HENRY VERE BARCLAY:
CENTRALIAN EXPLORER

by

B. W. STRONG

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Bruce Strong

**BIOGRAPHICAL NOTE - BRUCE STRONG**

Born in Sydney in 1946. Early education in Sydney and in the Blue Mountains. Secondary education at Penrith High School, completed 1965. Became interested in pursuing a life on the land and gained Diploma in Agriculture in 1966 at Hawkesbury Agricultural College, Richmond. On completion, worked for 6 years in Papua New Guinea under contract in the Soil Survey Section of the then Department of Agriculture, Stock and Fisheries seeing most service on the island of New Britain during the establishment of the oil palm industry there. Also spent some time on surveys of the Ramu Valley near Madang and the Markham Valley near Lae. Returned to Australia in 1973 and obtained employment with CSIRO at their Central Australian Laboratory in Alice Springs as a Technical Officer mostly working on nutrient cycling in the arid zone. Resigned from CSIRO in 1980 to work with a consultancy for CCNT investigating the distribution and biology of the European rabbit in the NT. Became interested in NT history while researching a paper on the initial spread of rabbits in the NT. While doing this research became interested in H.V. Barclay and this interest has culminated in this biography of Barclay. ‘Retired’ from active field work in 1987 to follow interests in conservation of the environment and our cultural heritage by opening a shop in Alice Springs promoting the environment. Takes an active role in local environment groups and issues and plays a part in the National Trust.
INTRODUCTION

Henry Vere Barclay is not one of the Northern Territory’s better known explorers. Perhaps this is partly because it was as a surveyor rather than an explorer that he undertook his first journey to the north-east of Alice Springs in 1878. Strictly speaking this initial journey into this then unknown area was for the purposes of survey and triangulation to connect Alice Springs Telegraph Station with the potential pastoral lands of the Herbert River. It is this journey that Barclay is probably best known for but his printed journal is not readily available and most other accounts are fairly fleeting in their nature. These latter also tend to focus on the failures of the expedition, for example, the loss of several horses and the ultimate failure of the party to achieve its main aim of reaching the Herbert River. Nevertheless, new country was explored, new rivers and mountain ranges discovered and named, and a certain amount of courage and fortitude displayed by the leader and his men.

The Barclay-Macpherson expedition of 1904 is probably the next best known of Barclay’s journeys, although it is seldom, if ever, referred to in the literature dealing with the discovery and exploration of Australia. This is understandable since it failed to make any important discoveries and did little to add to the knowledge of the Simpson Desert, which was one of the main aims of the expedition. The written account of the journey, which is short on detail, is also not readily available.

Barclay’s three other expeditions into the Northern Territory are virtually unknown in the literature, particularly the private expeditions of 1887-90 and, to a lesser extent, 1905-6. His last expedition of 1911, undertaken for the Commonwealth Government, was the initial provocation for this study of Barclay. The results of the botanical collections and the ornithological observations from the expedition were published but nothing else. And this work was by Gerald Hill, the naturalist on the expedition, not by the leader, Barclay. Initial investigations into the 1911 expedition turned up rumours of disagreement and disintegration in the field. While these rumours persist there appears to be no confirming evidence to support them.

Research in England uncovered his early career in the Royal Marines but did not confirm the title that Barclay was later to use, i.e. Captain R.N. He married while in the Marines and was invalided out soon after. Following this the Barclays made their first visit to the Antipodes where they settled in Tasmania. At least two sons were born there and from there Barclay’s life in Australia began to unfold. There came his first expedition in the Northern Territory in 1878 and from this time it, the Territory, became the central interest in his life. Despite short periods of employment in New Zealand and New South Wales, and several visits to Europe, Barclay continued to return to the Northern Territory. Oddly, he never could be called a resident of the country that was his central interest, although he did lease a fair portion of it for a short while. His return visits were for exploration and survey, not for residency.

Over the years Barclay took every opportunity to espouse the future of the Northern Territory, giving lectures in France, England and Australia to that end. He was a man who knew and apparently befriended influential people, from Knights of the Realm to Prime Ministers. His final years of active work were occupied in leading another expedition into the Northern Territory at the age of sixty-six. At its completion he stayed on in the Top End of the Territory for a further two years surveying in a region of isolation and harsh conditions.
The last decade of his life, before and after the 1911 expedition, was spent at the seat of power of the Commonwealth Government where he could continue to champion the cause for the Northern Territory. The finale to his life was perhaps fitting for a former Royal Marine.

METRIC NOTE

In general, imperial measurements, which were in use in Barclay’s time, have been converted to metric in the text. Where the imperial measurement appears in a quotation, the metric equivalent is given in parentheses. However, to have converted pounds into dollars would have been meaningless because of inflation and changing values. 1 Pound was converted to $2 in 1966. There were 20 Shillings in 1 Pound.
CHILDHOOD - 1845 TO 1861

Henry Vere Barclay was born on 5 January 1845 at the family home in Bank Street, Bury, County of Lancashire.(1) He was baptised at St Mary’s Church of England, Bury, on 1 February.(2) His father was Henry Bruce Barclay, a Captain in the 56th Regiment of Foot. His mother was Charlotte Mannis nee Cummins. He had two siblings, a brother Arthur Denny and a sister Lucy.

Barclay was a member of a very old Scottish military family dating from 1176, when Walter de Berkelui settled in Scotland and later became Great Chamberlain. His great grandfather, General John Barclay, was a colonel commandant of the Royal Marines from 1803 and became a general in 1813.(3)

Nothing is known of Barclay’s boyhood but he was born into a period of great change in the British Isles.(4) The young Queen Victoria had ascended the throne only 8 years prior to his birth. 1846 was the year of the Irish Famine which saw mass emigration from Ireland. Under Victoria’s reign the British were to become a predominantly urban and industrialised people. Bury experienced tremendous industrial expansion in the 19th Century, especially in the manufacture of cotton products.(5)

The only indication of Barclay’s early education comes when he was 15 years of age. Perhaps he was beginning to demonstrate some artistic talent for ‘in 1860 he studied mechanical drawing at the School of Design in Cork’,(6) Ireland. Barclay was a pupil at the school until March 1861.(7) On his expedition in central Australia in 1878 Barclay was to compare the weather with that of ‘...the south of Ireland...’, alluding to his time at Cork.(8) The School of Design was established in 1850 and its original purpose ‘...was to educate original designers...’(9) One of its branches of instruction was stated to be geometrical and perspective drawing and this was doubtless the instruction that the young Barclay received. Drawing and painting were also taught at the school and it seems likely that he received instruction in these disciplines.

There is ample evidence of Barclay’s drawing ability and artistic talent in existence today. His freehand drawing of ‘Port McArthur’(10) demonstrates the former and his paintings of central Australia(11) and drawings of Easter Island(12) the latter.
BARCLAY FAMILY TREE
A career must have been the next step in his life and he chose to pursue one in the Royal Marines Light Infantry. The choice of a military career was not an altogether surprising one, although the unit he chose to serve in was to some degree. Both his father and grandfather (Lt. Col. John Vere Fletcher Barclay) were officers in the 56th Regiment. Perhaps Barclay preferred to follow in his great grandfather's more eminent footsteps.

Favenc wrote that he entered '...the Royal Navy in 1860, and had been severely wounded on board H.M.S. Illustrious by a gun breaking loose when at target practice.' (1) However, the Muster Book for Illustrious from May 1859 to June 1861 does not include any record of Barclay. (2) Favenc's assertion that he entered the Royal Navy is not strictly correct, but it was an easy enough mistake to make. The Royal Marines, while being a part of the Navy, is a separate force of soldiers within it, which is also controlled by the Admiralty. Favenc was not to be alone in assuming that Barclay was an officer of the Royal Navy, rather than the Royal Marines.

'In December 1861', when he was not quite 17 years old, (3) 'he passed a competitive examination for a Cadetship in the R.M.L.I. & served on H.M.S. Excellent.' (4) The examination required a satisfactory pass in the subjects of Written English, Arithmetic, Euclid, Algebra, Geography and either Latin, French or one Modern Language. (5) On passing the examination, the candidate was appointed a Marine Cadet on board the Gunnery Ship at Portsmouth. This is confirmed from the Muster Books of Excellent where Barclay makes his first appearance on 4 February 1862 and had borne the rank of R.M.Cadet for 56 days, i.e. from about 11 December 1861. (6) Excellent housed the naval gunnery school and Barclay would have undertaken a course of study in gunnery. (7) The instruction on board Excellent also included a course on the knowledge of steam machinery. (8)

It was during this period that he also received 'special instruction in Surveying including the use and construction of Astronomical Instruments, on board H.M.S Excellent and at the R.N.College under Professor Main M.A., F.R.S.' (9) As further evidence of his qualifications he could produce certificates from Main and Captain Hewlett C.B., R.N. '...certifying to his competent knowledge of Euclid, trigonometry & etc. also to the use & construction of surveying & drawing instruments.' (10) There seems little doubt that Barclay received qualified instruction in surveying.

He remained aboard Excellent until June 1863 when on 24th he was commissioned as a 2nd Lieutenant. (11) To receive his Commission Barclay was required to pass a final examination which included the subjects of Arithmetic, Algebra, Euclid, Trigonometry, History of England, French, Use of Sextant, Fortification, Mechanical Drawing and Gunnery. (12) He was paid off from Excellent on 30 June 1863 and posted ashore to serve at Plymouth Headquarters. Here he was 'employed in making military plans and drawings.' (13) Barclay served at Plymouth until 28 January 1866.
OVERSEAS ON H.M.S. *TOPAZE* - 1866 TO 1869

On 29 January 1866 Barclay commenced service aboard H.M.S. *Topaze* under the command of Commodore Richard Ashmore Powell, C.B. (a name that Barclay was to apply to a mountain in his subsequent explorations). *Topaze* departed Plymouth on 21 February and sailed to Gibraltar where she was in port from 28 February to 12 March. The remarks books indicate that there was Smallpox on board. *Topaze* crossed the equator on 31st and arrived at Port William, Falkland Islands, on 27 April. The day before she had picked up 2 boats full of survivors from the Barque *Denmark*. In later years Barclay was to compare the weather of the Falklands with the weather he was to experience in central Australia. *Topaze* stayed at Stanley until 8 May when she set sail for Valparaiso, Chile. Barclay was to allude to the passage around the Horn later in his life. The ship arrived in Chile on 28th. Valparaiso was to serve as a base of operations for the next three years. It had been created a free port and had developed along with the Chilean Navy and direct sea links with Europe. This was the period of the 'Liberal Republic' and the Chilean Government was encouraging foreign trade, especially with British merchants. The British were also investing directly in Chile, supplying capital for railways, modernisation of ports and public services.

In the ensuing years *Topaze* visited ports all along the South American coast, as far north as Panama and south to Valdiva. It was during this time of Peruvian history, known as the Spanish Invasion (1864-1869), that Spain was trying to re-establish dominance over its former colony. Spain had dispatched a naval force to the area in 1864. On 2 May 1866 a fleet of eleven war ships bombarded the city of Callao, but failed to capture it. *Topaze* made the city her next port of call after her arrival at Valparaiso and stayed there from 13 June to 4 August 1866, except for a five day visit to Samanco. Although probably not directly involved, the young Barclay had experienced wartime conditions.

On 23 January 1867 he received his commission as 1st Lieutenant. In June the ship visited the Marquesas Islands and the Society Islands. The passage back to Valparaiso was claimed by the Commodore to be the shortest under sail.

From 1 November to 8 November *Topaze* visited and charted Easter Island, with its immense stone statues. This visit was to leave a lasting impression on the young Lieutenant, who was later to write and publish three articles, which detailed this visit to the Island and speculated on possible connections of the statues with the Maoris in New Zealand and the Maya of South America.

*Topaze* departed Valparaiso for the last time on 31 May 1869, in the same year that the Spanish were forced to withdraw from Peru. She sailed home to Plymouth, via Ascension Island, arriving on 15 August.

A little is known of Barclay’s duties during this voyage of nearly four years. He was ‘...engaged in making a survey and plans of the Bay and Fortifications of Valparaiso; assisted in several other surveys in various ports of the South Pacific, especially at Nukuhava, Marquesas Islands; in 1868 surveyed the town of Arica in Peru [captured by Chile in 1879 and finally ceded by Peru in 1883] and surrounding country for the purpose of determining the height of the great earthquake wave...’ In addition he received ‘...practical experience Hydrographic Surveying west coast of South America & [was] especially thanked by Admiralty for my work at Valparaiso (under war conditions).’ He was also later able to produce a certificate from the ‘Lords Commissioners of the Admiralty for plans of the Bay and fortifications of Valparaiso.’ Barclay continued to serve aboard *Topaze* until 3 September 1869.
Plate 1: Drawing of Easter Island by H.V. Barclay
Fig 2. SOUTH AMERICAN LOCALITIES MENTIONED IN THE TEXT.
From 4 September 1869 Barclay served again at Plymouth Headquarters. As one of his duties he "...made several military surveys in the neighbourhood of Gosport." On 27 November he married Alice Mary Eden Jee; interestingly the officiating Minister was John M. Hale Whish. Hale was a name that was to be applied to a river of central Australia first mapped by Barclay.

On 30 September 1871 he was 'surveyed' at Haslar Hospital and was found to be suffering from ophthalmia and presented 'the physical signs of organic disease of the heart.' Barclay was found to be unfit for service and placed on the retired list on 6 October. He was only just approaching his 27th birthday.

Under the retirement and promotion scheme in force at the time of Barclay's retirement, he was entitled to a retired pay of 115 Pounds for his almost 11 years service. He was also entitled to compound this pay and this he must have done as on 19 December he was commuted his retired pay of 1125 Pounds 17 Shillings.
TO THE COLONIES - 1871 TO 1876

After his enforced retirement from the Royal Marines Barclay departed England for Australia. On the same voyage was John Cockburn and they were later to be described as "...shipmates together in their first voyage to the Antipodes." Cockburn, later Sir John, made his first visit to Australia in 1871. He was to become Agent-General for South Australia and was to be an important contact for Barclay in the years to come.

