

BARRALLIER IN THE HUNTER

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Several accounts have been written of the time spent in New South Wales by the French-born explorer and cartographer Francis Barrallier (1773-1853). Notable among these are the entry on Barrallier by Vivienne Parsons in the *Australian Dictionary of Biography*,¹ that by H.M. Chichester in the *British Dictionary of National Biography*,² the book by Andy Macquenee *Blue Mountains to Bridgetown: The Life and Journeys of Barrallier, 1773-1853*,³ a conference paper entitled *Francis Barrallier: A Life in Context* by Emeritus Professor H.J. Steward,⁴ and—by no means least—an important article in *Explorations* by Valerie Lhuedé dealing with the three years (1800-1803) spent by Barrallier in New South Wales.⁵

Though these accounts all mention the time spent by Barrallier in the Hunter area of New South Wales, they concentrate much more heavily, and for good reason, on the two expeditions to the Blue Mountains (October and November 1802) in which Barrallier took part. Thanks to some research undertaken by a group of scholars based at the University of Newcastle and other interested persons, known as the Coal River Working Party, further information has recently come to hand about the two journeys Barrallier undertook in 1801 to what was then known as the ‘Coal River’ or sometimes ‘Hunter’s River’. I am grateful to the Chair of the Coal River Working Party, Mr Gianni DiGravio, for permission to use this information for the present note. Readers may also wish to consult the Coal River website at <http://www.newcastle.edu.au/service/archives/coalriver/index.html>.

Having received a temporary commission as an Ensign, Barrallier was sent by Governor Philip Gidley King on three reconnaissance missions: first to Bass Strait, then to the estuary of the Hunter River, and finally to the Blue Mountains—the journey for which he is best remembered today.⁶ Like the trip to Bass Strait, that to the Hunter was undertaken in the vessel *Lady Nelson*, under the command of Lieutenant James Grant (1772-1833). The *Lady Nelson*, of 60 tons burden, had been built in England and was specifically designed for survey work in shallow water. On 9 June 1801, Governor King wrote to Grant as follows:

As the winter is now advancing, which renders it unsafe for the Lady Nelson being sent to renew the survey of Bass’s Straits and the south-west coast of this country until the spring, and as

the surveying Hunter's River, lying between this place and Port Stephens, is of the utmost consequence to be ascertained,—you are hereby required and directed to receive Lieut.-Col. Paterson and the persons on board, as per margin,⁷ bearing them on a supernumerary list for provisions, and proceed without loss of time to Hunter's River, for which place you are provided with a pilot. When arrived there, you will give every assistance to Ensign Barrallier, in making as complete a survey as possible of the entrance and inside of that river, its shoals, depth of water, and every other particular, as pointed out by the second paragraph of your former orders.

You will take under your command the Francis, colonial schooner, and cause her to be laden with the best coals that can be procured; and should that vessel be laden before the survey is completed, you will dispatch her to this place without loss of time.⁸

Lieutenant-Colonel William Paterson (1755-1810), who had been Second-in-Command of the New South Wales Corps (later to be known as the 'Rum Corps'), was by now Lieutenant-Governor of the colony. Other members of the party were the surgeon Dr John Harris (1754-1838), the naturalist and artist John Lewin (1770-1819), a 'collier' or miner by the name of John Platt, a sawyer named Aitkin, a second mate by the name of Bowen, a pilot named James and an Aborigine variously referred to as Bungery or Bongary, who ran off immediately after their arrival in the Hunter and never returned.⁹

The party set out on 10 June, at first mistaking the entrance to Lake Macquarie for the estuary of the Hunter, an error which they were not the first explorers to make. Paterson reported to the Governor:

As Mr. Grant gives you the detail of our voyage to this place, it will, of course, be more explanatory than anything I could say on that head. He will, of course, inform you how near our pilot had brought the Lady Nelson into a very unpleasant situation, from mistaking an open bay about 13 miles to the southward from this port.¹⁰

The entrance had been the subject of the same error the previous year by one Captain William Reid (or Reed), master of the 30-ton schooner the *Martha*, and for some time thereafter (until 1826) Lake Macquarie continued to be known as ‘Reid’s Mistake’. Paterson in fact reported: ‘As we have not heard¹¹ anything of Mr. Palmer’s people, [...] it is not improbable they may have gone into the place called Reed’s Mistake.’¹² The party eventually arrived at its destination on Sunday 14 June, after a journey of four days.

