

FRANCIS BARRALLIER,
EXPLORER, SURVEYOR, ENGINEER, ARTILLERY
OFFICER, AIDE-DE-CAMP, ARCHITECT AND
SHIP DESIGNER: THREE YEARS IN
NEW SOUTH WALES (1800–1803)

VALERIE LHUEDÉ¹

Ensign Barrallier [. . . discharged] the duties of Military Engineer and Artillery Officer, superintending the Military Defences, Batteries and Cannon of this Settlement, in addition to which he has most arduously and voluntarily executed the duties of Civil Engineer and Surveyor to the advancement of the Geography and the Natural History of the Territory.²

I have informed you [Sir Joseph Banks] in my several letters of the great use Ensign Barrallier, of the NSW Corps, was of to me and the public, first in going to the southward and surveying the coast from Wilson's Promontory to Western Port; next in surveying Hunter's River, where he went twice; and since then in making journey to the mountains, which was introductory to his undertaking the journey he afterwards performed. [. . .] As Col. Paterson has thought proper [. . .] to write me officially that Mr. Barrallier's excursions were contrary to the Duke of York's instructions, I found myself obliged to give him up, and relinquish this highly desirable object for the present. I [was] concerned at it, as the young man has such ardour and perseverance that I judged much public benefit would have resulted to his credit and my satisfaction. [. . .] In consequence, I [. . .] claimed him as my aide-de-camp, and that the object of discovery should not be totally relinquished, I sent him on an embassy to the King of the Mountains.

Governor Philip Gidley King³

Chris Cunningham, in his book *Blue Mountains Rediscovered*,⁴ quotes Mark Twain in *Following the Equator* (1831) as saying, "Australian history is full of surprises, and adventures, and incongruities, and contradictions and incredibilities, but they are all true, they all happened". What better way to begin the tale of the expedition to the Blue Mountains by an unlikely explorer, a Frenchman, Ensign Francis Barrallier of the New South Wales Corps, in 1802? Was he really appointed as an Ambassador to a mythical Aboriginal King of the Mountains by Governor Philip Gidley King?

Barrallier made some significant contributions to Australia's early history, not only as an explorer and a cartographer but also as the first artillery officer, as the first ship designer, as an early architect and through his sympathetic but candid descriptions of the Aborigines, their tribal habits and their daily lives.

Before New South Wales

Francis Luis (note the Spanish spelling) was born in Toulon, France, in 1773. He was the son of Françoise Marie Antoinette Hernandez and Jean-Louis Barrallier (1751–1832), naval architect and fortifications engineer.⁵ Françoise was of Spanish birth but is thought to have had relatives among the influential Greville family in England. The Barralliers were Royalists, as was most of the population of Toulon, which therefore earned them the wrath of the early French revolutionaries. In 1793, when King Louis XVI was beheaded, the Toulonese put up resistance against the new army led by the young Napoléon Bonaparte.

Napoléon had realized that if he captured the citadel on the heights above Toulon, he could rain down cannon balls on the town and on the fleet of allied ships in the harbour below. Beginning on 29 August, he turned the citizens' own cannons against them. The bombardment of Toulon continued unabated for some months.

Jean-Louis was the superintendent of the fortifications of this important French naval port, as had been his father and grandfather before him. Francis was, at the time, twenty years old and his father still only in his forties.

Toulon held out as long as it could. As the Revolution and the bombardment progressed, the townsfolk remained steadfastly loyal to the king. They requested help from the English, Spanish and Neapolitan forces. Under a British commander, Admiral Hood, the allied ships anchored in the haven; however, Hood realized it was only a matter of time before Napoléon's forces would be victorious. As the bombardment continued, the Allied Navy had to rethink its strategy. Having evacuated seven and a half thousand citizens, they decided to pull out. They communicated their intentions to the Toulon Town Council through Jean-Louis Barrallier, who was a senior council member.

Jean-Louis seems to have panicked. He gathered his wife, seven children and valuables under cover of darkness and took refuge on an English vessel. It would appear from French naval records that the senior

Barrallier may have lulled his friends into a false sense of security, as he did not let them know the seriousness of the situation, nor of his intention to join the allied ships before their evacuation the very next day. His compatriots were therefore left to bear the brunt of Napoléon's attack. Their ships in the harbour were all burnt and their homes razed to the ground. Fearful atrocities followed under Barras and Stanislas Fréron. The townsfolk later accused Jean-Louis of being a traitor.

The Barrallier family were off-loaded from the allied ships in Italy but eventually made their way to England. It was fortunate that Jean-Louis had a profession which was in demand. France and England were old enemies and the Revolution had exacerbated the need for warships on both sides. He was given a job in England, designing and fortifying ships and building fortifications for the British to be used against his home country. His tribe of boys continued their education on the English waterfront in lieu of the port of Toulon.

Jean-Louis played an important part in the construction of the Welsh port of Milford Haven at the commencement of the nineteenth century. It had been believed that it was built by American Quakers but it was actually designed by Jean-Louis and based on the Toulon model. The engineer not only constructed the docks, the houses and a church at Milford Haven but also English warships, notably the *Nautilus*, *Lavinia* and *Milford*.⁶ One of Barrallier's sons, Louis-Charles, assisted him. According to Charles Greville, who became a patron of the family, Barrallier senior was esteemed by Nelson, and Madame Barrallier was a "very agreeable" woman.

Under the tutelage of his father, Francis Barrallier learned to draw, chart and survey. He was an adventurous and ambitious young man. Through Greville, the nephew of the Duke of Portland who was an eminent politician of the day and Secretary of the Colonies, Barrallier was able to press for a position in the newly settled but far-off colony of New South Wales.⁷ Lord Portland did not guarantee a job to the young hopeful, whose ambition was to be Deputy Surveyor-General in the colony, but he dryly suggested that Barrallier go to Port Jackson and join the New South Wales Corps. Doubtless the great man was testing the mettle of the young recruit. Francis rose to the challenge and signed on for the arduous voyage.