Little is known of this period in Barclay's life except that for most of it he was in Tasmania. It is known that "...he carried on a (private) trigonometrical survey, constructed a timber bridge at Coombe, and prepared a design for another, 600 feet (183 m), proposed to be erected over the River Derwent at New Norfolk." This was the first reference to Barclay's role as a civil engineer.

Barclay was also a landholder while he was in Tasmania. He owned a house on 1294 acres (524 ha) at Coombe and also held 100 acres (40 ha) at Native Tier. An indenture of conveyance and mortgage was made for the land on 28 December 1872 indicating that Barclay was in Tasmania at that time. He sold the land in February 1876 for 2400 Pounds.

It was during this period in Barclay's life that two and possibly three sons were born to the Barclays in Tasmania. The birth of Edward Vere Barclay was registered as having taken place in the District of New Norfolk on 25 May 1873 and in the following year the birth of Francis Nigel Bruce Barclay was registered for 10 April. Interestingly, in the Register of Births, Barclay's profession is given as 'farmer'.

The eldest son, Henry Alfred Leighton Barclay, was born on 14 April 1872 but the place of birth is not known. There is no record of the birth in England, Scotland or Wales which suggests that he was born in Tasmania. However, there is also no record of the birth there. The exact whereabouts of the Barclays in early 1872 is not known. Perhaps they were on the mainland. Maybe the birth of their first son was simply not recorded.

It appears that the Barclays departed Tasmania in 1876 and it is likely that before returning to England they visited South Australia and established some contacts in that colony. Cockburn had settled in South Australia by this time.
The next indication of Barclay’s movements comes from his 10 July 1876 application for admission into The Institution of Civil Engineers Westminster. He is described as being ‘...late of Coombe New Norfolk Tasmania care of Capt. Barclay [his father], Peel Villas, Alexandra Road, Penzance’ and ‘...is at present in this country for the purpose of continuing his studies in Engineering.’ His application for admission as a Fellow of the Royal Astronomical Society, dated August 1876, in which he describes himself as ‘...late Lieut: R.M.L.I. but now C.E. [i.e. Civil Engineer] & Trigometric Surveyor late of Hobart Town in Tasmania’ also indicates his return from Tasmania.

So, by July 1876, Barclay was back in his home country, probably living with his parents and with the intention of furthering his education as a civil engineer.

On 2 August he wrote to the South Australian Government seeking employment. The Surveyor-General, G.W. Goyder, replied on 4 October ‘...as intimated to Mr Riddoch, I am still in a position to offer you an appointment and hope to be able to do so on your return, but for this I cannot vouche until the time arrives.’ The use by Goyder of the phrase ‘on your return’ and his reference to Mr Riddoch (probably John Riddoch a pastoralist who had been a S.A. MP) imply that Barclay had already visited South Australia doubtless before he returned to England from Tasmania. The name Riddoch was to be applied to a mountain which was to make its first appearance on Barclay’s map two years hence.

Meanwhile, as already stated, on 1 August 1876, Barclay was recommended for admission into the Royal Astronomical Society. He was officially proposed on 10 November and one of the proposers was Prof. T.J. Main. Another was Louis Pascall Casella who was highly skilled in the construction of meteorological, surveying and engineering instruments. Barclay was elected as a Fellow on 12 January 1877 and he signed his acceptance of the fellowship on 19 January 1877, giving as his address the General Post Office in Adelaide. Also, as previously stated, Barclay applied for admission to The Institution of Civil Engineers. His proposal was dated 10 July 1876. He was accepted as an Associate on 16 January 1877. Apparently towards the end of 1876 Barclay had returned to South Australia.
It is not known for certain if the family accompanied Barclay to South Australia in 1876. The only clue is to come much later at the end of the forthcoming survey and exploration in central Australia.(1)

Barclay had been 'offered by the South Australian Government the charge of the trigonometrical survey and exploration of the portion of the Northern Territory lying between the Overland Telegraph Line and the Queensland border...' (2) In correspondence to the Crown Lands Office in July 1877,(3) the Surveyor-General related that he had been compelled to go outside the Department for a suitable officer as his own staff were required for other duties. He continued '...I believe that I have been fortunate in securing the services of a really good man in Mr Barclay...' In other correspondence to the Minister for Agriculture and Education, Goyder expressed himself 'thoroughly satisfied' with Barclay's '...practical and theoretical knowledge and fitness for the post...' (4) He was now 32 years of age.

Goyder had been planning the survey for the 1877-78 financial year with the intention of fixing '...the position of the Herbert River and its tributaries & [to] connect the same with the existing trigonometrical survey of South Australia proper.' (5) Goyder was anxious that the work not be delayed as '...the settlement of the country will be naturally retarded and a good opportunity of settling that part of the country lost or delayed.' This part of the country on the Queensland side already had outstations of the pastoral industry established there and the Queensland Government was taking steps to survey the area.(6)

Barclay related some amusing incidents leading up to the survey:

I remember being much amused by a conversation with Ernest Giles, the well-known explorer... (7) I made his acquaintance casually in the smoking-room of the Prince Alfred Hotel. He heard that a new arrival from London had been given charge of the proposed survey, and, discussing the matter with myself over our pipes, confided to me 'that the Government had appointed some top-hat and kid-glove man from home instead of himself,' adding, 'Now, if it had been a man like you, I should not object.' Of course, I hastened to explain that I was the fortunate person, and am glad to say that the little contretemps was the beginning of a friendship that lasted during his life. It so happened that I had made my appearance in King William Street attired by a West End tailor, with top-hat and gloves, being about to call on Sir William Jervois, with whom I had a prior acquaintance. The circumstance was promptly taken note of and circulated, with embellishments.

Jervois was another name to first make its appearance on Barclay's map from his impending expedition.

It is perhaps fortunate that the little contretemps ended in friendship. Giles had apparently offered his services but Goyder evidently did not think very highly of his ability as a surveyor. In internal correspondence to the Crown Lands Office Goyder revealed that 'Mr. E. Giles offered - but I wanted an exact and careful observer and surveyor which Mr. Giles can scarcely be called.' (8)

Barclay also gives an interesting insight into the character of Goyder:
The Surveyor-General was an able administrator, known in his department by the sobriquet of ‘Little Energy’, but was not a scientist, and hence somewhat disposed to cut down scientific requisites to the vanishing point in a way which subsequently caused great delay and much quite unnecessary trouble. Like most men of highly energetic temperament, he was somewhat of a martinet in his official capacity, and fond of personally supervising small details; so it was arranged that while I was to have a certain amount of latitude in the selection of my party, each man was to be brought before him for personal approval before being appointed. (9)

Before, during and after the survey Barclay was to complain about his equipment, especially those pieces needed to accurately determine his position.
PREPARATIONS FOR EXPLORATION IN CENTRAL AUSTRALIA - 
1877 TO 1878

Barclay’s instructions for the forthcoming survey were dated 20 July 1877,(1) only one day prior to the departure of the party from Adelaide on 21 July ( Winnecke gives 13 July as the date(2)). The journey from Adelaide to Alice Springs was expected to take about two months. Draught and saddle horses were to be supplied by Mr. William Gilbert of Alice Springs, as were sheep and cattle. Only sufficient rations to get the party to Alice Springs were to be taken, the rest to be supplied by the officer in charge of the telegraph station. It is worth quoting the main object of the survey:

... you will proceed with your party in a north-easterly direction selecting on your way hills suitable as regards altitude and position for trigonometrical purposes observing the bearings to each and also the latitude and variation of the needle on the site of the proposed trig. station until you reach the Herbert River which you are to survey and fix with its tributaries so that a correct delineation of the same may be made and the lands in their vicinity leased for pastoral purposes. You will also fill in the natural features and description of the country passed over so that a tolerably accurate map may be prepared as a guide to intending settlers. You will complete the triangulation of the country between the 18th and 26th parallels of South latitude and the telegraph line and eastern boundary of the Province shewing ranges with altitudes of hills, rivers and watercourses, waterholes, springs, plains, nature and direction of rocks, character of soil, plants, herbs, grasses, timber, etc.(3)

A tall order, especially for ‘some top-hat and kid-glove man from home.’

The party consisted of H.V. Barclay, surveyor and leader, on 300 Pounds per annum; C. Winnecke, assistant, on 9 Shillings per day and six labourers, D. Johnston, W. Campbell, F.C. (?)Boun, H. Edwards, G. Butler and C. Pfitzner, all on 6 Shillings per day.(4) Boun did not go as far as Alice Springs and probably turned back at Beltana. Barclay relates the story of engaging one of his party, a doctor, in Adelaide, who later resigned his position at Beltana and returned.(5)

From Adelaide to Port Augusta the party travelled aboard S.S. Flinders. It had with it a cumbersome German waggon, later christened ‘Deutsche’, which Barclay had been forced to take with him and four heavy draught horses to pull the waggon. At Port Augusta they ‘...obtained six month’s rations and a large buggy and two horses.’(6) They commenced their journey to Alice Springs, forced to proceed at a snail’s pace, being constantly delayed by the slow cumbersome German waggon. The party’s progress can be followed from the telegrams received back in Adelaide: 5 August, Beltana; 27 August, Strangways Springs; 5 September, the Peake and 8 October, Charlotte Waters.(7) The 21 days taken to get from Beltana to Strangways is partly explained by their having ‘...camped for some days near Stuart’s Creek...’(8) alongside Lake Eyre South. Along the way ‘Barometric Levels’ were taken ‘along proposed Railway route Port Augusta to Alice Springs; Astronomical & Telegraphic Observations taken with the co-operation of Mr. Todd C.M.G., for the determination of the Longitude of Charlotte Waters Telegraph Station’ and ‘...a traverse to Chamber’s Pillar with drawings and dimensions thereof.’(9) The latter and his having ‘...camped at the crossing’ of the Finke River and Goyder Creek for some time...’(10) would help to explain the exceptionally long time of nearly six weeks taken to travel from Charlotte Waters to Alice Springs. Barclay’s Aboriginal assistant, Mike, was
They finally reached Alice Springs Telegraph Station on 17 November.

The journey had taken twice as long as expected and the party had consumed a large portion of their rations. A main camp was established and Barclay proceeded to take observations to establish the latitude and longitude of the Telegraph Station to determine the astronomical position of the initial point of the triangulation. He was satisfied with the latitude obtained but was less than satisfied with the longitude. The latter took a long time to determine and involved the sending of time signals up the line by Todd at hours that would have been inconvenient to the Government Astronomer. The ‘time-keepers’ Barclay had been supplied with were not very reliable. From November 1877 to January 1878 Barclay took fifty observations for latitude. He arrived at a figure of 23° 40' 39".(13) The figure accepted today for the trig. station (called Bungalow Hill) at the Telegraph Station is 23° 40' 13.86".(14)

With the arrival of Christmas, Barclay relates how it was decided to celebrate the occasion by holding a race meeting.(15) Twelve miles (19 km) from the telegraph station he surveyed and staked out an oval course and built a bush grandstand. This no doubt was the clay pan site west of the present day MacDonnell Siding, described by Dale.(16) Barclay described the most exciting event as a race between the Telegraph Station and the survey team. It was a four-in-hand race from the course to the station, each team pulling seven men and an empty cask. The result was a dead heat but the survey team were disqualified for losing six of their men and the cask overboard.

Preparation for the survey continued and the surrounding country examined. This latter apparently included a ‘Traverse...to a water reported at end of Todd River.’(17) Barclay, with Goyder’s sanction, decided that the best plan was to divide the party. Winnecke would continue the triangulation of the country around Alice Springs while Barclay explored to the north-east, extended the triangulation to the Queensland Border and surveyed the Herbert River. The parties went their separate ways on 31 January 1878.(18)
Barclay took with him Pfitzner, Campbell, Edwards and Mike and headed north up the telegraph line to the Burt Well and then struck out to the east and north. He established a camp on the Burt Creek and from there spent the next two to three weeks attempting to find a route to the north-east. Having in mind that he had the express wagon to take with him, Barclay made several attempts to find an easy passage through and around the Strangways Ranges. With Pfitzner, he followed the Mueller Creek to the N.N.E. but was continually defeated by lack of water, especially for his horses. Barclay was forced to turn back to the camp on the Burt. Pfitzner’s horses refused to go all the way and Barclay pressed on without him with the intention of obtaining water and returning. He also began to have trouble with his horses and at one stage fell heavily with his mount and the butt of his rifle was driven into his side. His horses also refused to go on, so he unpacked them and let them loose in the hope that they would find their own way back to water at the camp. Barclay pressed on, carrying the empty bags. He arrived at camp at 7.30 p.m. and immediately got the other horses into camp, the water bags filled and set off with Campbell to find Pfitzner. They were forced to camp at 1.30 a.m. without locating him. The next day they found one of Barclay’s abandoned horses, the other was gone. Pfitzner had found his own way back to camp but one of his horses had died. The upshot was two packhorses dead and one missing.

Some good rains had fallen so Barclay determined to make another attempt to get through to the north-east but was thwarted when he found that the rain had not extended very far in that direction. He returned to the telegraph line with the hope of following it north and then striking off. But at the Burt Well he met Mr J.F. Mueller (Officer in Charge of the Alice Springs Telegraph Station) who informed him that the rain had not extended any distance to the north. Barclay’s side was now very stiff and sore so he sent Pfitzner and Campbell out to the east to try to find a creek, reported by the Aborigines to have a good supply of water. He remained in camp drawing up his plans and repairing equipment. He applied several names to features he had discovered on this section of the survey, including The Edwards and Mt Pfitzner after his men; The Mueller (now Muller Creek) and probably The Langford and The Gillen creeks and possibly Mt Milton.