Their entrance into the harbour was fraught with difficulty. Paterson’s account is the most laconic: ‘As we went in with an ebb tide, it was as much as we could do to tow the vessel clear of the surff [sic], which was running very high.’¹³ As commander of the *Lady Nelson*, Grant gives us a more detailed and graphic description:

At 6 a.m. bore up and made all possible sail, the Coal Island (an island in the entrance)¹⁴ N.N.W. 6 miles. At half-past 10 I went on shore with Dr. Harris, to examine the entrance, which we found very narrow. On the left-hand side going in was a reef of rocks from the island, with much heavy surf [sic] breaking on it; on the right was an extensive flat, with a tremendous roll of sand breakers over it. The channel in was troubled with much heavy swell, and did all but break, so that I hove the boats head round and pulled out again; sounded 5 fms. On considering the risk we run of bringing the vessel in without well ascertaining the channel, I pulled in, carrying from 5 to 4 and 3½ fathoms close to the island. On our getting on shore we climbed up this steep island and hoisted a flag as a signal this was the right place. It was then the first of the ebb and calm; therefore hastened on board and towed the brig in.¹⁵

It is Barrallier’s report to the Governor, however, that paints the most dramatic picture:

Vous verrez par ma carte quell affreux passage il faut franchir pour arriver dans cette belle rivière. Les mugissements des vagues qui, se jetant les unes sur les autres et se brisant avec un éclat épouvantable sur les rochers escarpés de l’isle, et roulant avec impétuosité [sur] les sables du rivage opposé feroient trembler le marin le plus intrépide. Vous eussiez vu tous les matelots la terreur peinte sur leur visage, mais ferme à leur poste, obéir avec

une dextérité incroyable les ordres de leur capitaine pour le tirer de ce labyrinthe presque impénétrable. Le docteur est un homme réellement bien nécessaire car il est indéfatigable en tout ce qu'il entreprend, et si ce n'eût été sa grande persévérance ni nous ni le schooner n'auroient entré la rivière ce jour-là.¹⁶

Having eventually weighed anchor, Grant went with Paterson to select a spot at which the miner Platt might begin to extract some samples of coal, then to oversee the cutting of wood from various types of tree. Lewin began making drawings of the local flora and fauna, particularly the bird-life. Barrallier, meanwhile, was already on the river and beginning to chart its course:

Le colonel a fait, à ce qu'il dit, beaucoup de nouvelle découvertes en plantes, et se propose d'explorer le pays aussi loin qu'il lui sera possible avec sûreté. Il est bien malheureux pour lui qu'on soit si mal pourvu en bateaux, vu qu'étant obligé de me servir des deux qui appartiennent au vaisseau il n'a d'autre choix que de se servir de celui qui appartient au docteur.¹⁷

All members of the party were kept as busy as possible in their various tasks, and Dr Harris was as generous in his praise of Barrallier as the latter had been of him, even using the same adjective: 'Since our arrival here we have been employed procuring the necessary information respecting the enterance [sic], and which I hope we have pretty well succeeded, as you will perceive by the chart, at which Mr. Barrallier has been indefatigable.'¹⁸

To facilitate the task of mapping the main features of the landscape, it was necessary to assign names to them. Most of these were chosen by Paterson, who gave their names to 'Coal Harbour' (today Newcastle Harbour), 'Collier's Point' (today Fort Scratchley), 'Coal Island' (today Nobbys) and 'Pirate Point' (today Stockton). Barrallier was responsible for assigning at least one name: his family's patron in England having been Charles Greville, nephew of Secretary of State for the Colonies the Duke of Portland,¹⁹ Barrallier gave the name 'Greville Island' to what is today known as Kooragang Island.

Leaving the *Lady Nelson* at her moorings, Paterson and Grant undertook various journeys of exploration, first by foot and later by launch, noting in particular the abundance of oysters stuck to the roots of trees or washed up by the tides or floods; Grant commented that 'from this circumstance lime

would be very easily got at this spot²⁰—a suggestion later implemented as the first European dwellings were constructed in the area. By Monday 22 June, Barrallier was able to make available the boats he had been using for his survey, and Grant reported:

Colonel Paterson wishing to examine the island in the entrance, as from its appearance he expected to find coal in greater plenty, and perhaps superior quality, Mr. Barrallier and myself wishing to ascertain the soundings in the entrance, the weather being favourable for that purpose, we went together, taking the miner with us, and while the Colonel and miner examined the island, I sounded the entrance of this harbour.²¹