Sailing to New South Wales and beginnings at Port Jackson

Even by the standards of those days it was a very long journey. The *Speedy* did not live up to her name. Quite literally, the voyage took some

months even to get off the ground: the *Porpoise*, Francis's original ship, was stranded several times on the mud of the Thames. Eventually the *Speedy* sailed for the Antipodes on 26 November 1799 and arrived in Port Jackson on 15 April 1800: it took six months to sail the 13,000 miles.

George Caley (a young botanist sent out by Sir Joseph Banks), the Governor-Designate, Commander Philip Gidley King, King's wife Anna Josepha and family, together with the soon-to-be-notorious convict girl Margaret Catchpole, were among the passengers.⁸ By the time they arrived in Sydney, therefore, Francis had the advantage of knowing the Governor-Designate and his family very well indeed.

Barrallier presented himself to Governor Hunter, whilst Colonel Paterson inducted him into the NSW Corps but was unable to give him a commission immediately.⁹ With his special talents, however, he was able to do what he desired most: go exploring almost straight away. He was a cartographer and therefore ideal for jobs in the new land; he was sent on a charting mission to Western Port in 1801 and then twice to Coal Harbour, now Newcastle, New South Wales.

Barrallier's first recorded Australian bushwalk took place in February 1801 with Lieutenant James Grant, who describes this incident in his book, *The Narrative of a Voyage of Discovery to New South Wales*.¹⁰ Grant's small boat had been stolen and he decided to search for it in the vicinity of Pittwater on the Hawkesbury River. The search party set out. Barrallier went by boat but was drenched and preferred to walk back on foot as he suffered from seasickness.

Exploring Bass Strait and the Hunter region

In March 1801 Governor King sent Barrallier and young George Caley under the command of Lieutenant Grant in the *Lady Nelson* and the *Bee* to Bass Strait. Although a few ships had made the passage, no proper survey had been attempted. Governor King instructed Grant to sail to Wilson's Promontory and then to Western Port, which had been discovered by George Bass. He was instructed to survey the harbour to see if it would make a suitable port and to map the parts of the coast that Matthew Finders and George Bass had missed. Thus Barrallier was able to chart Western Port and Wilson's Promontory from March to May 1801.

On 10 March they were in Jervis Bay for three days.¹¹ Barrallier was in charge of four privates and was requested to keep an eye on the crew, which consisted mainly of emancipated convicts. As the Governor

knew that, though an excellent sailor, Grant was not a surveyor, Barrallier was also required to conduct coastal surveys. On 20 March 1801 they rounded Wilson's Promontory and remained in Western Port for forty days. They planted fruit and vegetables and found some new plants and described the cockatoos.¹² On 16 April 1801 they reached Sandy Point, which was named Barrallier Island. At the end of the month they headed back up the coast and on 14 May anchored in Port Jackson.

In June–July 1801 the party went to explore Coal Harbour (Newcastle).¹³ On 10 June Grant, Paterson, Surgeon John Harris, John Lewin and Barrallier left Sydney in the *Lady Nelson*. They first mistook the entrance to Lake Macquarie for Coal Harbour¹⁴, which they entered on the ebb tide and almost came to grief in the surf. Barrallier surveyed both the Hunter River and Newcastle harbour. They returned to Sydney on 25 July. In August Governor King wrote to Charles Greville that Barrallier "has great ability. [. . .] He thinks and acts well."¹⁵

In November 1801 Barrallier went back to the Hunter with Grimes, Acting Surveyor-General, and Charles Meehan, Surveyor. Their brief from the Governor was to complete Barrallier's charts.

The first expedition to the Blue Mountains

In March 1802, King planned to send Barrallier into the Blue Mountains, but this trip was abandoned because of wet weather. In June of the same year the Governor wished to check whether the rumours that there were deposits of salt in the interior of New South Wales were true. King was also interested in reports of the existence of cattle herds, the progeny of those that had escaped from the First Fleet Settlers.

Barrallier secretly left the Hawkesbury in October with a handful of horsemen and did a reconnoitring trip along the base of the mountains to see if he could find a way to the west. History does not tell us what the complement of the explorers' expedition was. Even jealous Caley could not seem to find out, as he reports different numbers at different times.¹⁶

Led by Barrallier, the exploring party tried to find a way over the mountains by skirting the base from the Hawkesbury settlement and then proceeded southwards as far as Nattai. They made a depot there on the top of the escarpment overlooking the Burratorang Valley.

Unfortunately we know little of the October expedition. There is no record of the names of the horsemen. This first incursion into the Blue Mountains coincided with the Baudin expedition's visit to Port Jackson.

Were some of the French visitors with Barrallier? Perhaps we will never know. Apart from two assistant gunners, Nicolas-Martin Petit and Charles-Alexandre Lesueur, who had stepped into the roles of the expedition's artists, there were also the two Freycinet brothers, Louis and Henri, who were delighted to find Francis Barrallier, a fellow countryman, in this remote British outpost. They discussed the idea of attempting to cross the Blue Mountains together.¹⁷ The Frenchmen were intrigued by the various myths and legends about what existed in the interior of New South Wales. Zoologist François Péron was particularly excited about the possibility of accompanying "Monsieur Barrellier" [*sic*], as he noted in his journal. However, the Governor summarily forbade him permission to accompany the expedition. The French were still the enemy as far as they knew in this outpost of civilization, even though their ships were allowed to berth in "Neutral Bay".

Did some of the several talented young Frenchmen of a similar age to 28-year-old Barrallier accompany him on his October trip to the mountains? It would have been wise to suppress their names in view of the Governor's suspicions. More particularly, did Barrallier take Nicolas-Martin Petit, a superb artist and pupil of Jacques-Louis David, with him on his reconnaissance trip?

On returning to France in 1804, members of the expedition drew up a remarkable "Atlas"¹⁸ featuring their long travels and showing pictures of the indigenous people they met. The portraits are superb. They are very different from the caricature-like representations of Australian Aborigines made by other so-called artists of the period. From the pen of Petit, they have true identity.¹⁹

Among the priceless products of the Baudin expedition there are three fascinating portraits of Aboriginal men, "Y-erran-goula-ga", "Derri of the Nourou-gal people" and "Cou-rou of Barigal", which dominate the section on New South Wales.²⁰ It is more than a coincidence that "Y-erran" and "Derri" were pictured. These names are reminiscent of the name of the township of Yerranderie in the Southern Blue Mountains.²¹ "Courou" is undoubtedly from "Barigal" or "Barragal", which is shown on Barrallier's map. It has been corrupted to "Barigeely" and eventually to "Bringelly", a small settlement close to Camden. "Y-erran" is from the "Goola", one of the few names still marked on the maps of the Burragorang Valley, in the Sydney Water Catchment Area. It is a pronounced bluff on the southern side of the Cox's arm of Lake Burragorang, just opposite present-day Nattai.