Pfitzner and Campbell returned on the 23 February with news of having found the waterhole. After making their preparations the survey party arrived at Camp III on 28th. With the prospect of a longlasting watersupply, Barclay decided to return to Alice Springs with Pfitzner to bring out the remainder of their supplies. They arrived in Alice Springs on 4 March, purchased six more horses, sent a telegram to Goyder requesting that more provisions be sent, loaded the remainder of their stores and set out for Camp III, via Undoolya Station on 11 March. They arrived back in camp on the 15th after having crossed the ranges and what was later to become known as the Hale River. Other features to receive names were Bald Hill and possibly Randall’s Peak, Mt Laughton, Mt Campbell and Mt Johnston.

During his absence from camp there had been some pilfering by the Aborigines and the artificial horizon and a mercury bottle were stolen. Another horse had died.

On 18th Pfitzner and Campbell went out to locate water to the east. Barclay stayed in camp plotting and observing for latitude but also inspecting the country near the camp. The two men returned on 23rd having found good water. Rain delayed the party’s
Fig 3. EXPLORATIONS OF BARCLAY AND MACPHERSON IN THE NORTHERN TERRITORY.
departure from Camp III until 28th. Meanwhile it was discovered that weevils had got into their dried meat and most of it was spoilt.

They continued in an easterly direction and were at one stage forced to cut a track through the thick scrub for the waggon. At Camp IV on the night of 28th, Barclay became ill, apparently as a result of his earlier injury. After again sending Pfitzner and Campbell off to find a waterhole, Barclay was too ill to do much for six days by which time Pfitzner and Campbell had found a soak. They moved to Camp V on 6 April. The next day, Sunday, Pfitzner had one or two ribs broken when kicked by a horse he was shoeing. Campbell was beginning to suffer from what was probably scurvy and Barclay was still ill, any exertion causing him to ‘...spit blood.’

Despite his ribs, Pfitzner volunteered to go off again to look for water and took Edwards with him. They returned on 13th having found water and also having seen some ‘very wild’ Aborigines. It was at Camp V that Barclay first recorded the presence of garnets.

The party moved camp on 15th and struck trouble with the express waggon while crossing a steep hill. The horses, with shafts, parted company with the waggon and most of the day was lost effecting repairs. They were now following the northern edge of the Harts Range and had gone beyond the limit of the rain they experienced back at Camp III. They reached Camp VI on 16th and that night it rained heavily. It continued raining well into the next day and it was not until mid-afternoon that the tents could be pitched. The country was too soft to travel upon. Barclay was beginning to lament the constant delays.

On 19 April they were able to start from Camp VI, the ground being just hard enough for travelling. In the late afternoon they struck the large creek that Pfitzner had found earlier; the horses were ‘...done in.’ At Camp VII the next day Campbell was ‘...laid up’ and the others proceeded to construct a well. They found a good supply of water and Barclay named the creek ‘The Plenty’.

On Monday 22nd, Barclay and Pfitzner followed the Plenty to the east for two days but again failed to find water. The river was also beginning to turn to the south which did not suit Barclay. They retraced their steps until they found water by digging in the river bed. Their return to Camp VII the next day meant a 16 hour stint in the saddle but they found a billabong with good water. The party shifted to this the following day. Campbell was totally laid up by now and Pfitzner had put his ribs out again. They continued to follow the Plenty to the east until they made Camp VIII on 27th. It was heavy going for the express waggon.

Campbell was now very ill. Pfitzner and Edwards set off again to find water to the north-east. Barclay remained in camp plotting and carrying out repairs to the equipment. The weather had turned foul and reminded him of the Falklands. At one stage it was so humid that his plans were too damp to work on. The timber in the wheels of the waggon was beginning to swell and buckle and Barclay expected trouble as a result. The rain cleared on 4 May and he prepared to observe the sun for the correct time. He found the wires of the transit theodolite missing but he managed to improvise some others to do the job. Pfitzner and Edwards had returned by the time he completed his observations. They had found a good supply of water in a creek 14.5 km to the north and another supply 80 km out on the creek to the east.

The party departed Camp VIII on 6 May. The next morning Campbell discovered that he had left his revolver behind, and as the others had gone on, Barclay was forced to return and retrieve it. A couple of days later Mike was bringing the horses to water when two armed Aborigines confronted him. Mike fired a shot from his revolver and bolted back to
camp. Barclay got Pfitzner to quietly caution Mike against shooting unless absolutely necessary. The party reported many Aborigines in this area. They reached Camp IX on 11 May.

Campbell was still quite helpless and Barclay was at a loss to explain the cause. The party was making use of local foods such as melons and munyeroo, and was using lime juice and jams to ward off scurvy. Crested Pigeons were forming a welcome supplement to their now dwindling supplies.

On Monday 13th, Pfitzner and Edwards set off with instructions to search for water to the north or north-east. Barclay remained behind to establish the exact location of the camp. On three nights his observations were either frustrated by cloud or on the last occasion by his most reliable watch stopping. The other watch he had given up as useless. He managed to restart the watch and complete his observations. During the day he would ride out inspecting and sketching the surrounding countryside. On one occasion he observed that the Aborigines ‘...had been burning trees for opossums.’ Possums are extremely rare in this country today.

Pfitzner and Edwards returned on 21st reporting that they had traversed more than 95 km of country to the east of the camp but the creek had turned south. They had then turned north-east but had found nothing but spinifex and sand. They had continued to search the country but had been forced back. Their route shows that they had reached the vicinity of the Queensland border, the party’s most easterly point.

The next day Barclay took Pfitzner and headed north. He instructed Edwards to kill one of the horses for meat, of which they now had none. After reaching a conical hill (now Mt Cornish) they headed in a westerly direction and camped at a waterhole at the base of a range which Barclay named the ‘Jervois Ranges.’ The next day they travelled north along the base of the range to Mt Playford where at dusk they came upon an Aboriginal family camped on a creek. They managed to catch the man and took him back to his camp and indicated that they wanted water. The man offered a possum skin that contained water and indicated that water could be found to the east along the creek. The Aborigine also had a small carpenter’s axe in his possession. Barclay ‘...made signs to know where he got it, and he pointed east, and appeared to endeavor to make me understand that he had given some wooden dishes...in exchange for it.’ They left him and camped down the creek. This was to become known as Arthur Creek.

The following day they returned and dug for water where the Aborigines had been digging in the creek, and then set off to the north again. In the evening they found a hole with water, at the base of a hill. Barclay surmised that it had been dug out with a spade and Pfitzner also found a piece of an old shoe nearby. On top of the hill, four large stones had been piled as a land mark. Barclay considered that it had been about two years since the hole, and several small drains leading to it, had been dug.(4)

The next day they departed leaving this apparent evidence of previous European presence behind them and later struck a small deep creek which was to become known as Lucy Creek. They continued north and camped that night in a jumble of small hills, without water. For the next three days they searched to the north and east for a route with adequate water but found little. They reached their most northerly point on 28th May. There appeared before them nothing but spinifex and sand with little prospect of water. At one stage Barclay and Pfitzner split up, something they would normally not do. Pfitzner came across a group of Aborigines, one of whom had a tomahawk. ‘On being asked by signs where they obtained it they pointed east.’ The Aborigines would have been obtaining these European tools from the settled areas in Queensland. If Pfitzner had been
able to communicate with them he may have learnt that not far away was the Sandover River with its waterholes, such as Argadargada. They turned back and retraced their steps to Camp IX, where they arrived on 1 June. The day before, Barclay described how they 'had a breakfast-dinner' when 'four grey and pink parrots [Galahs] grilled, and plenty of tea, formed a sumptuous repast after having gone without anything since breakfast the day before.'

The provisions were now very low. To feed five men Barclay only had 54 kg of flour, some jerked horse, eight bottles of pickles and nearly 2 kg of tea. He could either go on to Queensland where the nearest supplies were nearly 1000 km away or return to Alice Springs where he hoped his 12 months supplies were waiting for him. He decided on the latter and then to return and establish a base camp at either Camp VII or IX where he thought he could rely on the water supply.

The party retraced its steps and often found that where there had been water before, there was now none. This phenomenon was later to cause Winnecke to express frustration with his former leader's abilities. He was to retrace some of Barclay's steps and, expecting to find water where Barclay recorded it, found only dry creek beds. Barclay continued to make observations for latitude on the return journey and on Sunday 9 June rode over a large extent of the country to check his work. It was probably at this time that he rode out to Mount Powell which he doubtless named after Commodore Powell of H.M.S. *Topaze*. For the last stage of the return journey through the ranges, four days were occupied shoeing the horses in camp. It was tedious work as they had no forge but it had to be done for the sake of the horses. They were all but out of food and according to Barclay were '...living on rats.' Finally on 24 June they arrived back at Alice Springs.

Apart from those already mentioned, other features named, or apparently named, by Barclay, include Mt Riddoch, Mt Sainthill, Mt Baldwyn, Mt Leighton and the Marshall River. He was later to also claim that he named the Tarlton Range as well as confirming that he named the Hale, Marshall and Arthur Rivers.
Winnecke returned to Alice Springs on 8 July to find Barclay there. The two parties joined up again and for the next week or so the two surveyors were engaged in plotting and drawing up plans. The whole party set off again on 19th and proceeded with the triangulation of the Strangways Range. Barclay and Winnecke returned to Alice Springs on 28th and on 31st Winnecke was given charge of the whole of the party and its equipment. A list of equipment and stores handed over by Barclay is dated at Alice Springs on that day.

There has been some conjecture, especially by contemporary writers, as to the reason for the sudden handing over of the reins to Winnecke and Barclay’s return to Adelaide. The most common reason given is ill health caused by his fall from his horse. The least kind is that he was relieved of his position. There are other reasons which, when combined with his ill health, may have contributed to his return. In a letter dated 10 July 1878, written to the Secretary of Crown Lands, Goyder states that Barclay had applied to return to Adelaide ‘...owing to urgent family reasons.’ This is a hint that perhaps Mrs Barclay was living in Adelaide (more precisely Glenelg) and required her husband’s presence. In addition, in a letter written to Sir Langdon Bonython, the President of the Royal Geographical Society, S.A., in 1906, Barclay wrote ‘Owing to urgent business requiring my presence in Europe I was compelled to relinquish this vast undertaking...’ Perhaps this also referred to the ‘urgent family reasons’. In his letter Goyder went on to state that he had placed two horses at Barclay’s disposal.

Winnecke was to be given full instruction as to astronomical observations, etc., before Barclay left Alice Springs. Barclay also fully briefed Winnecke on the country he had traversed and left him with a tracing of his plan. Winnecke verified this in a memo dated 10 August 1878. On this day, according to his journal, he travelled from the Burt Creek to what was probably Barclay’s Camp III and was not to return to Alice Springs until 9 November. Either Barclay had accompanied the survey party to the Burt or Winnecke sent the memo down to Alice Springs with a telegraph line crew or passing traveller.

In a minute from the Auditor General’s Office, dated 18 October, the Assistant Auditor General requested that the Secretary for Crown Lands supply information to satisfy the Auditor General on two points about Barclay:

1) Mr. Barclay being a probationary term officer - if he returns to Adelaide for family reasons - Does he do so at his own expense? vide Mr. Goyder placing two horses at disposal of Mr. Barclay to enable his return.

2) Is Mr. Barclay on leave and on what terms?

The minute was passed on to Goyder who, on 26 November 1878, replied in no uncertain terms that as Barclay had been injured in the course of carrying out his duties with his department and that there was no normal means of conveyance between Alice Springs and Adelaide he had no hesitation in providing the horses. Not to do so would have been ‘...tantamount to desertion probably entailing loss of life from want of proper care and treatment’, and ‘to require him to pay his own costs would be to deter any other officer from undertaking a similar service...’
He went on to state that the illness had disqualified Barclay from further service and 'thus he has had to resign in consequence of the return of haemorrhage from the hurt acquired in the service of this department.' There was now no mention of 'family reasons', but beyond doubt Barclay's injury was fairly serious and the major reason for the cessation of his service with the Department. There is no justification for any innuendo about the reasons for his handing over of the survey to Winnecke and his return to Adelaide.
LAST DAYS WITH THE SURVEY OFFICE - LATE 1878

It is not clear when Barclay actually ended his employment with the Surveyor-General’s Department, although a newspaper report of the era quoted 8 August. This is most certainly incorrect. Barclay may have departed Alice Springs soon after he handed the leadership over to Winnecke on 31 July. The actual date is probably closer to that of Winnecke’s memo of 10 August. Barclay presented this to Goyder, along with his other papers, on 12 October nearly a month before Winnecke’s return to civilisation. It seems logical that Barclay took the memo back to Adelaide with him. Normally, it would have taken about four to five weeks for the journey to Adelaide. In his condition it may have taken longer and so he could have arrived back late in September. Then, as Goyder stated, he had to complete his ‘...official records.’

On 12 October 1878 Barclay wrote a general report on his explorations and this was addressed from the ‘Survey Office, Adelaide’. The second question posed by the Assistant Auditor General in his minute to Goyder implied that Barclay was still in the Department’s employ on 18 October, but it must have been near the end of his term. At the time that Goyder wrote his reply of 26 November, Barclay was no longer employed by the Department. So it would seem that his term with the Survey Department came to an end sometime in the five to six weeks between these dates.

Barclay’s general report contains some interesting items of information. There were the continual problems with rations: Barclay obtained beef from Owen Springs Station but as he had been supplied with insufficient salt to preserve it, much of it was spoilt, and the flour offered to him at the telegraph station was both mouldy and weevily. He reported that ‘...small garnets occur in granite in the Strangways Ranges in several places’ and also that ‘...much of the Country has all the appearance of bearing gold.’ Of the Aborigines he reported ‘from the numbers of wurlies about the country, it must be quite full of them in some seasons.’ Finally he drew Goyder’s attention to the conduct of his men:

Charles Pfitzner, in particular, was most useful to me and shewed great pluck and determination in continuing to work when suffering from broken ribs, and I beg to recommend him to your special notice. Henry Edwards drove the express waggon the whole way most carefully and patiently, and brought both it and the horses back in very creditable order and condition. Campbell I believe did his best, but for a great part of the time was unable to work having the scurvy badly. Mike the blackboy always did what he was told and gave no trouble.