The following day, Barrallier went his separate way along with the second mate, Bowen, returning to the main party in the late afternoon. According to Grant's account,

At sunset our different parties returned. Mr. Barrallier and the second mate having penetrated a little way into the woods, they met with a native which they brought on board with them. He was a little elderly man, strait made, and spoke not one syllable that was intelligible. He had all his fore teeth in, and spoke a jargon of simple sounds. As I particularly observed, few words that came from him were composed of more than one syllable. He could eat nothing; but two crows which some of the people had shot being given him, he stuffed them in the fire feathers and all, which after burning off, and heating them a little, he eat [sic]. In the morning, after using him kindly, the Colonel gave him a tomahawk, which he seemed much pleased with, and shewed that he perfectly understood the use of it. He was put on shore near the place where they met him. On the return of the boat they informed me he was out of their sight in an instant.²²

Paterson also described this episode:

We have not as yet had any communication with the natives. We have seen them at a distance, but remarkably shy. Yesterday, the 22nd [June], Mr. Barrallier and Bowen fell in with one by accident

and brought him on board, but as Bungery had left us we could make nothing of him. He was more removed from the human race than any I have yet seen. He would neither eat or drink, and kept constantly repeating what he heard others speak. After cutting his beard off, we gave him some biscuit and sent him on shore.²³

Harris' comment was: 'The natives here are remarkably shy. I am afraid they have been badly used by the white people here some time since. We have, notwithstanding, caught two of them in the woods, treated them kindly, and let them go about their business. I hope it may have a good effect.'

By 24 June, the party's schooner the *Francis* was ready to set off for Sydney with its load of coal samples, various kinds of wood and the like. Its return was expected some three weeks later. Barrallier was by now in a position to send the Governor a first map indicating the results of his survey. He wrote to King on 24 June:

Monsieur,

J'ai l'honneur de vous envoyer par voye du schooner l'entrée de la rivière, et une partie adjacente que j'ai levé depuis que nous sommes arrivés, avec leurs respectifs sondages, rocks, bancs de sable et ses différentes mines de charbon de terre connues jusqu'à présent. J'avance à grands pas vers le banc nord que vous imaginez très vraisemblablement aboutir au Port Stephen, mais suis retenu presque à chaque instant par le grand espace contenu entre les deux rivages et par la difficulté de me procurer des points propres à établir des bases certaines pour les triangles.

[...]

Je suis avec respect, Monsieur, de votre Excellence le très humble serviteur,

F. Barrallier²⁴

In editing this correspondence in 1896 for *Historical Records of New South Wales*, F.M. Bladen comments that the 'northern bank' which Barrallier thinks probably ends at Port Stephens is 'presumably the Williams River'.²⁵

Not the least among the joys of exploration and discovery was that of having some river or other natural feature named after oneself, and on Sunday 28 June Grant and Paterson set out on a journey upstream on what was

already called ‘Paterson’s River’. Finding abundant stands of cedar and a soil more suitable for agriculture than they had seen since leaving Sydney, they undertook a more extensive exploration in early July, this time travelling some nine or ten miles upstream. In the entry for 8 July in his report to the Governor, Grant records:

In the morning the Colonel and Dr. Harris in his boat, and Mr. Barrallier and myself in our small boat, proceeded up the river to a mount, similar in production and soil to the above described, but much higher and of greater magnitude. The view was extensive and picturesque, as it commanded a great extent of country. Colonel Paterson had before visited this place and named it Mount Ann.²⁶

Bladen points out that the name Mount Ann was chosen in honour of the Governor’s wife. The following day, the party reached an even higher peak, which Paterson named Mount Elizabeth in honour of his own wife. Here, on a tree, they carved the initials W.P., J.G., J.H. and F.B. (William Paterson, James Grant, John Harris and Francis Barrallier), together with the year 1801. On a tree nearby, they cut out a large swathe or ‘blaze’ of trunk in order to make it recognisable on later visits. Having returned to the main camp to replenish their provisions, they went back to Mount Elizabeth the following day, Grant observing that ‘Mr. Barrallier [...] had obtained the survey so far as we had been up.’²⁷

By 18 July, preparations were being made for their return to Sydney. ‘At 5 p.m.,’ Grant wrote, ‘the Colonel and Dr. Harris, with Mr. Barrallier, returned on board, Mr. Barrallier having surveyed up the arm until stopped by a cascade, which he could not pass.’ The following day, he noted: ‘In the morning, Mr. Barrallier and Dr. Harris went to survey for the last time, the survey being completed in its most material points.’²⁸ Four days later, they were under sail, reaching Sydney on 25 July.