The very elaborate atlas accompanying Péron's *Voyage de découvertes aux Terres australes (1800-1804)* was one of the famous travel books of the time. Therefore, in 1807 fashionable Paris readers knew our local Gun-dun-gurra tribesmen, together with Australian fauna and to a lesser extent flora. On the cover of the atlas was a cartouche picturing Australian swans, emus and kangaroos in the garden of the Empress Joséphine.²² These had been taken back to France by the scientist-explorers and donated to her garden. Australian native plants began to flourish in their new home. The wattle, in time, became the mimosa endemic to the Côte d'Azur.²³

When Barrallier returned from his October reconnaissance trip, he brought some geological samples of iron and limestone but not the salt the Governor was hoping for. King decided to send him again from the Nattai depot. However, Colonel Paterson objected. He wanted Barrallier returned to his regimental duties; in fact King wrote to Sir Joseph Banks that the Colonel had very irately told him so.²⁴ Paterson would not allow Barrallier to equip another follow-up party. Firstly, he had not been released from regimental duties; secondly, he could still be regarded as an enemy alien; and thirdly, the Home Office in England had issued orders expressly forbidding exploration missions to the west of Sydney. They were afraid that the convicts would make a break for freedom, as it was widely believed that the road to China was over the Blue Mountains! English civil servants thought that the impregnable mountains would make an excellent barrier to keep the expatriates on the coastal plain.

Because of Paterson's ire, Barrallier was returned to regimental duties, but not for long. There were more ways than one of skinning the proverbial cat and, being a politician himself, the Governor decided on several moves to get his way. On 18 October he seconded Barrallier from the army to be his Aide-de-Camp in his capacity as "Commander-in-Chief".²⁵ Barrallier joined the King household. Then the Governor made him an Ambassador to an Aboriginal King of the Mountains. Nowhere else in Australia's history has there been such a title bestowed, let alone on a French alien!²⁶

The second expedition and the embassy to the "King of the Mountains"

In November 1802, Barrallier set off again, this time from Parramatta with a bullock cart, four soldiers, five convicts and a mixed crew of Aboriginal guides, their family members and hangers-on. In his journal he

gives specific details of the identity of the Aborigines, their names and characteristics, how they dressed and what they ate. The Baudin expedition was on the point of leaving, so the visitors were unable to join in Barrallier's ambassadorial journey.

A copy of Barrallier's map was published in the *Historical Records of New South Wales*.²⁷ This map shows the two routes, that of the first expedition in October as well as that of the second in November. It looks, to quote Paddy Pallin,²⁸ a former veteran bushwalker, like a series of caterpillars. The map in the National Archives in England, on the other hand, seems to be a conglomeration of fly spots. But, to give him his due, both maps do show the definite westward direction of the explorer. Despite many theories concerning the exact route,²⁹ it is agreed that Barrallier passed through the area where Camden stands today via the home of the Barigal tribe. He reached the Nattai near the present-day settlement of The Oaks where he had established the depot.

Details of the narrative are also contained in the *Historical Records of New South Wales*.³⁰ An explorer's journal is generally a fairly straightforward account of the journey. It details the countryside traversed, the weather, the topography, the mileage, etc., but it is obvious that young Barrallier took his diplomatic duties quite seriously and in his journal he adds details which to the present-day reader are of inestimable value in recording early observations on the life of his Aboriginal guides from the Eora (Sydney district) as well as the Gun-dun-gurra Aborigines whom he met en route. These are the first and sometimes only early record we have of the Aborigines of the Southern Blue Mountains.

Barrallier comes through as one of the few white men of his day who showed sympathy with the Aboriginal people and we learn a great deal about their lifestyle, habitat and philosophy from his journal descriptions, recorded honestly, without fear or favour. But even more importantly, we hear the Aborigines' given names and their characteristics. In other words, this young Frenchman was able to establish a rapport with the indigenous people as persons. He was an astute observer and described their physique, clothes, methods of cooking, protocol, customs, and attitudes to each other and to him objectively, as he saw them. He was able to understand and empathize with the land and the spirit world it engendered and in which they lived. All this in 1802, at a time when most white colonists were totally unsympathetic, treating the locals as "vermin".

The English, on the whole, were prejudiced against the owners of the land they were systematically claiming as their own. It was perhaps

because of his upbringing as a French boy on the Toulon waterfront that Barrallier was able to see the Aborigines in such a clear way. France was more inclined to welcome the many-coloured inhabitants of her colonies to the motherland as equals. So probably Francis had not the preconceived colour bar of the average colonial Englishman. Doubtless he had met many men and women from different nationalities from visiting ships' crews as they made port in Toulon. Nicolas-Martin Petit also had this facility.

Barrallier appears to have been a true ambassador for his Governor as he made friends with those who had never seen a white man before. For example, Bulgin, he says, "quaked with fright and kept his eyes glued to the ground when we met". To help allay the man's difficulty, he gave him some rice with sugar on it. Bulgin liked the sugar but spat out the rice. To equalize the score, Francis tasted some ethnic food—a possum. He was most interested in Bungin's beautiful "mantle of skins" and made an offer of an English axe for it. Nor did he take umbrage at Bungin's refusal to trade because "it was cold in the mountains" and Bungin asserted that "this was his only covering". Being genuinely caring, Francis gave him the axe anyway. They became friends, and later in the journal Bungin was described as "the kind mountaineer" who built a hut for him as a signal that the diplomat was welcome on his tribal land.