Of Winnecke he said nothing, perhaps not altogether surprising as for the most part they worked separately. However, later he was to record ‘...my assistant, Winnecke, subsequently the best explorer South Australia possessed...’ Attached to the report is a list of material including documents, maps and books handed by Barclay to the Survey Department. The list is quite extensive but of all this original material only two field books appear to have survived. One contains the observations taken at the Alice Springs Telegraph Station and camp sites for latitude and the other contains a log of Barclay’s traverse from 22 to 28 May 1878.

There is a second typewritten version of Barclay’s report, dated 10 December 1878 also addressed from the ‘Survey Office, Adelaide’. The original is in Barclay’s papers in the Mitchell Library and a copy is held by the R.G.S.A(S.A.). This latter was given personally by Barclay to Thomas Gill who was the first Treasurer of the Society from 1885-1923. There are interesting differences between the original handwritten account and the typewritten account which suggest that the typed version may have been written
later than the date suggests. The most noticeable difference is the discrepancy in the
dates. In December 1878 Barclay was no longer working at the Survey Office. The
original report refers to the garnets as being in the Strangways Range whereas the other
version refers to the MacDonnell Ranges. This change in location points to the typescript
version as being more likely to have originated in the 1880's when there was a 'ruby' rush
to the MacDonnells. (10)
Goyder's letter of November 1878, reveals that after Barclay's resignation he, Barclay, had ‘...accepted an appointment in the Engineers Staff of the Corporation’ of the City of Adelaide.(1) While employed with the Corporation he ‘initiated & partly carried out the Cadastral Survey for deep drainage City of Adelaide.’(2) For this work he received a ‘testimonial [i.e. reference] of general ability from the Engineer in Chief South Australia’(3) and ‘testimonials of ability from the Engineer in Charge of the Drainage Works, City of Adelaide.’(4)

Also, in this period, in a notice dated 13 December 1878 in the South Australian Government Gazette, Barclay was appointed as a licensed surveyor for the Colony.(5) His address was given as Glenelg.

In January 1879 an edited version of Barclay’s report to Goyder was published in The South Australian Advertiser and The South Australian Register.(6) An even briefer version appeared in The Australasian in the same month.(7) The publication of the report brought an instant reaction from Goyder who wrote to Barclay on 6th January seeking an explanation.(8) In a reply written two days later Barclay wrote: ‘I think that your best way of obtaining the information you require re the authorship of the very interesting article to which you refer will be to apply to the editor of the newspaper in which it appeared.’(9) It was not the typed version as it referred to the Strangways Ranges and included the reference to Mike. Interestingly all these newspaper reports included the references to the garnets and to the country having the appearance of bearing gold. Barclay’s is most certainly the first reference to either mineral and predates those that have been generally accepted.(10)

Barclay’s reply to Goyder was written from the ‘Waymouth Chambers’ in Adelaide, which, by chance, were but a few doors from the Advertiser Printing Office. The chambers served as offices for various professional men.(11)

It is at about this time that Barclay must have decided to leave Australia. In the South Australian Police Gazette of June 1881 there appears a notice, under the heading ‘Missing Friends’, requesting information on the whereabouts of Barclay ‘...who was last heard of in New Zealand, having left his home at Glenelg, in this colony, in March 1879.’(12)
Having left Glenelg in March 1879 Barclay must have gone to New Zealand. The date of his arrival there is not known but on 29 April he wrote to the Chief Surveyor of the Department of Lands and Survey, Wellington, New Zealand, seeking employment. (1) It is not known from where Barclay wrote the application, but on 2 May the Chief Surveyor replied that there were no vacancies. For the Chief Surveyor to reply only four days after the application, Barclay must have been in New Zealand at the time. He renewed his application on 2 July and this time he was successful. By his own account he was employed as a contract surveyor by the New Zealand Government for a period of four years. (2)

A little is known of Barclay’s work in New Zealand. Initially he carried out surveys in the Tauakira Survey District on the Wanganui River in the North Island. (3) The earliest date appearing in a field book of this work is July 1879. (4) The latest date is January 1880.

On 3 May 1880 he applied for a certificate as an Authorised Surveyor in the Colony. (5) The Surveyor General approved the application on 3 June and the Chief Surveyor recommended to the Registrar General that a licence be issued under the Land and Survey Act. (6) The licence was issued on 14 June.

Barclay then commenced work in the Taranaki Land District to the south-west of the Wanganui River. (7) Most of this work involved the ‘...boundary survey of Native Blocks.’ (8) Other surveys involved the mapping of rivers. (9) His field books and maps indicate that he was employed almost continually from December 1880 through to about May 1882. From then he appears to have been employed only on an irregular basis up until January 1884, the latest date indicated on his work. This ties in fairly closely with Barclay’s claim of a four year contract period.

It also appears likely that the three sons, and possibly Mrs Barclay, did not accompany Barclay to New Zealand. According to the records of the Bedford School, England, the boys all received some education at Trinity School in Hobart, Tasmania. (10) If the youngest boy, born in 1874, was educated there, the likely explanation is that the boys attended the school while Barclay was in New Zealand.

The possibility also arises that while in New Zealand Barclay met up with George Tupman, who had also been a proposer for his admission to the Royal Astronomical Society. Tupman was in Christchurch in 1882 to observe the transit of Venus. (11)
IN LIMBO - 1884 TO 1887

If Barclay’s contract work with the New Zealand Government ended in 1884, then there follows a gap of about three years in his life for which there appears to be no record. However, during this period he seems to have neglected the obligations of his membership to the institutions to which he belonged. His name was removed from the rolls of The Institution of Civil Engineers in June 1885, as the Institution had ‘lost touch’ with him.(1) Barclay’s name was removed from the membership of the Royal Astronomical Society in 1886, apparently because of non-payment of his annual subscription.(2)

In South Australia in the same year, 1886, a new Surveyor’s Act was proclaimed. All surveyors registered under the old 1859 Act and still alive were deemed to be registered under the new Act.(3) Thus Barclay was automatically re-registered on 17 November.

If Barclay had been in England during this period it seems unlikely that he would have allowed his membership to the institutions there to lapse. He may have remained in New Zealand but when the Institution of Civil Engineers lost contact with him his address was still New Zealand, so presumably he had left there. Perhaps he had returned to Australia and failed to notify his change of address.

The only clue to Barclay’s whereabouts comes from Bedford School in England.(4) The three sons were admitted to the school, by their mother, for the Easter term in 1885. Their father’s address was given as Tasmania. At the time of the admission Mrs Barclay was living at Bedford near Cambridge. If, as already suggested, the boys were educated in Hobart, it seems fairly certain that Barclay would have returned to his family there. So perhaps Barclay spent these years in the mid 1880’s back in Tasmania. Whatever the answer it must have been at this time that the family broke up, with Mrs Barclay returning to England with the boys, and Barclay returned to central Australia using an alias.
Barclay made his reappearance in central Australia sometime in 1887. The evidence for this is his paintings now held in the Mitchell Library. On the back of one is written: 'Here almandine garnets were first discovered by self in 1878. Camped here again 1887 for 4 months.' Several of the other paintings are dated 1887. This revisit to central Australia lasted until at least the end of 1889.

Some mystery surrounds this period in Barclay's life. For an unknown reason, but most likely related to his personal life and the preceding three year period, he began using an alias, albeit one that could hardly have disguised his real identity. He adopted the name of H.V. BarclayStrathallan. It was only a decade since he had been in the area and he was unlikely to have been forgotten. He also began using a letterhead with a crest and motto. This appears to have been privately designed and to have had no legitimate heraldic connections.

The reason for his return was less of a mystery. He returned as 'Leader of the 'Strathallan Central Aust. Exploration Party', twenty three months in Northern Territory - laid down base & extensive triangulation.' This was also the period of the 'ruby rush' which resulted from an expedition through the Northern Territory by David Lindsay in 1885-6. On 8 March 1886 while following the Hale River in the MacDonnell Ranges, he recorded '...a granite bed...completely studded with garnets or rubies' and later on the 10th '...the granite...of this range...is studded with rubies or garnets.'

In September 1887 Lindsay returned to stake his claim in the ruby field. By this time the rush was well underway and the implication is that Barclay had returned with the same intentions. With Barclay was Frederick William Leech. In a newspaper report Leech was described as being '...second in command of the expedition led into the interior by Mr. H.V.B. Strathallan...' in 1888 '...and which was out sixteen months.' Leech had been with Lindsay at the time of his discovery of the 'rubies'. Barclay had found these gems in the Strangways Range in 1878 and always referred to them as garnets and knew enough about them to refer to them in 1887 as almandine, which is one of the various forms of garnet. It seems unlikely that he would have returned with any personal intentions of mining for gems but more likely acting for a syndicate.

By the end of 1887 men were wanting to register gold reefs and the first application came in December. In a letter to A.T. Magarey, written in 1894, Barclay stated that in 1888 he was '...surveying gold claims in the MacDonnell Ranges...' Also a field book of his that covers the period 11 February 1889 to 23 September 1889 contains observations for height above sea level and computations for latitude and triangulation to fix the position of the gold claims the Wheal Fortune and Long Lead, relative to physical features in the area. The Barclay papers in the Mitchell Library contain a photo of Barclay captioned 'Self in N.T. 1889'.

The source of finance for this work is also not clear and Barclay was later to seek financial help from the South Australian Government for the work he did in 1889. In his letter to Bonython, Barclay wrote that he had '...made many surveys & explorations there [Northern Territory] for Syndicates & private individuals.' It seems more than likely that Barclay had financial backing for at least part of the work, i.e. the sixteen months or 1887-8 period of the 'Strathallan' expedition for which little record remains.
On 26 November 1889 Barclay, using the name of H.V. Barclay Strathallan, sent a telegram from Alice Springs to Adelaide in which he stated that he wished to buy blocks 5, 6, 7, 22, 23, and 24 of the new township of Stuart. This was only 12 months after David Lindsay’s survey of the town. The next sale of blocks was to be on 3 December but Barclay does not appear to have followed up his telegram.
Plate 2:    Bean Tree Camp, Painting of 1887 Camp by H.V. Barclay
By 21 February 1890 Barclay was back in Adelaide. He was working out of the 'Eagle Chambers', which were used by many surveyors, including Charles Winnecke, as their professional rooms. From these offices Barclay produced a report titled 'Report on MacDonnell Ranges'.(1) It was written for D. Tweedie, a solicitor of Adelaide, and was a general geological description of the 'ruby' and gold fields. It also confirmed that Barclay had just returned from 23 months in the area. Curiously he did not use his alias when he signed this report. He also described himself as Licensed Surveyor, Civil and Mining Engineer. The latter qualification appeared to have been acquired as a result of his 23 months on the fields.

On 5 March his father died at Penzance, apparently at the family residence. His will left all his effects to his wife, and further stipulated that 'if she should not survive all effects to go to son Reverend Arthur Denny Barclay and daughter Lucy Barclay...'(2) Portraits in oil of H.B.B.'s father and grandfather were to go to Arthur. Significantly Henry Vere had been left out of the will. It was dated 2 March 1886, right within the period of Barclay's life when he appears to have gone into limbo. The obvious conclusion is that Henry had done something, most likely involving his own wife, which had led to his ostracism by the family. This may be an explanation for his adoption of the alias.

On 25 March he wrote to the Minister for Education (who had control of N.T. affairs) requesting a financial reward for the work he had undertaken in 1889 '...entirely at my own cost.'(3) He claimed '...that up to the present time there is no triangulation within a convenient distance of the Gold Fields such as to enable prospectors & Miners to indicate with reasonable accuracy the position of their claims...' Barclay wrote again on 17 June 1890 when he had not received a reply to his request.(4) A note attached by Goyder on 27th dashed Barclay's hopes. Goyder noted that the Department was in possession of surveys done in the area by David Lindsay and that Barclay's work added little extra to this. He could not recommend any payment. Ironically, Barclay and Lindsay must have crossed paths more than once during this 1887-9 period. They were both surveying in the vicinity of the ruby and gold fields and in 1888 Lindsay surveyed the township of Stuart which was later to become Alice Springs. And of course F.W. Leech knew and had worked for both men. Barclay and Lindsay were to meet again, many years later, in the 'Top End' of the Northern Territory.
On 13 September 1890 Barclay was appointed to the temporary staff of the Railway Construction Branch of the Public Works Department for New South Wales as a surveyor. He was appointed under the name of H. Strathallan. According to Barclay he was employed on the ‘...Cootamundra-Temora and Gulgong-Walgett Railways.’ Prior to this he was ‘engaged for six months obtaining detail (sic) information for Price Williams M.I.C.E. of the ‘Transcontinental Railway Syndicate’, London.’

Richard Price-Williams was a railway engineer who had been engaged by the N.S.W. Government to report on the condition of its railways. He carried out his inspection in June-July 1889. He must have later employed Barclay to work for the Syndicate. The area that Barclay was gathering information on was between Boulia, Queensland, and the Overland Telegraph Line, an area that he was not unfamiliar with.

There now comes further evidence of the ostracism by his family. On or about 15 June 1891, Barclay was presumed to be dead by the Admiralty and his ‘widow’ was awarded a pension. Correspondence concerning the circumstances of this event has not survived. Perhaps the family had tried to notify Barclay of his father’s death and not receiving a response had presumed that he had died in the colonies.