A second journey to the Hunter was undertaken by Barrallier in October and November 1801.²⁹ On 14 November, Governor King reported to the Duke of Portland:

A great quantity of excellent fustick³⁰ has been found in Hunter’s River, and I have no doubt of that settlement being of great use to

this colony. The engineer and surveyor are now there, completing the survey of that harbour, Hunter's river, and the interior.³¹

The 'engineer and surveyor' mentioned by King are Barrallier and Acting Surveyor-General Grimes. Martin Mason, who had been appointed a magistrate for the districts of Parramatta and Toongabbie, wrote to the Governor from 'Hunter's River' on 21 November 1801:

The aidagong³² Kirkwald went up the river with Mr. Grimes and Barallear; he returned sick. [...] The report of the country is rather unfavourable. Mr. Grimes and Barallear has found the natives disposed to be hostile. Between sixty and seventy came in here (men, women and children) without spears, and manifested the most friendly dispositions. I fel in with a party some distance up the river who seemed to oppose our landing.³³

Though the main purpose of this second visit was the completion of a survey, it also enabled Barrallier to act as one of two magistrates (the other being a Dr Mason) in a Court of Enquiry held in October 1801 into the conduct of a Corporal Wixtead. The latter had arrived in the Hunter aboard the schooner *Francis* on 23 July that year, in charge of eight privates and twelve prisoners. He had become unpopular through favouring some of the convicts more than others, the result being a letter of complaint which had been sent to Governor King. Presumably the Governor, knowing that Barrallier was planning a second visit to the Hunter, decided to 'kill two birds with one stone' by appointing him to join Dr Mason as the other member of the Court of Enquiry. The outcome of the enquiry was that Wixtead was demoted, Dr Mason taking control of the settlement.³⁴

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Editing in 1896 Barrallier's letter of 24 June 1801 to Governor King for *Historical Records of New South Wales*, F.M. Bladen inserted after Barrallier's reference to sending King a map of the entrance to the Hunter estuary and its surrounds the comment: 'This plan is missing.'

In late July 2006, a Newcastle local historian (Mr Doug Lithgow) visited Gianni DiGravio, University Archivist and Chair of the Coal River

Working Party, indicating that he had discovered an early plan of Newcastle bearing Barrallier's signature. He had uncovered the plan on a micro card in Sydney's Mitchell Library (BT36 Image 0072). It interested him because it appeared to be a hitherto unknown survey of the harbour at Newcastle, showing in some detail Newcastle Harbour, Fort Scratchley, Nobbys with its original height marked at 203 feet, and Stockton. A vessel (presumably the *Lady Nelson*) was shown docked next to 'Pirate Point' (Stockton) in an area known as Fresh Water Bay.

Gionni DiGravio wrote to the Mitchell Library for more detail relating to the image on the micro card. The librarians at the Mitchell replied that they did not hold the original, but that it probably lay in the National Archives in London. On 27 October 2006, DiGravio sent an email to the staff of the Research and Editorial Services Department at the British National Archives, receiving a reply early in November indicating that the Map Archivist had located the original at CO 700/New South Wales 16 Item 1. A digital copy of the plan was formally requested by DiGravio so that it could be restored to the historical records of the Hunter Region. The digital image arrived on 15 March 2007.

The digital image confirmed that it was part of the survey of the Hunter Region prepared by Barrallier in 1801. For some reason, perhaps when it was photographed, it had become separated from Barrallier's report to Governor King, leading F.M. Bladen to believe the plan was 'missing'. The fully-restored plan contained the survey of the region, along with another closer survey of the harbour showing the places where the *Lady Nelson* had anchored so that Grant could ascertain the best way of entering the dangerous harbour. Other features included soundings of the depths, and red asterisks marking the locations of the coal mines identified there by John Platt.

It had been known for some time³⁵ that another version of the Barrallier survey plan was to be found in the Hydrographic Department of the Ministry of Defence in Taunton, Somerset, UK (Shelf location: 435 Press 45B). This version shows detail of the Hunter Islands and Fullerton Cove. The hypothesis that the National Archives version and Hydrographic Office version date from the first and second visits to the Hunter respectively is excluded by the fact that both bear the date 'June-July 1801'. All that we know is that Barrallier made at least two versions of his survey, with different enlarged 'details' at the left of each version.