The ambassador put up with his obnoxious guide, Gogy, even after he knew him to be both a murderer and a cannibal. He was very sympathetic towards Gogy's wife who was the subject of domestic violence at the Nattai camp and expressed amazement at the strange attitude of the molester when he became an adoring father to their little boy. It was the custom, he noted, for the Aborigines to allow children to be spoiled by their parents. When little Gogy stuck a spear into his mother's thigh he was applauded by his father. Barrallier records that he was pleased when the quarrelsome family left in the cart for the home base in Parramatta.

Another story is that of the reluctant daughter of Goondel, the "King of the Mountains". The King's daughter was given to Bungin as a bride as a matter of protocol. The expedition was delayed for a day as he searched for the girl who had gone walkabout.

The description of the weapons and hunting methods used by the locals is highly informative. The boomerang was different from that used in Sydney, being crescent-shaped rather than elbow-shaped. It was sent spinning low over the grassland, parallel to the ground and was used to break the legs of emus and kangaroos. It was not meant to return to the hand or to hit the prey over the head, but was used to disable it. When the animal

could no longer run or hop, it could be easily dispatched. The coup de grâce was delivered with the "nulla" or stone axe. Barrallier records that these weapons were carried tucked into a belt of hair twelve feet long and the thickness of a pen holder, which was wrapped around the wearer's waist, leaving the hands free for the spear and shield. This belt is clearly shown in Petit's drawing of Derri.³¹

Barrallier's journal describes a method of catching kangaroos by means of thirty or so men setting a ring of fire. They encircled the 'roos and then, as one animal made a dash for freedom from the encroaching fiery ring, it was summarily hit over the head by an approaching warrior. When he met Goondel's party near the Wollondilly River, the so-called "King" was cooking a dog in an earthen oven. This was a pit dug out of the ground and lined with stones in which a fire had been lit some time before. The dog was buried and slowly cooked by putting earth over the body.

One of the explorer's most delightful touches was the description of an Aborigine who had never seen a white man before, let alone a bullock cart. The actual wheel was a matter of puzzlement for him.

Barrallier was also interested in the new items he was finding in the natural world. He sent a koala's claws to the Governor in a bottle of rum. He had not seen the body, as it had been eaten, so he deduced that the strange new animal was either a bear or a monkey. To this day, a koala is often wrongly called a koala bear, and in the Burragorang a small river has been named "Monkey Creek" after Barrallier's find.³² The river is near The Oaks, which is named after Barrallier's recording of the Aboriginal name for the casuarinas on the river. They were called "she-kock"—wrongly translated as "she-oak" and having nothing to do with the feminine gender or the oak at all!

Barrallier and his men must have hated to lose even a small amount of precious alcohol to preserve the koala's claws. He doled out tots of rum to his men to keep their spirits up in more ways than one—but he slept with the bottle under his head in case anyone tried to go off with it in the night. He wrote to the Governor's wife to tell her he was catching butterflies for her, and gathered geological samples for the Governor and flower specimens for Sir Joseph Banks.³³

Eventually he ran out of food, as he made his way past Yerranderie Peak³⁴ through a gap in the mountains and on as far as Johnson's or Christy's Creek. Eleven years before Wentworth, Blaxland and Lawson, the Frenchman was a mere eleven miles from crossing the Great Dividing Range.³⁵ Sadly he was not aware of this fact. When their shoes wore out,

his soldiers mutinied and insisted he turn back. "I would have gone on", he recorded, and indeed, when he did get back, he told Governor King he would try again.

Other contributions to New South Wales

Barrallier's contribution to New South Wales was not limited to exploration. According to Macqueen (p. 30) his first job in New South Wales was as an architect. This came about as a result of Mrs King's concern for the many orphan children of the colony. She established an orphanage for a hundred homeless girls in a large house acquired by Governor King for this purpose. Meanwhile, she decided that another orphanage should be built at Parramatta to house two hundred girls. An "Orphan House Committee" was established to set up and operate this orphanage and others that followed. On the committee were such notables as the Reverend Samuel Marsden, Mrs King, Mrs Paterson as well as William Balmain and Surgeon John Harris. In mid 1800, Barrallier was engaged to design the Parramatta Orphanage.³⁶ Frances Pollon gives the following account of the event:

The plight of orphans in the early days of the colony was almost as pitiful as that of women. For some years they were accommodated in Sydney, but in 1800 Governor King initiated plans for the construction in Parramatta of an orphanage to house orphans of convict parents, and other parentless children. The design was prepared by Ensign Barrallier for a brick structure to be erected on a sixty-acre grant called Arthur's Hill, made to Surgeon Thomas Arndell. Work was begun in 1801, but later abandoned. After Macquarie's arrival he gave instructions to proceed, and work was re-commenced in 1813 and completed in 1818.³⁷

Barrallier's original plans for the Parramatta orphanage have not survived. The existing building has recently been restored, but no part of it is attributed at present to Francis Barrallier.

Governor King was also anxious to build a fort.³⁸ As an Artillery Officer in the New South Wales Corps, Barrallier searched the Sydney waterfront for a prominent position from which guns could rain down cannon balls as in the siege of Toulon. He chose Windmill Hill and designed a hexagonal stone fort, which was built in 1804 after his departure from Sydney. Fort Phillip was to be surrounded by a ditch and armed with twenty

six-pound cannons. Construction was slow and it was never completely finished. The missing east wall and a portion of the south wall still stand amongst the oldest extant walls in Sydney. It became a signal station in 1825, communicating with the South Head Signal Station by means of signal flags: hence the alternative name of Flagstaff Hill. In 1852, a time ball mechanism was installed which dropped a ball at 1.00 pm and the building was redesigned to become an Astronomical Observatory. Part of its foundation is the fort of Sydney's present day Fort Street, a reminder of Ensign Francis Barrallier.

Having been brought up on the waterfront of Toulon and educated by his naval architect and fortifications engineer father, it is not surprising that Francis Barrallier should also have been involved in ship design. He is credited with designing, or having input into the design of, the *King George*, a vessel greater than one hundred tons and therefore technically the first ship to be designed and built in the new colony. It was built for Kable and Company in the shipyards of 33 Pitt Street by James Underwood and was launched on 30 April 1805, after Barrallier had left Sydney.