In August 1892 Barclay’s services with the Public Works Department were ‘dispensed with’. This was an unusual form of phrasing, as most officers on leaving the service were noted in the Blue Book as having retired or resigned. The obvious connotation is misconduct, but in the same list one other officer had his services dispensed with and another was ‘dismissed’. There is another explanation. The Cootamundra-Temora survey commenced in July 1888 and the Gulgong-Walgett survey in 1891. At the time of Barclay’s discharge the survey work was probably complete and with 19 other surveyors on the books, there was probably a surplus and being only on the temporary staff he would be one of the first to be found redundant.
Barclay appears to have occupied the next 12 months or so in Sydney. Part of the time, at least, was spent in researching material for some journal and newspaper articles. He reveals this in the June 1895 edition of the Sydney published *Cosmos Magazine* which contains an article titled ‘Ancient Discovery of Australia’ by H.B. Strathallan. This deals with the possible discovery of Australia as far back as 1530. From the oblique references to the exploration of the interior of the continent and to the Aborigines of the MacDonnell Ranges there is little doubt that it was written by Barclay.

There also appeared in the Sydney *Daily Telegraph* of 31 August and 7 September 1895 a two part article called ‘A Mystery of the Pacific’. This was yet another treatment of Barclay’s theories and experiences on Easter Island and was penned under the name of H.B. Strathallan.

By early 1894 Barclay was back in Adelaide.
Barclay’s movements for the next few years are only intermittently known. After his brief stay in New South Wales he returned to Adelaide from where on 16 February 1894 he wrote to A.T. Magarey in response to a request for information concerning smoke signals. (1) The letter was written from the ‘Imperial Hotel’ under the name H. Barclay Strathallan. Barclay wrote that he had seen the use of smoke signals by Tierra del Fuegians in the Straits of Magellan in 1866. He had also seen them used in the MacDonnell Ranges in 1877-78 and again in 1888 in the same region.

Barclay relates how on one occasion he had to ‘inspect some reefs about 20 miles (32 km) from my camp at a place where there was no water...’ He sent his Aboriginal helper back to get water and was surprised when he returned in no time at all. The Aborigine had sent up a smoke signal to his fellows who were some distance off and who would fetch the water. Barclay doubted that the Aborigines had any definite code of signals but used the smoke simply to gain attention. He was much more impressed with their ability to communicate over short distances using sign language ‘...in which the Australian Aborigines are so singularly proficient...’ The camp that Barclay spoke of was probably what was to become known as ‘Strathallan’s Camp’. Here there was a tree marked with the Lat., Long., and height above sea level. The latitude and height figures appear in his 1890 field book ‘...from my computation books.’ (2) Two days after this communication, he sent or gave to Thomas Gill, the Treasurer of the R.G.S.A.(S.A.), a journal published in Germany which had references to H.M.S. Topaze and Easter Island. (3)

How long this stay of Barclay’s in Adelaide lasted is uncertain but it could not have been longer than two years. By early 1896 he was in Scotland.
Barclay now appears to have turned his thoughts to pastoral pursuits. The Pastoral Lease Registration Books for the N.T. record that from 1 July 1896 he became lessee of Pastoral Leases 1832 to 1839 inclusive. However, the original leases are dated 29 April 1896, and Barclay’s address is given as Kilbirnie, Ayshire (now Strathclyde), which is a small town approximately 27 km W.S.W. of Glasgow. The total area of these leases was 38208 sq km and collectively they formed one of the largest land-holdings in the Northern Territory at the time. They were located to the north-east of Alice Springs in an area Barclay had at least partly seen on the 1878 survey. The leases extended from east of the Overland Telegraph Line to the Queensland border, for a distance of approximately 375 km, and from north to south their maximum width was approximately 205 km. The annual rental totalled 461 Pounds 4 Shillings, a considerable sum for those days. The rental was paid for three years and the leases were then transferred to ‘The Ten Million Acres Syndicate Ltd.’, of London, in July 1900.

There is no evidence that Barclay in any way developed these leases. Perhaps after having spent time in the area and gathering information on it for Price-Williams he was indulging in some land speculation. There was always talk of the railway line to Darwin being completed and this would have raised land values, had it proceeded. The interesting thing about the registration of the leases is that they were in the name of Henry Vere Barclay. On returning to the UK he must have dropped the use of the alias.

On 19 December 1896 South Australia proclaimed a new Surveyor’s Act. Persons holding qualifications as a Licensed Surveyor in South Australia were required to submit proof of these qualifications within three months of the proclamation. Barclay’s name does not appear on the Register of Surveyors drawn up in 1897.

Since, at the time of the new proclamation, Barclay was no longer in Australia, he was probably unaware of its provisions. In any case he could no longer claim to be a Licensed Surveyor of South Australia.

By November 1897 Barclay was back in England. On 8th he was proposed as a candidate for admission as a Fellow of the Royal Geographical Society. His certificate of candidature for election describes him as ‘late Lieut: R.M. Licensed Surveyor N.T. & S.A.’ and place of residence ‘Adelaide S.A. (now 13 Templeton Place, Earls Court S.W.).’ He was elected as a Fellow on 22nd.

It was at this time, 1897, and at age 52 that Barclay is supposed to have remarried in London. His second wife was Constance Moreton. No record of the marriage having taken place can be traced. To add to the mystery no record of a divorce between Barclay and his first wife has been found. This second relationship was probably de facto.

On 19 January 1898 Barclay wrote from the Imperial Institute, London, to the Secretary of the Royal Geographical Society requesting that the Society’s Journals, etc, be sent to him care of The Bank of New Zealand, Adelaide, until further notice. He continued ‘I am going out to run a trial survey for an extension of the Railway from Oodnadatta northwards...to about Tennant’s Creek.’
Barclay was back in Adelaide by March 1898. On 3rd he handed to Thomas Gill, treasurer of the R.G.S.A.(S.A.), a typewritten copy of Commodore Powell’s report on Easter Island.(1) This was published in the Society’s proceedings the following year.(2) On 14 April 1898 he gave a lecture on ‘Easter Island and its Colossal Statues’ to the Society in Adelaide.(3) A postcard invitation to the lecture from the R.G.S.A. states that it was to be given by Capt. Henry Vere Barclay (Late Lieutenant ‘H.M.S. Topaze.’).(4) In the printed version of the lecture Barclay is given the title Captain R.N.(5) Although Barclay had dropped the use of his alias, on returning to the Colonies he adopted the title of Captain. The use of R.N. (Royal Navy) may have been an honest mistake by the Society but in the ensuing years the initials continued to be used, apparently with Barclay’s sanction.

The regulations operating at the time of Barclay’s enforced retirement from the Royal Marines stated that ‘an Officer placed on the retired list may receive a step of honorary rank at his own request and with Our [Admiralty] consent.’(6) Perhaps, at the time of his retirement, Barclay did submit a request for the honorary rank and it was rejected, although his record of service suggests no reason for such a refusal. Perhaps he decided not to bother with it, although he appeared to be the type of man who would have tried for the step in rank. Either way there is no official record and Barclay continued to appear on the Navy Lists as a lieutenant.(7) His adoption of the title more than 26 years after his retirement and also the use of R.N. points to an unofficial use of the rank. While, after retirement, he may have been arguably entitled to call himself Capt. R.M. he was not entitled to call himself Capt. R.N. A Captain in the Royal Navy is equivalent to a Colonel in the Royal Marines.(8)

Apart from his January 1898 communication to the Secretary of the R.G.S.. and his address to the R.G.S.A.(S.A.) no other substantial record of this visit by Barclay to Australia appears to have survived. The only other hint is an article of his titled ‘Across the Australian Continent’, delivered before the Geographical Society of Paris in 1899 by M. Jules Garnier.(9) The article refers to Barclay arriving ‘...in Port Darwin in the north, which was to be the terminal point of the railway line which he had been surveying...’

Whether or not Barclay actually undertook this railway survey or not is open to conjecture. No material evidence of it survives and whether or not there was time enough for him to organise and carry out the work between the end of April 1898 and his return to London, 11 months later, is perhaps questionable.
ONCE MORE TO EUROPE - 1899 TO 1903

By March 1899 Barclay was back in London. On 6th he delivered a lecture at the Imperial Institute, London, titled ‘Northern Australia’. (1) The meeting was chaired by his old friend Sir John Cockburn who was now the Agent General for South Australia and at the meeting ‘...several ex-colonial Governors were present...’ (2)

Barclay may have been back in Europe before this. It is not clear if he was at the meeting of the Geographical Society in Paris on 3 March when Garnier read Barclay’s paper before the Society. Garnier also read a paper (date unknown) by Barclay on Easter Island which was published in April 1899. (3)

Barclay’s enthusiasm for the Northern Territory went so far as to induce him to produce what was apparently a privately published memorandum extolling its virtues. (4) There is no indication on the pamphlet as to when or where it was published, although it is generally believed that this was in Adelaide in 1900. (5) If this is correct then he must have arranged for its publication during his 1898 visit. It is probably just as likely that it was produced in the U.K. where he was lecturing on the Northern Territory at any opportunity.

During 1899 Mrs A.M.E. Barclay discovered that her husband was still alive, and in London, and in September she notified the Admiralty. (6) Her pension was stopped from 1 October but because she had acted in good faith any claims for repayment were waived.

On 10 January 1900 Barclay’s mother died at Endellion, Cornwall. (7) She left all her property to Arthur and Lucy Bodilly. Lucy had evidently married since her father died. Once again there was no mention of Henry which, this time, is less surprising. The will was dated 18 October 1898 when it was presumed in England that he was dead. The will also revealed that Mrs Barclay owned some property, inherited from her father, in the city of Cork. Could it be that the young Henry lived with his maternal grandparents while he was studying in Cork at the School of Design? Presumably Arthur inherited the portraits of his grandfather and great grandfather.

Barclay was still in England and on 27 July 1900, from Marine Parade, Brighton, he wrote to the Secretary of the R.G.S. (8) He was now using writing paper with his own business letterhead on which he is described as ‘Civil Engineer and Surveyor’ and ‘Licensed by Government South Australia and New Zealand. Specially Licensed under Real Property Native Lands and Mining Acts.’ This latter apparently referred to New Zealand. In his letter Barclay wrote ‘I have been engaged compiling a ‘Geography of the Australian Colonies’...the want of which is much felt in scholastic circles...’ He proposed to publish ‘...the work in two forms i.e. a Primer suitable for primary schools, and a much larger...edition for Public Schools and the Universities.’ Finally he asked if it would be possible to get a grant in aid to help him defray costs. Costs were probably uppermost in his mind as it was at this time that he forfeited his pastoral leases back in Australia.

The Secretary replied that he would place Barclay’s letter before the next Council meeting in November but doubted if they would be prepared to subsidise the work. (9) He suggested that it would be more suitably published as a commercial undertaking and that there should be sufficient demand for the work to attract a publisher. Some of the work Barclay did for this manuscript is probably included in the Barclay Papers in the Mitchell Library. (10) In addition the R.G.S.A.(S.A.) holds a draft title page of an unpublished work by Barclay titled ‘Central Australia’. (11) The title page indicates that this work
contained six hundred pages, two hundred photographs, and drawings, maps and
diagrams, and was fully indexed. Curiously Barclay has written on the title page:
‘Published under the Authority of The South Australian Government.’ This suggests he
wrote it back in the 1870’s or 1880’s. Perhaps now he was trying to salvage it.

The Council’s response was evidently in the negative and on 10 December 1900 Barclay
again wrote to the Secretary asking if the R.G.S. would be interested in a paper on central
Australia (? his unpublished work).(12) This time Barclay used Imperial Institute writing
paper. The Council’s response was evidently once more in the negative.

He tried again on 8 November 1901, writing from West Kensington.(13) This latest offer
must also have been refused. He did have an article published in the London publication
*The Pall Mall Magazine*. (14) This dealt with the possible connection between the people
of New Zealand, South America and Easter Island. It was a more detailed version of his
*Daily Telegraph* article.(15) The drawings used were originals by Barclay and
demonstrate his abilities as an artist.(16)

Barclay approached the R.G.S. yet again. The minutes for the Council Meeting of 9
March 1903, record that an offer from him to submit a paper on Central Australia was to
be considered at the next Council Meeting on 23rd.(17) However on 19 March 1903,
using writing paper from the R.M.S. *Orotava*, he wrote to the Secretary to say that he was
now unexpectedly *en route* to central Australia and ‘when I return I shall hope for better
fortune.’(18) Yet another refusal and as far as is known he never returned. The *Orotava*
sailed from London on 13th and Barclay appears on the passenger list, from Plymouth, on
14th. He is listed as English, married, and unaccompanied.(19)
Fig 4. SOUTH AUSTRALIAN LOCALITIES MENTIONED IN THE TEXT.
Barclay was now back in Australia and soon after his arrival he sent a paper to the Australasian Association for the Advancement of Science for consideration at its 10th Meeting to be held in Dunedin, New Zealand in January 1904.(1) The paper had been written at the end of 1902 while Barclay was still in London. It dealt with the relationship between sun-spots and rainfall.

Barclay was using a new business letterhead in this early 1900 period.(2) On this he is described as ‘Captain H. V. Barclay (Late R.M.), F.R.G.S., F.R.U.S.I. [Fellow of the Royal United Services Institute],(3) F.I.I. [Fellow of the Imperial Institute],(4) Civil Engineer & Engineering Surveyor. Licensed by Government, Australia and New Zealand. London Agents: Lemberger & Co., 50 & 51 Lime Street, E.C.’ The listing of a London agent suggests he used this upon his return to Australia.

