographie, Bibliothèque Nationale de France, Sg carton F (419) no. 86.

Fleurieu, Comte de. Letter to the Société de Géographie, Grand Hotel,  
Melbourne, January 12, 1912, Inventaire des Manuscrits de la Société de  
Géographie, Bibliothèque Nationale de France, Sg carton F (419) no. 86.

Fleurieu, Alphonse de. Letter to the Société de Géographie, Grand Hotel, Melbourne, January 16, 1912. *Bulletin de la Société de Géographie* 25, no. 1 (1912): 220–221.

Fleurieu, Alphonse de. Letter to the Société de Géographie, Grand Hotel, Adelaide, June 9, 1912, Inventaire des Manuscrits de la Société de Géographie, Bibliothèque Nationale de France, Sg carton F (419) no. 86.

Fleurieu, Alphonse de. 'Sur le nom de Fleurieu dans la géographie', 'New Maps', *The Geographical Journal* 33, no. 3 (March 1909): 346–352, <https://www.jstor.org/stable/1776921>.

Fleurieu, Alphonse de. *La nomenclature française en Australie et en Tasmanie: — communication faite au Congrès national des sociétés françaises de — géographie tenu à Paris, 15–19 juillet 1913*. Paris: Masson et Cie, 1914.

Fleurieu, Alphonse, Comte de. 'La nomenclature française en Australie et en Tasmanie: communication faite au Congrès national des sociétés françaises de géographie tenu à Paris, 15–19 juillet 1913', *Congrès national des Sociétés françaises de géographie, XXXIe session, Paris, 15-19 juillet 1913 : comptes rendus*, Paris: Masson et Cie, 1914, 281-297.

Fleurieu, Germaine de. 'Paul Alphonse Claret de Fleurieu dit "Phonse" ou "Quiqui"'.  
<http://s.claretdefleurieu.free.fr/histoire%20paul%20alphonse%20de%20fleurieu.htm>.

'Fleurieu Peninsula'. Fleurieu Peninsula Family History Group.

<https://fleurieufamilyhistory.org/naming-of-fleurieu-peninsula/>.

'French Names', *Kangaroo Island Courier*, February 22, 1913, 6.

'French Names and Early Navigators', *The Worker*, NSW, August 24, 1911, 10.

Froidevaux, Henri. 'Les dénominations géographiques des expéditions Baudin sur le littoral australien', *La Géographie : Bulletin de la Société de Géographie* XXIV, no. 1, July 15, 1911, 66.

General Pau, letter, March 11, 1919. Needs a url

Goodchild, Brian. 'The First Official Topographical Map of the Commonwealth of Australia, 1912'. MSIA Conference, '100 Years of National Topographic Mapping', March 2011.  
[http://www.xnatmap.org/adnm/conf\\_06\\_11/c11/Paper%2002.pdf](http://www.xnatmap.org/adnm/conf_06_11/c11/Paper%2002.pdf).

Hulot, le Baron. 'Séance de clôture', *La Géographie : Bulletin de la Société de géographie*, July 1, 1913, 182.

'La Géographie'. *Bulletin de la Société de Géographie* 24, no. 1, July 15, 1911.

'Le voyage du comte de Fleurieu en Australie', *Bulletin de la Société de Géographie* XXV, 1er sem. 1912, 220–221.

Lenoir, Rémi. 'Scientific Habitus: Pierre Bourdieu and the Collective Intellectual'. *Theory, Culture and Society* 23, no. 6 (2006): 25–43.  
<https://doi.org/10.1177/026327640606069>.

*Les Voyages d'Alphonse, ou la vie d'un voyageur Périgourdin*, Dossier de presse de l'exposition, Musée d'Art et d'Archéologie de Périgueux, 12 juillet – 22 septembre 2021, 8p.

‘Marzac, lieu de mémoire du peintre Foujita’.

<https://www.chateaudemarzac.com/copie-de-histoire-du-ch%C3%A2teau>.

McConnell, Fiona, Terri Moreau and Jason Dittmer. ‘Mimicking State Diplomacy: The Legitimizing Strategies of Unofficial Diplomacies’. *Geoforum* 43, no. 4 (2012): 804–814.

McConnell, Fiona. ‘Rethinking the Geographies of Diplomacy’. *Diplomatica* 1 (2019): 46–55.

McMahon, Elizabeth. ‘Australia, the Island Continent: How Contradictory Geography Shapes the National Imaginary’. *Space and Culture* 13, no. 2 (2010): 178–187. <https://doi.org/10.1177/1206331209358224>.

‘New Maps’. *The Geographical Journal* 33, no. 3 (March 1909): 346–352. <https://www.jstor.org/stable/1776921>.

Sankey, Margaret, ‘Mirroring the Archives: the Writing of Australian History and the Baudin Expedition’. *The French-Australian Review* 57 (2014–2015): 28–44.

‘Nomenclature of South Australia’, *Register*, May 20, 1908: 5.

‘No Room for a Famous Frenchman’, *Adelaide Register*, June 17, 1908: 5.

Resolution of the ‘The Ninth International Geographical Congress’, *The Geographical Journal*, Vol. 32, No. 4 (Oct. 1908): 353-54.

Springer, Simon. *The Anarchist Roots of Geography: Toward Spatial Emancipation*. Minnesota: University of Minnesota Press, 2016.

'Wellington Notes', *Evening Star*, May 10, 1905, 1.