One of Australia's best-known calls is "Coo-ee". Barrallier mentions it in his journal as coming from the Blue Mountains. According to Macqueen (p. 754) he was not the first to record it though he was given that recognition for many years. In the French Atlas of the 1802 Expedition to Australia (Plate 52), there is a quite remarkable piece of music. It is "Coo-ee", or to spell it the French way, "Cou-hé", transcribed in Western notation. In addition to this *cri de ralliement* there are two other tunes, "Chant" and "Air de Danse". The music is recorded by the Baudin expedition's Lesueur (the artist) and Bernier (the astronomer). Perhaps they too were with Barrallier at the time they heard the call from mountain-top to mountain-top, a long-distance call long before STD. This is the first Aboriginal music to be recorded and was given recognition on Australia Day 1988 by being played in the Sydney Opera House for the Bicentennial Celebrations.

Falling out with the Governor

When Francis returned from his ambassadorial trip to the "King of the Mountains", he was welcomed back into the King household. Colonel Paterson was again furious that this young man was treated so well by the Governor. He demanded that the Ensign return to regimental duties. Then,

sadly, the relationship with the King family deteriorated. There was a practice at the time for "pipes" or rolls of paper with scurrilous accusations to be dropped in strategic places for the public to view. The Governor had found one on his threshold containing a message with just enough truth in it to get him sweating with indignation. It virtually said that he was taking his ire out on the ladies of the Colony and that is why he had forbidden his wife, Anna, to visit Mrs Paterson. King blamed Barrallier as the only one who had inside information and sent him back to the army. The incident is not unrelated to the tension between the Governor and the New South Wales Corps, with Barrallier torn between the two camps.

In a letter to Sir Joseph Banks, Governor King referred to this incident in a veiled manner, suggesting that Barrallier was two-faced: "From some circumstances that have transpired respecting Mr. Barrallier, I shall not be anxious to repeat these kindnesses towards him which I have done. However, I hope he will do well. He has talents, but I fear not much sincerity."³⁹ Barrallier decided to resign from duty and was given the task of overseeing a group of soldiers back to England on the *Glatton*.⁴⁰ He was hoping to come back to New South Wales, but it was not to be.

After New South Wales

On his return to England, Barrallier put in his resignation from the army and undertook studies in mathematics and astronomy to prepare himself for further work in the colony as a surveyor and explorer.⁴¹ John Macarthur, sent to England by King for court-martial, was confident that Barrallier would promptly achieve his ambition to return to Sydney:

[If Barrallier's account is correct], he has been most cruelly used: not that I hold him blameless, judging from his own report. As King appears to be the cause of his misfortune I have warmly supported him, and have prevailed upon General Grose to suppress his resignation. [...] The Frenchman will shortly return amongst you triumphant, confirmed in the appointment of Engineer. [...] As it appeared King was his Enemy, there could not be a stronger inducement to make me his Friend.⁴²

Barrallier's resignation was not accepted, but instead of being posted to New South Wales he was sent to the West Indies where he was later involved in the siege of Martinique. He ended by becoming Surveyor-General

of Barbados where he followed the profession of his ancestors, designing fortifications. He also produced a map of the island and erected a monument to Nelson.

In 1818 Barrallier returned to Toulon and envisaged living there permanently, but, having found France very different from his memories as a young man, discovering that few of his relatives were still alive and taking into account his army pension in England, he went back to London. In 1819 he married Isobel Skyrme at St Mary's Church, Lambeth, and settled in London for his remaining thirty-four years. He ended his career as a Brevet Lieutenant Colonel.⁴³

Francis Barrallier died in 1853 at the age of eighty in Bedford Square, London. It is worth noting that almost half of his obituary⁴⁴ was devoted to his three years in New South Wales and his exploration of the Blue Mountains, the true highlights of a long life.

Sydney

APPENDIX

**A chronological summary of Barrallier's second expedition
to the Blue Mountains, based on his journal**

- **6th November 1802.** Crossed the Nepean at a ford called Binhény [Camden] at 8.00pm. A swamp called Baraggel – shells in the swamp.
- **7th November.** Another swamp called Manhangle [Menangle]. Carrabeely – eels and fishes and various species of shells. Aboriginal foods also included opossums, squirrels, kangaroo rat and kangaroo – methods of catching them. Saw 162 head of cattle, second herd 130 head, then another 221 of them. Gogy met Bungin and Wooglemai – the mantle. Gogy left the Carrabaigal tribe, chief Goonboole. Bungin built a hut for Barrallier.
- **8th November.** Noticed Bluegum, Ironbark, Stringybark and Yellowgum. Iron ore found. Grubs and method of catching them with a switch and a hook – saw footprints.
- **9th November.** Coo-ee heard repeated several times. Bulgin, Wallara appeared. Wallara very frightened, ate sugar. Reached Nattai – exchanged two feet of colo [koala] for two spears and one tomahawk. [See coo-ee set to music by Lesueur and Bernier].
- **10th November.** A slate mine – arrived at river, crossed it at a waterfall [Nattai]. Fish, especially black bream, 4 to 6 lbs. Pink flowers. The mountains covered with timber, but above half the height the ground is like quicksand and large blocks of stone detach themselves and roll down. Arrived at two ponds where the view was of the noble aspect of the mountains to the east and west.
- **11th November.** Tried to find a passage between the mountains. The red coats of the soldiers put the kangaroos to flight – were made to take them off. Bulgin caught large eels. Gogy discovered a parrot's nest and cut steps in the tree with his axe. He mistook the croak of frogs for oxen. The new river [Wollondilly] is wider than the Hawkesbury. Came to a small creek [Tonalli?].
- **12th November.** Saw a great range, a great quantity of kangaroos in a plain suitable for the establishment of 300 men. Also saw warring, kangaroos, opossum, wombats etc, but it would be necessary to open a road of communication from Nattai so that wagons could reach there without danger. This would present some difficulties, but not insurmountable. Attention attracted by a mountain, which, although very high, appeared easy of access [Yerranderie Peak?].⁴⁵ There were pheasants singing on all sides. Climbed

with the men but was stopped by a cave serving as a shelter for wild animals. Determined to descend by the western slope. Saw a group of natives. Described the red-necked wallaby and how to throw the local boomerang. Goondel's tribe ate a possum and dog, which they roasted in the ground. Wheengee-Whungee offered to Bungin. Gogy frightened of Goondel. Barrallier retraced his steps. Described the woomera [wham-ha-ha].