Now at the age of 59, Barclay began to organise an expedition to explore the vast unknown area of the Northern Territory later to be known as the Simpson Desert. Early in 1904, in Adelaide he wrote to H.Y.L. Brown the South Australian Government Geologist. Brown replied on 25 February that he agreed with Barclay that the area should be examined in the interests of science.(5) It is highly likely that the two men had met on the ‘ruby’ fields when Brown was there at the end of 1888. He had been carrying out an investigation of the ruby, gold and mica fields for the Government.(6)

On 26 February Barclay wrote to the President of the R.G.S.A.(S.A.) Sir Langdon Bonython, seeking his support for an expedition.(7) He related how he had been informed by the eastern MacDonnell’s Aborigines that springs similar to those at Dalhousie existed there. He thought the sandhills were particularly interesting and last year Dr. Vaughan Cornish had arranged to come out to Australia with him but in the end was unable to do so. Barclay also raised the possibility of finding a trace of the long lost explorer, Ludwig Leichhardt. Leichhardt had last been heard of on April 1848 from McPherson’s Station on the Darling Downs.(8)

Barclay had already made arrangements with Ronald H. Macpherson (not the McPherson connected with Leichhardt) to explore the area and was seeking the support of the R.G.S.A.(S.A.) in approaching the Government to obtain the loan of half a dozen camels. The other equipment they would supply themselves. Macpherson was apparently the major backer of the expedition.(9) In return for any support from the R.G.S.A. Barclay would furnish the Society with a full report and map. On 18 April Barclay’s letter to Bonython was read at a meeting of the R.G.S.A. Council and a committee was formed to confer with Barclay and Macpherson.(10)

On 1 March Bonython wrote to the Premier asking if the Government would be prepared to grant the loan of the camels and giving his support for the expedition.(11)

From the Botanic Hotel in Adelaide Barclay wrote to the Minister for Lands on 11 April requesting support and also setting out the objectives of the expedition.(12) They were:

1) to ascertain what happened to the water flowing into the area to be investigated from the eastern MacDonnell’s via the rivers emanating from them
2) search for a stock route between Oodnadatta and Queensland on the north side of Lake Eyre, the establishment of which would bring stock to the railway

3) examine the sandwaves to ascertain whether they are (a) waves of translation such as overwhelmed so vast an area in Egypt converting once arable country into Sahara and (b) to make detailed surveys of portions of the wave country to determine the wave forms and dimensions

4) search thoroughly for any traces of Leichhardt, there being some reason for supposing he may have passed through it.

If the Government agreed to help then he would provide a report and map of the journey.

On 14 April Barclay, Macpherson and Captain E.J.F. Langley signed a declaration in which they agreed, having been granted the loan of six camels for five months from date of delivery at the Mount Serle Depot, to pay the Government 40 Pounds for each camel not returned.(13) They were also to be liable for a proportion of any damages to equipment supplied with the camels.
Barclay and Macpherson set out by train on 26 April 1904 and travelled to Petersburg (now Peterborough), Quorn and on 28th to Leigh Creek. Meanwhile back in Adelaide the Surveyor-General, William Strawbridge, ordered a journal to be sent to Farina with a request to Barclay to fill it in as regularly as possible and return at the completion of the journey. There is evidence that at least two journals were kept on the expedition. Barclay was later to allude to a duplication of the account of the journey. Only Macpherson’s journal appears to have survived.

From Quorn they were accompanied by H.Y.L. Brown, the Government Geologist, who was on his way to Hergott Springs (Marree). While at Leigh Creek they made their final preparations. Barclay also wrote a letter to the Minister of Works thanking him for his help in obtaining the loan of the camels. He had evidently left no stone unturned in his efforts to secure their loan. The camels were collected from the Government Depot at Mt Serle to the east of the town. While taking them back to Leigh Creek, one fell dead and this involved Barclay in a round of negotiations for a replacement. A wire was also sent to Langley requesting him to join them as soon as possible. There was more than enough work for the two men and their Aboriginal helper, Sidney. There was so much to be done that it was decided that a fourth member be added and Macpherson sent a wire to Newcastle, to Tom Miller, asking him if he could join the expedition. The expedition also had a fox terrier called Fiz.

In Macpherson’s journal on 11 May there is perhaps a hint of Barclay’s problem with alcohol which was also to be hinted at in his later years and after his death. Macpherson had gone out to inspect the camels and had found that they had wandered off a considerable distance. With the help of the policeman from Beltana he rode out and retrieved them. The task took several hours and the two men were fairly thirsty by the time they got the camels back to town. Barclay met them with ‘...whisky & a full water bag by way of refreshment.’

Langley arrived on 12th and the following day a replacement Aborigine, Jim, arrived from Hergott. Finally on 14th they departed Leigh Creek passing through Farina in the morning of 16th and arriving at Hergott on 18th. Here they obtained more provisions and received a wire from Tom Miller to say he would join them on the next train. At Hergott the expedition picked up a temporary travelling companion, a Mr Wunsche. Travel was slow because of rains that often halted the party at flooded creeks. At Alberrie Creek railway siding Miller caught up with them but decided to go on to the terminus at Oodnadatta and wait for them there. Wunsche went with him. The main party arrived at Oodnadatta, 12 days later, on 6 June.

The following day Barclay sent a wire to the Treasurer, Thomas Gill, requesting an extension of two months of the contract time for the loan of the camels because of the delays. He also sent a wire to the Minister of Works asking him to use his influence and if an extension was granted he promised to ‘...fix levels Anacoora Bore as requested...’ The extension was granted by Gill the same day.

Rain was not the only problem. Jim had to be paid off because of a bad leg. The bull Camel, Billy, had a sore back and two of the cows, Eba and Kitty, were near to calving. They hired two extra camels, Baby and Rabbit, and also obtained a new Aboriginal helper, Charlie. Barclay, called ‘The Skipper’ by Macpherson, was fixing the position of Oodnadatta while all this was happening.
They left Oodnadatta on 24th. Charlie deserted on 27th, before they had reached Alberga Creek. At Macumba Station a replacement, Hookey Tommy, joined them to go as far as Charlotte Waters. The party reached Dalhousie Station on 2 July where they were greeted by Mrs Ross the manager’s wife. They continued on to Anacoora Bore arriving there on 6th.

A base camp was established at the bore and over the next three weeks the surrounding country examined in detail. The exact position of the bore was determined and it was connected to the surrounding country by triangulation. Barclay and Macpherson then made a four day trip to a swamp, about 10 km N.E. of Mt Peebles, looking for water and a possible route to explore. The swamp was nearly dry with only a little undrinkable water remaining. It was also evident that any route to the north-east would necessitate crossing the sandhills; an impracticable proposition with loaded camels. They returned to Anacoora on 5 August where they found that Spinner and Eba had calved but Ethel’s calf had died. The decision was then made to head N.W. in the direction of Alice Well.

After picking up their remaining stores at Charlotte Waters they departed Anacoora on 11th. Although travelling between the sandhills where possible progress was slow with the fully laden camels. The first night out they suffered ‘a perfect plague of rats, running over us all night, far worser (sic) even than at Anacoora.’ The Finke River was crossed on 18th and the following night they camped near Mt Peebles after travelling through high sandhills the whole way. A stony flat provided some relief but they were soon back into the sandhills. Before going much further it was decided to take all the camels and water containers to Crown Point Station, the last watering point expected for some time.

After three more days of sandhills the party struck a range of hills at 12.15 p.m. on 28th. This they named the Bonython Hills after the President of the R.G.S.A.(S.A.). The name did not survive and it is probably what is known today as the Pillar Range. After another day of travel through sandhills they struck another range (Rodinga Range). One more day of sandhills brought them up against the Train Range.

On 31st they crossed the Phillipson Creek, then more sandhills until they reached the Ooraminna Range and camped at Ooraminna Well, on the mail track, at 3 p.m. on 2 September. This was their first water since leaving Crown Point. The camels had been able to survive very well on Parakeelya (Calandrinia sp.).

The party left Ooraminna on 4th and made for a spring on the upper Phillipson Creek. They reached this on 7th and stayed there four days spelling the camels and adjusting their loads. The camels were in good condition and the two calves growing rapidly.

They then travelled north to the Todd River and Ross River but being unable to find water moved on up the Ross to Love’s Creek Station, arriving there on 17th. While at the Station a passing traveller informed them that water was scarce to the east, there being none in the Plenty and that the Marshall was probably dry. The Aborigines were being forced into the ranges to find water.

The party continued on, making for Etneemba Waterhole (now Atniempa) and after crossing rough hilly country reached the waterhole on the Hale River on 22nd. Here they established a base camp. After being delayed for a couple of days by rain, Barclay and Macpherson set off on 28th to inspect the Marshall for water. They cleared the ranges on 30th and on the plain below had to run the gauntlet of fires that had been lit by Aborigines. As a consequence a small creek that was crossed was named Fire Creek, another name that did not survive.
They crossed two more small creeks (Huckitta and Atula) and on 2nd October came to a large creek which they thought was the Marshall River. Their position being uncertain they stopped and worked up their traverse. Barclay concluded they were on the Plenty River. It was followed for a couple of days, at which time they came across some Aborigines, but their Aboriginal guide, Jim, was unable to fully understand them. They could not find a waterhole that had been reported to them so turned back. The base camp was reached on 9th.

While absent from the camp Kitty had produced a calf, which being very white was promptly called Snowy. The camp was battered by a storm which postponed their departure and the Skipper was suffering from dysentery.

The whole party set off on 17th, leaving unwanted supplies behind in a tent. The new calf was not yet strong enough to travel and so he was strapped to the back of one of the pack camels. They arrived at their previous camp on the Plenty on 22nd. It was followed to their last stopping point, where a well was dug, and a good supply of water found. The meat diet was being supplemented with rabbits, which were plentiful, and pigeons and parrots. Fiz was getting his own rabbits.

They continued along the Plenty until on the 27th they left it to make for the Hay River to the north-east. The Hay was reached at 12.45 p.m. on 29th and followed up in a N.N.W. direction towards Charles Winnecke's camp number 25/27 of 1884. No water could be found and Miller was now feeling very sick. The next day they continued on, passing Winnecke's camp, but still unable to find water. Miller was feeling better so they travelled all night, stopping for breakfast at 7 a.m. on 31st. The day was cool so they continued on until reaching their well on the Plenty at 6.15 p.m. By 10.00 p.m. the camels had been watered. 1 November was a rest day in camp.

The next day Barclay and Macpherson followed the river to the north-west, seeing many Aborigines along the way. Being satisfied as to their correct location they returned to the others on 4th. They then returned to their base camp on the Hale, arriving there on 8th.

On 10th they moved off and headed south down the river to Smith’s Camp at Oolera Spring. Smith had been their travelling informant at Love’s Creek Station. Langley was now beginning to suffer badly from lumbago. At Smith’s Camp the camels’ backs were doctored and they exchanged some spare rations for two goats to supplement their meat supply. There were many Aborigines at the camp and that night they witnessed a corroboree. Langley was now completely crippled but chose to continue with the expedition rather than return to Alice Springs.

They left Smith’s Camp on 12th and travelled to Prosser’s old well (Limbla) only to find it filled in. The next day the well was cleared out and the casks topped up. The weather was now fairly warm and it was decided to travel only at night. They set off at 4.50 p.m. on 14th and arrived at a native well in the river the next morning (near present day Numery Station). There were many Aborigines in the area.

The next evening two Aborigines went with them to guide the party to a rockhole. They left the Hale River behind them and crossed some hills to the rockhole where the water supply was again topped up and the camels watered for what was expected to be the last time before reaching Anacoora Bore. Luckily Langley’s condition was beginning to improve.
The next few nights were heavy going through the sandhills and they were forced to bear too far east by the north-west/south-east trend of the hills. On 20th the decision was made to discard all non-essential equipment. They then headed west, Macpherson estimating that they had crossed 150 sandhills at the rate of 15/hour. Miller was now ill from stomach cramps.

At dawn on 23rd the range of hills that included Mt Peebles was sighted at about 19 km distance and camp was made. The following night their old track was crossed and by dawn Anacoora Hill was in sight. They had breakfast at 7.20 a.m. ‘using almost the last drop of water in the kegs’ and the ‘camels enjoying a good blow out on a patch of Prickly Acacia. Having no tucker left decided to make Scant’s Camp at Arina W.H. on Finke instead of Anacoora.’ They arrived at 1.15 p.m. and were met by Scant.

24 November was spent in camp and Rabbit took the opportunity to calve. The next evening they departed for Dalhousie at 9 p.m. and sent a telegram with Scant to Charlotte Waters to notify the Surveyor-General and Gill of their safe return. Dalhousie was reached the next day and the expedition remained there for the next five days. The opportunity was taken to brand the calves.

Dalhousie was departed on 2 December and Oodnadatta reached on 5th, almost six months to the day after setting out from there. The camels were handed over and the party left for Adelaide by train on 8th.
Barclay wrote up his report in Adelaide in January 1905 and it was signed by himself, Macpherson and Langley. With a map and some photographs, it was handed over at a meeting of the Council of the R.G.S.A.(S.A.) on 2 February together with a request to forward them to the Government. Thus he fulfilled the expedition’s obligations to both bodies. A photograph of the members of the expedition, except for Miller, and the Council was taken. Fiz the fox terrier was included. The Council passed the documents on on 3 February. Macpherson’s journal was also handed to the Society, as witnessed by Bonython’s signature, to be retained as its property.

In concluding his report of the expedition Barclay declared that:

...we accomplished the major part of our original programme i.e.
(a) we traversed the unmapped country from South to North and North to South by a different route also traversing the Northern portion from West to East and back discovering several new rivers and added many miles of survey to others.
(b) We made a Topographical Survey of 640 acres (2.59 sq km) of typical sand ridges.
(c) We found a possible stock route from Anacoora to Arltunga and thence to Queensland.

With regard to the search of some trace of the Leichhardt party, we regret to say we saw none...

In fact, of its original objectives, the expedition achieved very little and not much besides.

1) it was still not known what happened to the large rivers that disappeared into the desert.
2) Barclay’s assertion that they had found a possible stock route to Arltunga and Queensland may have had some credence in the context of the time. Nevertheless the desert was to prove a formidable barrier except in the best of seasons.
3) of the sandhills:
(a) it was not ascertained whether they were ‘waves of translations overwhelming more fertile country’,
(b) the detailed survey of a portion of the sandhill country was one of the few objectives accomplished, although there is no evidence that the information was put to any use.
4) nothing was found of Leichhardt but since most of the country covered, where he could have perished, was traversed at night, there was probably little hope of success anyway. Indeed, by leaving behind a large amount of their own equipment, there was the distinct possibility of misleading any future searchers for Leichhardt.