At the request of the Coal River Working Party, Professor John Fryer, Emeritus Professor of Surveying and Photogrammetry at the University of Newcastle, undertook an investigation aimed at locating the site in Newcastle where Paterson's party had set up their camp—some small markings on the map of the Hunter and Paterson rivers being believed to show two rows of tents—and to position the site in its present-day context. Professor Fryer's meticulous investigation was carried out against the background that since 1801 a considerable expanse of what was the shoreline of Newcastle Harbour has been reclaimed (the present Newcastle Railway Station was below the High Water Mark as late as the 1850s), but after exhaustive research he was able to indicate with some certainty that the centre of Paterson's campsite was on a flat strip of land adjacent to what is today Nobbys Road, opposite a group of apartment buildings which look down over the Harbourside Park and the site of the former Zaara Street Power Station.³⁶

On 1 February 2008, the copy of Barrallier's survey plan obtained from the British National Archives—splendidly framed thanks to a grant from the Kelter Hartley Bequest—was officially restored to Newcastle and the Hunter Region by the Governor of New South Wales, Professor Marie Bashir.

The Coal River Working Party decided to embark on a 'pilgrimage' to the 1,763-metre-high mountain named by Paterson 'Mount Elizabeth'—the furthest west that the original survey had reached—to determine whether the two trees 'blazed' by the 1801 party could be re-discovered. (The name 'Mount Elizabeth' had been changed to 'Mount Hudson' when Beresford Hudson took up a land grant there in 1836.) With the assistance of local historian Pat Barden, the Coal River Working Party was able to obtain permission of the present owner of the land to scale the peak on the 208th anniversary of the visit by Paterson, Barrallier, Grant and Harris—Friday 10 July 2009.

To the Working Party's delight, a blazed tree was found on the mountain peak. The next step will be that of finding a dendrochronologist to examine the tree and independently date both the tree and the blaze, to make sure that it is in fact the tree blazed during the 1801 expedition. Once this examination has been carried out, the results will be posted on the Coal River Working Party's blog:<http://coalriver.wordpress.com/2009/07/10/in-search-of-two-carved-trees-from-the-1801-expedition>.

Notes

- 1 Vivienne Parsons, ‘Barrallier, Francis Louis (1773-1853)’, *Australian Dictionary of Biography*, vol. 1, MUP, 1966, pp. 61-62 (<http://www.adb.online.anu.edu.au/biogs.A010059b.htm>). Valerie Lhuedé has pointed out that Barrallier’s second given name was Luis, not Louis. Vivienne Parsons gives the date of Barrallier’s journey to Newcastle as July 1801, whereas in fact he made two such journeys: in June-July 1801 and again in October-November of that year.
- 2 Henry Manners Chichester, ‘Francis Louis Barrallier’, *Dictionary of National Biography*, London, 1885, reprinted 1901, vol. 1, pp. 1193-1194.
- 3 Springwood, NSW, A. Macqueen, 1997.
- 4 Given at an International Symposium on ‘Old Worlds – New Worlds: The History of Colonial Cartography 1750-1950’, Utrecht University, The Netherlands, 21-23 August 2006.
- 5 Valerie Lhuedé, ‘Francis Barrallier, Explorer, Surveyor, Engineer, Artillery Officer, Aide-de-Camp, Architect and Ship Designer: Three Years in New South Wales (1800-1803)’, *Explorations*, n° 35, December 2003 (issued August 2004), pp. 5-25.
- 6 It was thought by some that Barrallier might actually have crossed the Blue Mountains before Blaxland, Wentworth and Lawson, and this issue was for a time a matter of contention among Australian historians. It is generally recognised today that his party reached a point some eleven miles from the Great Dividing Range, but did not cross the mountains (see Lhuedé pp. 14-15).
- 7 The persons mentioned in the margin were Ensign Barrallier, Mr J. Harris, six soldiers, two sawyers, a pilot, a miner and one native.
- 8 *Historical Records of New South Wales (HRNSW)*, vol. IV, Hunter and King, 1800, 1801, 1802, edited by F.M. Bladen, Sydney, Charles Potter, 1896, pp. 390-391.
- 9 Reports to Governor King by Paterson, Grant and Harris, vol. IV, pp. 404-409, 414-416 and 416-418.
- 10 *HRNSW*, vol. IV, p. 414.
- 11 All quotations are reproduced with their original spelling, including any anomalies and idiosyncrasies.
- 12 *HRNSW*, vol. IV, p. 416.
- 13 *HRNSW*, vol. IV, p. 414.
- 14 This is the giant outcrop known as Nobbys, today linked to the mainland by a breakwater.
- 15 *HRNSW*, vol. IV, p. 404.