- 13th November. At Depot Wooglemai.
- 14th November. Waited for the wagon. Gogy quarrelled with his wife. Bungin attended to her.
- 15th November. Kangaroo hunting.
- 16th November. Repaired the huts etc. Gogy and wife went with wagon. He was now affectionate and even jealous of her.
- 18th November. Wagon back.
- 19th November. Badbury arrived with Wooglemai.
- 20th November. Preparations for journey south. Wooglemai scared of accompanying him.
- 21st November. Wooglemai, Gogy, wife and child went in the wagon.
- 22nd November. Badbury and the young native [Le Tonsuré?] resumed journey to the old huts.
- 23rd November. Pursued the same route, met Goondel, Mootik and Wallara.
- 24th November. Passed the mountain, descended the hill to a small creek. 7.00 pm saw three gaps.
- 25th November. Very rapid in winter. Wild ducks plentiful, blue and red granite.
- 26th November. Climbed to the summit of mountains, found a large river [Kowmung?].
- 27th November. Marched along bed of stream – sharp-edged stones – boots all torn and feet full of wounds. Fern tree, snake, fossils, majestic mountains, pheasants, waterfalls. Described birds with nests hanging by a thread, dangerous reptiles.
- 28th November. Provisions gone, cut a cross of St Andrew to indicate the terminus of second journey.
- 29th 30th 31st? Returned 1st December, 2nd December. [There is no 31st November!]
- 3rd December. Rested, went to meet wagon.
- 4th December. No food – no letter from Governor King.
- 5th December. Sent wagon escorted by four men and two young natives as guides whose orders were to bring back provisions. Wrote to Governor telling him Barrallier would attempt a third time to cross the mountains by following the river to the southwest [Wollondilly].

Barrallier

SKETCH
of the Discoveries made in the Interior of
NEW SOUTH WALES
IN 1802.

Ensign F. Barrallier, of the
NEW SOUTH WALES CORPS.

REFERENCES

- | | |
|--------------------------|----------------------------------------|
| A. Alawrie Lagoon | q. There I heard the surges sound |
| B. Fort Hacking | r. 3 rd River |
| C. Botany Bay | s. The ashes of an old fire found here |
| D. Port Jackson | t. Shells fossil found there |
| E. Broken Bay | u. End of journey |
| a. Sydney | v. Deep Gully |
| b. Pyramatta | x. Lagoon abounding with eels |
| e. Hawkesbury River | F. Peak about 1/2 mile high |
| m. 1 st River | K. Cow Pasture |
| n. 2 nd River | |
| p. Ruedy Lagoon | |





V. Bourdieu del.

J. B. Huet sculp.

B. B. B. B. B.

NOUVELLE - HOLLANDE.

COUR-ROU-BARI-GAL.

de l'Imprimerie de Langlois





P. Petit del.

J. Mouton sculp.

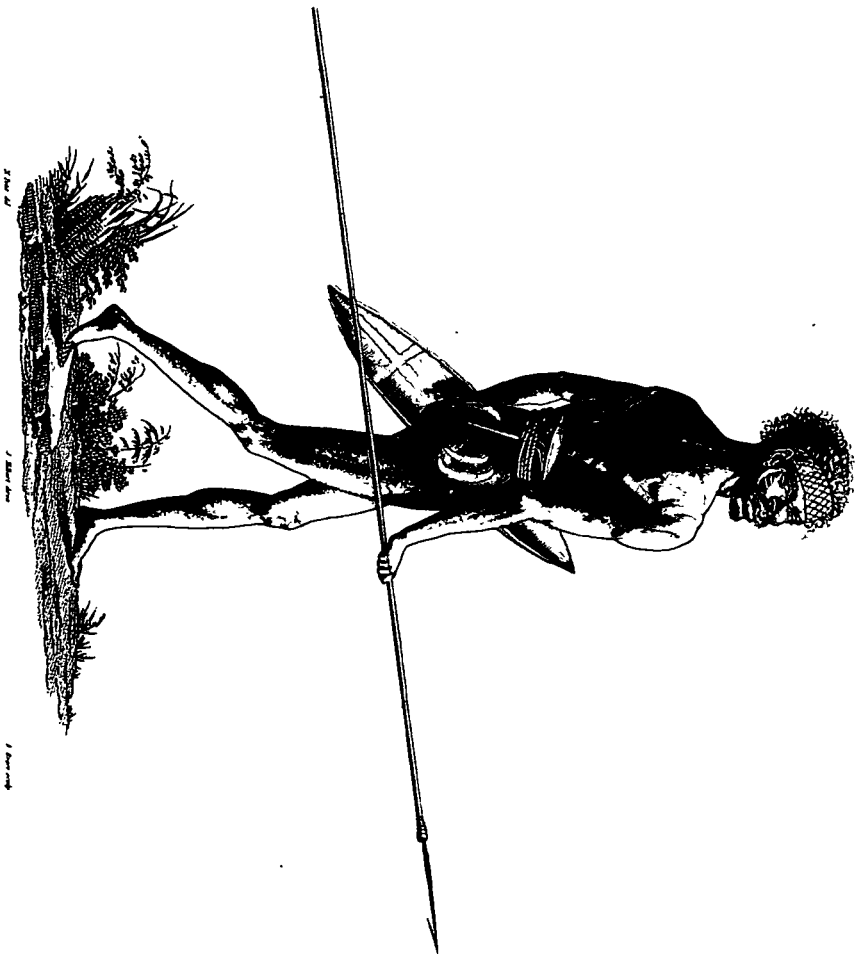
A. Huet sculp.

NOUVELLE-HOLLANDE.

Y-ERRAN-600-LA-6A.

En l'Empire de la France.





NOUVELLE-HOLLANDE : S. ou GAULES DU SUD.

NOROTI - GALE - DESHIL - d'aujourd'hui pour vaudouze.

de l'Esperance de Langlet.