In addition Barclay’s claim to have traversed unmapped country was only true for a relatively small portion of the total traverse. His further claim to have discovered several new rivers was an exaggeration. None of the names the expedition applied to the rivers they ‘discovered’ ever appeared on the maps of the area.

At the end of his report Barclay indicated that ‘on our return to the Territory in March or April we hope to traverse another route midway between our present work and the Queensland Border when we should have a much greater probability of being successful.’ Perhaps he did realise how little had been accomplished. But he need not have felt too
down hearted about not being able to penetrate the Simpson Desert. David Lindsay had tried a similar route in 1886 and been forced back for the same reasons.(9)

The report was received by the Crown Lands Office on 8 February.(10) But apart from recording the route of the expedition on the Exploration Plan in the Surveyor-General's Department, it appears to have elicited little comment.

On 3 March 1905 Barclay was reported in the Adelaide Advertiser as having given a lecture on the recent expedition, at the Adelaide University, under the auspices of the R.G.S.A.(S.A.).(11) Of the expedition the report stated '...if the results were not as satisfactory as one could have wished that was their misfortune, not their fault.'

One month later, on 3 April, Barclay read a paper on the expedition before the Victorian Branch of the R.G.S.A.(12) The paper was a shortened version of his report. While Barclay was in Melbourne a no liability company was formed, with a nominal capital of 1000 Pounds, to send Barclay and Macpherson back to continue the work from the previous year.(13)
SECOND BARCLAY-MACPHERSON EXPEDITION - 1905 TO 1906

Very little detail is known about this second expedition by Barclay and Macpherson. The evidence indicates a departure date sometime in May or June of 1905. In the May edition of *Review of Reviews* Barclay was reported as '...just starting another exploring tour through Central Australia...' (1) However, in a letter to the President of the R.G.S.A.(S.A.) in April 1906 Barclay reported the return of the expedition after ten months in the field. (2) This suggests a date of departure nearer to June 1905.

On this occasion the expedition consisted of Barclay, Macpherson, A. Wunsche and two Aborigines and nine camels. Wunsche had accompanied the 1904 expedition for a short period. He seems to have been connected with the mining industry and for this reason he was probably included in the party. (3)

The expedition had two main objectives. The first '...being to continue last year's work exploring for and mapping a route from the Macdonnell (sic) Ranges to the Queensland Border...' (4) The second was 'from this point we were to prospect the country lying to the S.W. on the South Australian side of the border'. Barclay had apparently given up the idea of a stock route through the desert.

While there is no full account of this expedition it is possible from Barclay's published accounts of this 1904-06 period to piece together the general route of the expedition. On the outward journey it is evident that the expedition took the mail route to Arltunga. Here the expedition '...camped for a few days...and took advantage of the opportunity to visit the White Range and other gold workings...'. (5)

From Arltunga they followed much the same route as the 1904 expedition but continued on to the east crossing country '...already minutely described by Mr. Winnecke, until reaching the Queensland border...'. (6) Several weeks were spent '...in this locality examining the surrounding country and going to Urandanga (sic) for provisions...'. A detailed map of this area survives and covers a one degree block between 23° and 24° latitude, and 137° and 138° longitude, the latter being the Queensland border. (7)

In one of his accounts of this period Barclay relates an anecdote about his riding camel, Connie. (8) On a trip to Urandangie, Connie had become very footsore and lame and he left her at a Queensland Government reserve and well to recuperate. At the conclusion of their work they returned to find that Connie had escaped into the Territory:

No rain having fallen, we gave her up for lost, and subsequently started for Arltunga... At many points along our track we discovered that Madame 'Connie' had preceded us... On reaching Arltunga we heard that several weeks previously Connie had arrived in a greatly distressed condition... Madame Connie had travelled about 240 miles (386 km)...through country absolutely unknown to her...

From Arltunga the expedition '...returned to Oodnadatta by the carriers’ tracks and mail route.' (9)

Of the results of the expedition Barclay reported that 'the first portion of this programme has been successfully accomplished...the latter part of the work could only be done in a perfunctory manner, all the water used having to be packed on the camels...35 miles (56 km) from the mineralized area we desired to examine...'. (10)
Much of Barclay’s April 1906 letter to the President of the R.G.S.A.(S.A.) was taken up with soliciting the Society’s help by making a recommendation to the Government for some recompense for his work.(1) He provided the carrot of promising to supply the Society with a full report, map and field notes. He went on that he wished to ‘...draw the attention of the Society to the fact that I have received no remuneration whatsoever for the considerable amount of survey & mapping work with Astronomical observations which I have done for the Public benefit at very great personal sacrifice...’

As further support for his case Barclay related:

...the analogous case of Mr Tietkens, between whose work and that upon which I have been engaged there are however the following differences, to which I reluctantly refer.

1) The country traversed by him was fertile and well watered in comparison with that mapped by myself during the 1904-5 Expedition.
2) The syndicate which sent him out paid him usual rates for his services.
3) Unless he discovered valuable mineral areas, or stock lands the work could be of small value to South Australia. The published maps & reports do not disclose any such discoveries.(2)

Barclay continued with details of his claimed discoveries of a stock route from Oodnadatta to Queensland, a large forest of Desert Oak (Alocasuarina decaisneana), a substantial addition to the geographical knowledge of central Australia, etc. He also related the work of his 1878 survey and concluded by saying that he had a long association with the Northern Territory, in which he had ‘...moreover expended considerable sums of money & much unrequited labour in endeavouring to forward what I conceive to be its best interests.’

Barclay’s letter was read before the Society’s Council meeting of 4 May.(3) It was agreed that a letter be sent to the Government ‘...explaining the hope of the Council, that if, after examination, that the work was found to be of value, the Government would grant Captain Barclay remuneration.’ A letter to this effect was sent to the Government on 7 May as a covering letter to Barclay’s request to the Society.(4)

The two letters did the rounds of the various interested Government Departments but it was clear that no action would be taken until some plans and a journal were sighted. The last signature on the docket was dated 2 July and there the matter seemed to rest.(5)

On 24 July Barclay wrote directly to the Minister Controlling the Northern Territory.(6) In his letter he drew the Minister’s attention to his 1905 report and the fact that he had since spent ten months testing and amplifying that work. With his letter he included a map showing the country explored and a supplementary report, accompanied by several photographs.

The Minister received the papers on 30 July and it was forwarded to the Surveyor-General on 10 August with a request for a suggested price for payment.(7) The Surveyor-General passed it on to the Chief Draftsman asking for a report on the extent of country explored.
The Chief Draftsman was not impressed. Apart from seeing the written reports as ‘a very readable newspaper article’ he saw little value in them. Referring, no doubt, to Barclay’s lectures, he added ‘most of the details...have already been made public.’ As for the 1905 traverse, he found that in many instances it disagreed with the department’s maps and that names of natural features differed from the actual names and many names given in the written accounts were not shown on Barclay’s plan. Interestingly he added that Barclay had erroneously signed himself as a Licensed Surveyor of South Australia. He further considered that only 640 km of new country had been traversed. In a minute dated 27 August the Surveyor-General reported that as the expedition had the use of the Government’s camels for eight and half months and because of the relatively small area of new country covered he could not recommend to the Minister that any payment be made. Once more the matter appeared to rest.

At an R.G.S.A. Council meeting on 29 October it was ‘resolved that the Government be recommended to pay Captain H.V. Barclay at least 150 Pounds in recognition of his recent work in exploring and mapping parts of Central Australia.’

On 4 January 1907 the President of the R.G.S.A. met with the Minister to discuss the matter on Barclay’s behalf. From Barclay’s point of view the meeting must have been less than encouraging and in a minute dated the same day the Minister directed that a letter be written to the Society outlining the Surveyor-General’s reasons against payment.

The following week the eleventh meeting of the Australasian Association for the Advancement of Science was held in Adelaide, before which Barclay read his paper titled Exploration in Central Australia. The paper was not published in the Report of the meeting. The original manuscript was in a rough form and probably Barclay failed to submit it in time for publication.

The Government’s letter to the Society, outlining its reasons for non-payment, was read at a Council meeting on 8 March. It was resolved that the Society again urge the Government to comply with a request for payment. On 28 March, in a letter to the Commissioner of Crown Lands, the President and Secretary reiterated their case for payment of a sum to Barclay. The letter revealed that the 1905 expedition had cost over 1000 Pounds and also stated that Barclay was at present absent from Adelaide.

The Government did not immediately respond to this letter. It received a further letter from the Secretary of the R.G.S.A. on 12 April to say that he had been directed by the Council to request the Government to publish Barclay’s journal. The Secretary of the Minister passed the Society’s letters onto the acting Surveyor-General for comment.

On 9 August the Minister received a letter from E.A. Thornton, Solicitor and Notary, of the Waymouth Chambers. Thornton was acting on behalf of Barclay and his creditors. It transpired that the company formed to send Barclay and Macpherson back to the Territory had only contributed 500 Pounds and this had been spent on expenses and equipment. There remained an outstanding debt of nearly 300 Pounds for stores, hire of camels and board and lodgings.

Thornton went on to state that Bonython and Gill had promised Barclay that if he prepared and furnished a map and report to the Government the same amount that had been paid to Tietkens, i.e. 300 Pounds, would be paid to Barclay. Barclay had given his creditors a procuration order on the Government for the outstanding moneys.

The acting Surveyor-General, in a minute to the Minister dated 25 September, was still not convinced of the value of Barclay’s work. However he conceded that:
as the plans and information are of some value, and the camels were returned in good condition, and the Department did not sustain any loss by lending them for the purpose of exploration, beyond not having the use of them for the period mentioned, and as pointed out by the Council of the Geographical Society, encouragement should be given to those willing to undertake explorations of unknown or little known tracts of country, I recommend for consideration of the Hon. the Minister the question as to whether the sum of one hundred pounds (100 Pounds:-) should be paid to Mr. Barclay.

It would appear from the cryptic comment written on the minute by the Minister, viz. ‘To stand over’, that the money was not paid.

Despite the remarkably persistent support from the R.G.S.A.(S.A.), spanning nearly 18 months, Barclay appears to have failed to win financial help from the Government. In any case Barclay was no longer living in Adelaide, as intimated by the President and Secretary of the R.G.S.A. in March.
Barclay had moved to Melbourne and was writing numerous articles for *Life* magazine, a monthly published in that city. In all, between June 1907 and February 1908, Barclay had six articles published, all dealing with his experiences in, or relating to, the Northern Territory. (1)

This was at a time of increased interest in the Northern Territory. Moves were afoot to transfer control of the Territory from South Australia to the new Commonwealth Government and Melbourne was the seat of the government in these early days of Federation. Maybe Barclay's move there had been deliberate in an attempt to take part in the coming takeover of the Territory and perhaps even influence it.

On 12 October 1908 Barclay delivered an address in the Masonic Hall, Collins Street, Melbourne, titled 'The Golden Heart of Australia'. (2) The publicity for the lecture proclaimed that it was to be given under the patronage and in the presence of the Governor-General as well as the patronage of the Governor of Victoria. It also gave a general run down on Barclay's career, as well as reporting that the Council of the R.G.S. (U.K.) had "...appointed him their referee regarding Central Australia..." and that he had lectured in Paris. Perhaps Barclay was in Paris in 1899 when M. Garnier read his papers to the Geographical Society. His claim of being a referee for the R.G.S., while probably correct, would have been less important than the notice implied. The R.G.S. kept a list of people, and their field of interest, who could be called upon to read papers submitted for publication and the editor may have asked Barclay to act as referee. (3) The synopsis of the Melbourne lecture painted a 'Golden' picture indeed of the Territory: 'The Magnificent Harbours and Rivers of the North Coast. The Great Tableland. Gorgeous Scenery. Splendid Climate. Gold, Mineral (sic), Gems.' etc.

Barclay repeated his lecture at 'The Drill Hall', Brighton, on 15 June 1909. (4) This time it was called 'Central Australia'. Extracts of press reviews of his Masonic Hall lecture were included in the publicity flier. The audience had included the Prime Minister, Alfred Deakin, and the Minister for Home Affairs.

In October, from Collins Street, Melbourne, Barclay wrote a draft letter to the South Australian Treasurer, Thomas Gill. (5) He was evidently canvassing for work from his old friends, including Gill and Sir Langdon Bonython. Sir Langdon had approached the Minister for External Affairs, L.E. Groom, on his behalf. (6) At the time Groom had been preparing his *Memorandum on the Northern Territory*. (7) Groom quoted extensively from one of Barclay's *Life* articles. (8)

Barclay himself then approached Groom and came away with the promise '...that if opportunity should offer he will bear me in mind.' (9) Barclay went on to express the opinion that:

...there is no chance of the N.T. acceptance bill passing in its present form...mainly on account of the very stupidly worded agreement between Deakin & Price [S.A. Premier], the parts referring to the taking over & continuing the Port Augusta - Oodnadatta Railway to Port Darwin tying the Commonwealth down to constructing a line along an unsurveyed route...

Barclay then suggested his own conditions for the acceptance bill:
(I) That the territory be divided at Lat:20°

(II) That the Northern portion be handed over to the commonwealth subject to the repayment to SA of the cost of Government of the Northern Territory from the date of letters patent to the date of transfer and the whole cost of the Pine Creek RL & Port Darwin jetty plus that of all other works actually constructed north of Lat 20°

(III) That upon S.A. completing the Port Augusta Ood- line to Lat 20° the C-wealth will forthwith proceed to link it up to their Railways system

(IV) That the C-wealth will aid SA in financing the construction of the Port Augusta Ood- line to Lat 20° & will pay S.A. the sum of 1,250,000 Pounds one million two hundred fifty thousand pounds to cover the loss incurred during the protracted negotiations for transfer.

Barclay then expressed the opinion that he regarded ‘...it as absolutely essential to the defence of Australia that the railways should be linked up...’ and that he was ‘...preparing a defence map on a large scale, which you will probably hear of when K. arrives.’(10) K was Lord Kitchener who, at the invitation of the Commonwealth Government, was to visit Australia and prepare a report on the Army.(11) Barclay concluded by suggesting that Gill show his letter to the South Australian Government.