16 *HRNSW*, vol. IV, p. 413. Barrallier's French is far from perfect, in part perhaps because his family had been expatriates in England since 1793 and his language had undergone the influence of English expressions as in the use of *indéfaticable* instead of *infatigable* and of English constructions such as *obéir ... les ordres* instead of *obéir ... aux ordres*. Though presumably quite competent in the use of the English language, he was aware that Governor King had an excellent understanding of French and would be perfectly happy for the report to be written in that language. The passage may be translated as:

'You can see from my map what a fearsome passage one has to traverse in order to reach this beautiful river. The roaring of the waves, crashing one upon the other and breaking with a terrible noise on the steep rocks of the island, and raging as they roll onto the sands of the opposite shore, would make the most intrepid sailor tremble. [If you had been here] you would have seen all the seamen, with terror showing on their faces but remaining firm at their posts, obeying with incredible dexterity their captain's orders in order to extricate him from this almost impenetrable labyrinth. The doctor [Dr Harris] is a man who is truly necessary, for he is indefatigable in whatever he undertakes, and were it not for his great perseverance neither we nor the schooner would have entered the river that day.'

17 *HRNSW*, vol. IV, p. 414. 'The colonel has, he says, made many new discoveries of plants, and he proposes to explore the country as far as he can safely go. It is most unfortunate for him that we are so badly provided with boats, seeing that as I have been obliged to use the two which belong to the ship he has no other choice than to use the one belonging to the doctor.'

18 *HRNSW*, vol. IV, p. 416.

19 It was through the influence of Greville that Barrallier came to the attention of the Duke of Portland, who suggested to him that he go to Port Jackson and join the New South Wales Corps (Lhuedé, 'Francis Barrallier', p. 7).

20 *HRNSW*, vol. IV, p. 406.

21 *HRNSW*, vol. IV, p. 407.

22 *HRNSW*, vol. IV, p. 407.

23 *HRNSW*, vol. IV, p. 415.

24 *HRNSW*, vol. IV, p. 413. The passage reads:

'Sir,

I have the honour to send you via the schooner [a map of] the entrance to the river, and some of the adjacent parts, which I have drawn up since we arrived, with the relevant depths, rocks, sandbanks and its various coal mines that have been discovered to date. I am rapidly advancing toward the northern bank which you may imagine as ending most probably at Port Stephen(s), but

I am held back at almost every moment by the great space that exists between the two shores and by the difficulty of finding points that are suitable for establishing clear bases for the triangles.

[...]

I am, Sir, with respect, Your Excellency's most humble servant,
F. Barrallier'

25 *HRNSW*, vol. IV, p. 413.

26 *HRNSW*, vol. IV, p. 408.

27 *HRNSW*, vol. IV, p. 409.

28 *HRNSW*, vol. IV, p. 409.

29 The magistrate Martin Mason reported to Governor King in a letter from 'Hunter's River' dated 24 October 1801: 'Fred. Kirkwold is gon [sic] up the river with Mr. Grimes and Barrallear' (*HRNSW*, vol IV, p. 597).

30 'Fustick': fustic is one of two kinds of wood used for dyeing yellow. It is not native to Australia, and it seems King was misinformed on this matter.

31 *HRNSW*, vol. IV, p. 620.

32 'Aidagong': Bladen construes this as 'aide-de-camp'.

33 *HRNSW*, vol. IV, p. 627.

34 An account of the Court of Enquiry is found in H.W.H. Huntington's serialised history published in the *Newcastle Herald and Miners Advocate* in 1897 and 1898 ('History of Newcastle and the Northern District', 7 December 1897, n^o XXXVI).

35 For instance, its existence was mentioned by Macqueen in his 1993 book *Blue Mountains to Bridgetown*.

36 John Fryer, 'Where Did Ensign Barrallier Camp in 1801? Report to Coal River Working Party', February 2008 (privately circulated).