- 6th December. Hunting with Gogy.
- 7th December. Again hunting – very hot.
- 8th December. South wind – rain.
- 9th December. Rain and thunder.
- 10th December. Hunting. Gogy back.
- 11th December. Arrived at Manhandle. Native to meet at Barhagal [*sic*].
- 12th December. Country on fire, huts burnt, warned against insulting natives.
- 13th December. Sentry on duty.
- 14th December. Chose six men to follow the river.
- 15th December. Set out but Gogy's wife came too. Goondel hunting with fire.
- 16th December. Gogy and wife returned, afraid of Goondel. Gogy admitted he was a murderer and cannibal, having eaten portions of Goondel's sister.
- 17th December. Violent westerly wind – crossed the river, black soil growing beautiful apple trees – fertile soil. Pyramid-form mountain [Bonnum Pic]. Evidence in river of great floods.
- 18th December. Started back.
- 19th/20th December. At Depot.
- 21st December. Took three men, left the Depot en route for Sydney.
- 24th December. Arrived in Sydney after three days of hard walking. The Governor extended a kind reception on Christmas Eve.

Notes

1. The author, whose grandfather was a Breton sailor, has a personal interest in Yerranderie in the Southern Blue Mountains, an area first explored by Francis Barrallier. Her company, Tonalli Pty Ltd, owns 1156 acres (462 hectares) of the land. An architect by profession, for more than three decades she has devoted all her energies and resources to restoring the village. Private Town as well as the Church, the Police Station, the Courthouse and the Cemetery in Government Town are historic attractions, whilst Yerranderie Peak is an ideal climbing and abseiling venue with magnificent 360-degree views. Yerranderie has been classified as an Historic Silver Mining Area by the National Trust and the Heritage Commission. Currently the author has an educational and eco-tourism proposal before the Wollondilly Shire of New South Wales to commemorate the epic journey of Francis Barrallier through the Southern Blue Mountains connecting the Nattai State Recreation Area, the Yerranderie and the Kanangra Boyd Wilderness and the World Heritage Area of the Southern Blue Mountains.

2. Government and General Orders, 9 October 1802, in Commonwealth of Australia, *Historical Records of Australia*, Series I, Vol. IV, Sydney, William Applegate Gullick, Government Printer, 1915, p. 320 (hereafter *HRA*).
3. Letters of Governor King to Sir Joseph Banks, 2 October 1802 and 9 May 1803, in F. M. Bladen, ed., *Historical Records of New South Wales*, Series I, Vol. IV, Sydney, Charles Potter, Government Printer, 1896, p. 845, and Vol. V, Sydney, William Applegate Gullick, Government Printer, 1897, p. 136 (hereafter *HRNSW*).
4. *Blue Mountains Rediscovered: Beyond the Myths of Early Australian Exploration*, Kenthurst, N.S.W., Kangaroo Press, 1996, p. 6.
5. The source of most of the information on the Barrallier family, and more specifically on Francis's father, Jean-Louis Barrallier, is Captain Emmanuel Davin's article, "Un Toulonnais, Jean-Louis Barrallier, ingénieur de la marine, constructeur d'un port et de vaisseaux anglais (1751-1834)", *Provence historique*, t. 3, fasc. 12, pp. 140-148. This study is based on material derived from the Municipal Archives of Toulon, the Archives of the Navy in Toulon, as well as secondary literature and the consultation of British sources. Captain Davin's text, which was originally obtained in typescript by Dr Geoffrey Cains of Mittagong from the Archives and the Library of the French Navy in Toulon, has been translated into English by Mr Jean-Claude Girard. The author of the present study located this translation by sheer accident, insofar as Mr Girard happens to be a nephew by marriage of a resident of Yerranderie, Mrs Enid Harman, who immediately made the connection between the explorer and the Barrallier in the translation.
6. See letter by Sir Joseph Banks to Governor King, 29 August 1804, in *HRNSW*, V, p. 458.
7. Charles Greville to Lord Portland, quoted in Andy Macqueen, *Blue Mountains to Bridgetown: The Life and Journeys of Barrallier, 1773-1853*, Springwood, N.S.W., A. Macqueen, 1997, p. 23.
8. See Anna King, "Diary of the Voyage from England to Australia", Mitchell Library, MSS 1973X, quoted in Macqueen, pp. 25-26 and 156.
9. Macqueen, p. 24.
10. James Grant, *The Narrative of a voyage of discovery, performed in His Majesty's vessel the Lady Nelson, of sixty tons burthen, with sliding keels, in the years 1800, 1801 and 1802, to New South Wales*, London, 1803.
11. The Aborigines wanted their beards cut. (See *HRNSW*, IV, p. 478.)
12. There is a beautiful illustration of a Gang Gang in Grant, *Narrative of a voyage*, between pp. 134 and 135.
13. See Macqueen, pp. 56-57. A portion of Barrallier's original map—or an early copy of it—shows the trips to Coal Harbour and the Southern Blue Mountains. It accompanies his handwritten journal in The National Archives, England (ref. PRO: CO 212/22).
14. Letter of Lieutenant-Colonel Paterson to Governor King, 25 June 1801, in *HRNSW*, IV, p. 414.

15. Letter of Governor King to The Right Hon. C. F. Greville, 25 August 1801, in *HRNSW*, IV, p. 513.
16. Caley's Reports. See Macqueen, pp. 70–71.
17. F. Péron, *A Voyage of Discovery to the Southern Hemisphere*, translated from the French by B. McMillan, London, Richard Phillips, 1809, pp. 286–291.
18. The word is used in its nineteenth-century French sense of a collection of maps and/or plates. See François Péron, *Voyage de découvertes aux Terres australes, exécuté pendant les années 1800, 1801, 1802, 1803 et 1804 et publié par ordre du gouvernement: partie historique rédigée par Fr. Péron, naturaliste de l'expédition et continuée par L. Freycinet capitaine de frégate employé dans la même expédition, avec Atlas dressé par M. M. Lesueur et Petit peintres faisant également partie de l'expédition*, Paris, Imprimerie impériale, 1807–1816. See also Jacqueline Bonnemains, Elliott Forsyth and Bernard Smith, eds, *Baudin in Australian Waters: the Artwork of the French Voyage of Discovery to the Southern Lands 1800–1804*, Melbourne, Oxford University Press in association with the Australian Academy of the Humanities, 1988, with a complete descriptive catalogue of drawings and paintings of Australian subjects by C. A. Lesueur and N.-M. Petit from the Lesueur Collection at the Muséum d'Histoire Naturelle, Le Havre.
19. See Susan Hunt, *Terre Napoléon: Australia Through French Eyes, 1800–1804*, Sydney, Historic Houses Trust of New South Wales in association with Hordern House, 1999, p. 80.
20. The original sketches of the Aborigines, from which the etchings were made, are now held in the Museum of Natural History in Le Havre in France.
21. Yerranderie, a former silver-mining area, now cut off by the catchment of Lake Burragorang (Sydney's main water supply), is quite close to the metropolis and even closer to the growing cities and towns of Parramatta, Camden, Campbelltown and Appin. However, it is only accessible from Oberon, five hours from Sydney and 73 kilometres on an unsealed road.
22. Empress Josephine's garden was featured on the frontispiece of the Atlas.
23. Jill, Duchess of Hamilton, *Napoleon, the Empress & the Artist: the Story of Napoleon, Josephine's garden at Malmaison, Redouté & the Australian Plants*, East Roseville, NSW, Simon and Schuster, 1999, p. 143.
24. Macqueen, p. 70.
25. Government and General Orders, 18 October 1802, in *HRA*, IV, p. 323. Governor King later confided to Sir Joseph Banks that he had achieved his aim "by ruse" (see *HRNSW*, V, p. 136).
26. There was the "Aboriginal Tent Embassy" on the lawn of Old Parliament House in Canberra from 1972, but no such Ambassador from the Government exists or is likely to.
27. *HRNSW*, V, Appendix A, pp. 748–825. It is possible that Barrallier made several copies of his maps, probably by tracing them. When he handed his journal to the Governor, he would have undoubtedly kept a copy for himself and probably another for the Government Records of the day. Perhaps one of

these is the one found by Commissioner Bigge and placed in the Appendix to Commissioner Bigge's Report (NSW Original Correspondence, ref. CO 201 Volume, National Archives, London). See also Z.B.T. (Bonwick Transcripts), Series I, Box 36, Plan no 30, New South Wales, Ensign Barrallier's sketch of discoveries, 1802, Mitchell Library. The Commissioner was in New South Wales between 1819 and 1821. His job was to investigate and tidy up the local records, so these maps could be Barrallier's own copies of his original maps, perhaps made by his own hand. At this stage they are as close to the "original" as we are likely to get unless, of course, the original journal and maps do turn up some time in the future.

28. Personal communication.
29. There have been a number of theories regarding the exact route taken by Barrallier on his second expedition. According to R. H. Cambage in 1910 (see "Barrallier's Blue Mountain exploration in 1802", *Journal of the Royal Australian Historical Society*, 6, 1915), the expedition passed through the South Gap and south to Bindook. Rae Else-Mitchell's theory (1938), presented in a paper to the Royal Australian Historical Society, was that Barrallier chose Byrnes Gap and so the route was in a more westerly direction. Andy Macqueen (op. cit.) and Alan Andrews (*Earliest Monaro and Burragarang, 1790 to 1840*, Palmerston, ACT, Tabletop Press, 1998) follow Else-Mitchell's theory, whilst R. Brownscombe ("Barrallier's Blue Mountains Exploration in 1802: Clearing the Matter Up Finally?", *Journal of the Royal Australian Historical Society*, 78, 1992) takes Barrallier south through Kowmung or Tonalli Gap. Strangely enough, with the exception of R. H. Cambage all authors seem to agree that the final destination was Christy's or Johnson's Creek, a tributary of the Kowmung. We have plotted various routes using the coordinates given by Barrallier of the three gaps but there are more than three gaps in the vicinity of Yerranderie. The outcome depends on the position from which the readings are taken. Although Brownscombe's idea of going consistently west is attractive, one must agree that Byrnes Gap is the most prominent.
30. "Journal of the Expedition [...] into the Interior of New South Wales 1802 [...]]", in *HRNSW*, V, Appendix A, pp. 748-825. Governor King sent Barrallier's journal to Sir Joseph Banks on 9 May 1803. However, when Barrallier returned to England, he asked Sir Joseph to return it so he could make a full copy. A copy was finally deposited at the Public Record Office in Kew, where it remained unknown until Surveyor R. H. Cambage discovered it in 1910. The text published in the *HRNSW* is based on the Kew copy. Though there have been many subsequent references to the original journal, it has not yet come to light.
31. *Baudin in Australian Waters*, p. 165.
32. Macqueen, p. 74.
33. Letter to Philip Gidley King, 21 November 1802, Mitchell Library, King Papers, vol. 8, pp 67-70.

34. Freycinet's 1822 map of New South Wales shows Yerranderie Peak as "Belmont".
35. Macqueen, p. 76.
36. "Ordered, That the Rev'd Mr. Marsden to direct a proper person to make an estimate of the expence, under separate heads, that will attend the building a house at Parramatta, agreeable to the plan given in by Mr. Barrallier, exclusive of out-houses and other offices." (See "Orphan House Committee" minutes in *HRNSW*, IV, p. 138.)
37. Frances Pollon, *Parramatta, the Cradle City of Australia: Its History from 1788*, Parramatta, NSW, Council of the City of Parramatta, 1983, p. 68.
38. Macqueen, p. 36.
39. Letter of Governor King to Sir Joseph Banks, 21 July 1805, in *HRNSW*, V, p. 671.
40. Macqueen, pp. 99-102. On 7 August 1803 Governor King informed Lord Hobart that as Barrallier "had a Stallion that was useful to the Government for Breeding, on his quitting the Colony [he] gave the Commissary directions to purchase it for the Public use." (See *HRA*, IV, p. 347)
41. Charles Greville to Barrallier's superiors, quoted in Macqueen, pp. 106-107.
42. Letter of John Macarthur to Captain Piper, November 1803, quoted by Macqueen, p. 103.
43. Macqueen, pp. 121-122.
44. *Colburn's United Service Magazine and Naval and Military Journal*, London, Henry Colburn, July 1853.
45. Andrews, p. 55.