Whether Barclay sent his letter to Gill, or indeed if he presented his map to Kitchener, is not known. Apart from a short note to Gill at the end of the year nothing further is known of Barclay’s activities until the second half of 1910.(12)
Meanwhile at a Council meeting of the R.G.S.A. (S.A.) early in 1910 a resolution was passed requesting the South Australian Government to urgently publish the journal and maps from the 1904 Barclay-Macpherson Expedition. (1) The Government received the request on 2 February and sent an acknowledgement on the next day. (2) The docket did the rounds of various Government Departments until on 22 July it was sent to Cabinet for consideration. Cabinet sent it to the Commissioner for Public Works. There is no indication of why Cabinet took this step but perhaps it was because of the past support for the expedition from that office.

The Commissioner did nothing for several months and by the time he took action on 29 March 1911 the Northern Territory was no longer the responsibility of the South Australian Government. (3) He returned the papers to the Premier suggesting that they be sent to the Minister of External Affairs who now had control of the Territory. And there the matter rested.
On 11 August 1910 Barclay applied for temporary employment in the Commonwealth Public Service as a surveyor. He was now aged 65 and living at Hawthorn. He commenced employment from 15 August at the rate of 10 Shillings per day. On 11 November Barclay wrote a letter to the Secretary of the Department of External Affairs, Atlee Hunt, in which he suggested the dispatch of an Exploration Survey Party to the Northern Territory.

He proposed that the party should proceed north from Oodnadatta on the eastern side of the telegraph line to Borroloola and then north-east to Katherine, from there south-west to Wave Hill Station and then south on the western side of the telegraph line. Barclay designed the route ‘...so as to cut nearly all previous explorations & surveys at right angles & to furnish invaluable information regarding the feasibility of opening up stock routes as feeders to the Oodnadatta Railway, and the important natural outlets at the McArthur & Victoria Rivers in the north...’ He further contended that the expedition would assist the Commonwealth to determine the best route for a transcontinental railway and provide information on the best means of opening up trade routes from the interior to the McArthur River. With his letter he provided a very detailed submission of methods, costs, equipment, etc. At this time his pay was increased to 1 Pound per day.

On 1 December Barclay applied for the position of leader of the proposed survey. In his application he listed his curriculum vitae. Atlee Hunt acknowledged the letter the next day, promising that Barclay’s application would receive consideration.

Meanwhile, the R.G.S.A.(S.A.) must have been wondering what had become of its request to the South Australian Government to print the Barclay-Macpherson journal. At a council meeting on 16 December it was resolved to ask for a reply to the Society’s earlier request. At the same meeting a letter from Barclay was read in which he requested a letter from the Council testifying to his work as an explorer. This was granted. Doubtless Barclay was consolidating his position as leader of the contemplated survey.
It is not known for sure when Barclay was appointed as leader of the survey but by 10 January 1911 he was making recommendations, as leader, for the men he wished to have serving under him. These included R.H. Macpherson as second in command, Gerald Freer Hill as naturalist and John Joseph Waldron as cadet surveyor. Hunt added his recommendation and the Minister approved. Barclay's recommendation of Macpherson revealed some of the few facts known about him. He "...had a wide experience in South Africa and as an Officer in the Merchant Marine." Perhaps it was the latter that provided the link between the men. Macpherson was 30 years Barclay's junior and had been born in Lancaster. In a Life article he was described as a New South Wales farmer. Hill had "...had much experience as a botanical collector & photographer in north Western Australia..." Waldron was a fifth class clerk in the Department. Macpherson had arrived in Melbourne from Sydney on 10 January, been offered a position by Atlee Hunt and appointed the next day. Barclay's recommendation had merely been a formality.

Probably Barclay was able to get backing for the survey from his superiors because of the new enthusiasm for the Northern Territory. The Commonwealth was determined to succeed in its development where South Australia had failed and this determination was to prompt various expeditions and surveys.

Sometime during this period Barclay wrote what seemed, on his past record with Aborigines, a rather extraordinary document titled 'The Aboriginal Question'. By present day standards it had overtones of apartheid, racism and paternalism. He put forward the idea of declaring Melville Island an Aboriginal Reserve and moving all the Aboriginals of the Northern Territory to that island and Bathurst Island, which was already a reserve. At first the most remote tribes would be moved and placed under the control of a resident 'Protector of Aboriginals' with the support of a strong police force. All food, medical aid and supplies would be issued and schools established and trades taught. No Europeans would be allowed without special permission and only approved persons permitted to hire Aboriginals. He considered the islands far enough from the mainland to ensure that the Aborigines would remain there under efficient supervision. Barclay considered that the mainland reserves were a failure as the Aborigines could leave too easily and they had a dread of them, especially the Mission Reserves.

The expedition departed Melbourne on 18 January after a farewell function in the office of the Minister for Defence. It was reported that the work would take 12 months and the cost was estimated at 3000 Pounds. Barclay received his final instructions on the same day. The party was to proceed to Oodnadatta where they were to obtain their camels and stores and then to Alice Springs which was to be the starting point of the survey proper. From there they were to proceed west until they reached the 132nd meridian, calling on Hermannsburg Lutheran Mission on the way. They were then to proceed north along the meridian, diverging as and when necessary for the safety of the party or in the interests of obtaining new information. Upon reaching the Victoria River to Newcastle Waters stock route, it was to be examined with a view to determining the best means of keeping the route open for stock in all seasons. From Anthony's Lagoon they were to travel north-east to the McArthur River country and report on its value for settlement.

Barclay was required to make the usual observations and take notes of the geological formations, vegetation, etc. This time, unlike his 1878 survey, he was required to give special attention to the Aborigines and to make contact whenever possible, with the proviso that any conflict was to be avoided. Where possible specimens of Aboriginal
weapons, ornaments and other artifacts were to be collected but only at the owner's consent and after suitable compensation. Photographs of all aspects of Aboriginal life were to be taken. Each member was required to keep a diary and these were to be summarised from time to time in the general diary of the expedition.

Oodnadatta was reached at midnight on 24 January. The next day three survey hands and a cook were hired. They were: cameleer, Thomas Simpson; chainmen, Bruce Foulis and Archie Gepp; and cook, Edward Collins. On the following day the camels that had been hired for the expedition, 20 in all, were examined but most found to be unsuitable. Over the next 10 days the men were occupied in preparations and some delay was encountered in having to order some stores from Adelaide. Other camels were also sought and either bought or hired. An Aborigine was hired to look after the camels.

At Oodnadatta Barclay held a meeting with some residents and station owners at which the topics of Aborigines and railway freight rates were discussed. Those that were in attendance were Frank W. Marsh, representing Bagot, Shakes and Lewis, J.A. Breaden, owner of Todmorden (S.A.) and Henbury (N.T.) Stations, Mounted Constable White, Policeman, Frank Jones, storekeeper, and H. Jepp, storekeeper. John E. Warburton was later to add his comments and generally agreed with the conclusions of the meeting.

On Aborigines the meeting discussed reserves (generally not favoured), distribution of rations and clothing (should be continued but be better organised), employment by Afghans (should be discouraged), half castes (should be taken away with mother's consent) and education (special schools could be tried). Barclay raised his Melville Island idea but this was seen as unworkable by the others. On railway freights it was agreed that the remainder of the state was receiving favourable treatment for general merchandise while rates for stock were similar.

The journey to Dalhousie took only four days in contrast to the eight days in 1904. This time there was a lack of water rather than the heavy rains of the previous trip. Three days were spent at Dalhousie while Hill and Waldron collected specimens and took photographs. Dalhousie was departed on 16 February and Charlotte Waters reached on 18th. Four days were occupied at the telegraph station while observations were taken and Hill collected scientific specimens. Barclay decided to proceed direct to Hermannsburg instead of the planned route to Alice Springs. He reasoned that it would allow him to test the equipment and camels and permit Hill to collect botanical specimens along the Finke River.

Old Crown Point was the next stop. There were large numbers of Aborigines camped in the area for ritual ceremonies and some time was spent in photography and issuing rations. Another Aborigine, Whisky Tom, was taken on to help with the camels. The party reached Idracowra Old Station on 3 March and camped there while a visit was made to Chamber's Pillar by Macpherson, Hill, Waldron, Collins and Simpson. Photographs were taken and all, except apparently for Waldron, carved their names on the Pillar. Henbury Station, on the Finke River, was reached on 9th where more photographs were taken. Barclay was unwell for part of the trip. Hermannsburg Mission was reached on 13th. The expedition remained there a week while Barclay made a detailed examination of conditions at the mission. When Macpherson was not engaged assisting him he made trips to the surrounding countryside, in particular Palm Valley where once again a series of photographs was taken.

The Mission was departed on 20 March and Alice Springs reached on 24th. Camp was made at the telegraph station. Over a month was passed at the station while preparations were made for the coming journey. One of the tasks undertaken during this period was to
Plate 3: Officers of the Barclay-Macpherson Commonwealth Exploring Expedition 1911 at Melbourne. (back row left to right: H.V. Barclay, J.J. Waldron, R.H. Macpherson; front centre: G.F. Hill)
Plate 4: Barclay-Macpherson Commonwealth Exploring Expedition at Hermannsburg Mission
were made for the coming journey. One of the tasks undertaken during this period was to replace the old stone trig. station at the telegraph station. Gepp was discharged as being physically unfit. Three parcels of Aboriginal weapons and other specimens were sent off to Melbourne.(13)

The main party departed Alice Springs on 25 April. Barclay stayed behind for medical treatment for an attack of dysentery. He rejoined them on the 2 May while they were camped at Simpsons Gap. He was still far from well. Travel was then west through the MacDonnell Ranges. It was slow going and rough for the camels. Cumming’s Camp, on Ellery Creek, was reached on 6th. The opportunity was taken to purchase fresh meat from Cummings. Two days later a party of Aborigines was encountered camped on a water hole. They were issued with rations. Meyers’ Camp, their most westerly point in the ranges near Haast’s Bluff, was reached on 18th. Here they established Camp I.

On 24th Macpherson set out with Meyers and two Aborigines to search for water north of Central Mt. Wedge. Two days later they came across some Aborigines who guided them to Oodnapinna Waterhole in the Siddley Range to the west. They returned to Camp I on 28th. On the 30th, the day prior to their departure, Barclay posted a notice warning all hands of the conditions likely to be encountered over the next 20 days or so: the probability of over 640 km of waterless country ahead and the fact of having to travel at least 12 hours per day to ensure getting through; the likelihood of encountering troublesome Aborigines with stringent orders against indiscriminate use of firearms or relations of any kind with the women.(14) Anyone who did not wish to continue was free to leave and return to Alice Springs. All wished to go on.

Camp I was left behind on 31 May and Oodnapinna reached on 2 June. This became Camp II and was departed on 5th. One of the Aborigines from the previous encounter accompanied them. The weather was overcast with light showers of rain falling. Quartz Hill was passed on 7th and Camp III at Long Waterhole on the Lander River reached the next day. A small group of Aborigines was camped there and they were issued with rations.

The Lander was followed for several days until it began to dissipate into the countryside. They returned south until a suitable water supply was found on the 19th. Several Aborigines were encountered along the way and at Camp IV they discovered the dead body of an Aborigine in a tree nearby.(15) It promptly became known as Deadman’s Camp. The following day Macpherson and Hill made a journey to the west. Smoke put up by Aborigines could be seen in that direction and it was hoped to find water there. They travelled for three days over spinifex, and through mallee and acacia scrub. No Aborigines were seen although there was sign of their presence, and no water was found. They returned to Camp IV on 26th.

The party left Camp IV the next day and followed their previous track north. On 29th they began to encounter sandhills of increasing size and were forced to travel in a more easterly direction. To add to their problems there were considerable quantities of the poison bush *Gastrolobium* in the area. On 30th one camel showed signs of poisoning, but survived. The next day they struck what Macpherson called Claypan Well, on the line of wells put down in 1909 by Charles Chewings. It was probably Chewings’ Hit or Miss Well and still held a good supply of water.

A northerly course was then followed over unchanging spinifex, and mallee and acacia scrub. Only occasional patches of camel feed were found. On 5 July they came unexpectedly on a camp of Aborigines who bolted ‘...into the scrub, leaving their weapons lying about in all directions. Found small native well...& camped there for the night,
leaving the blackfellow’s camp & possessions undisturbed.’ By the time the expedition reached the telegraph line and Newcastle Waters on 9th and 10th the camels were beginning to suffer. In all, the journey from Camp I had amounted to 1330 km, including excursions.

Newcastle Waters was owned by John Lewis M.L.C., an old friend of Barclay’s, with whom he had made prior arrangements for a supply of stores there. A camp was established on the creek and time taken out to doctor the camels, most of which were very foot sore from the spinifex. Repairs were also necessary to the equipment which, along with the camels, had taken a battering from the thick scrub. The camels had to be shepherded and yared up each night because of the presence of the Guttapercha tree (*Exoecaria parvifolia*), which was poisonous to camels.

On 22 July Barclay set out with Foulis, Dick and four camels to inspect the Wave Hill Track. Macpherson remained in camp to supervise repairs and Hill went off with the station Manager, Mr Grainger, to inspect Lake Woods.

The night after leaving, two of Barclay’s camels were taken ill which somewhat restricted his inspection.(16) Much of the journey had to be made on foot. He had hoped to connect his survey with Hawk Knob, to the west of Yellow Waterhole but was unable to do so. Barclay selected sites for wells or bores at ‘The Bucket’ (Howell Ponds), Muranjai and Yellow Waterhole. He was generally impressed with the suitability of the countryside for cattle. There was already a good dray track as far as Yellow Waterhole. In all he covered 380 km and returned to camp at noon on 1 August.

Meanwhile Hill had been inspecting Lake Woods, the Ashburton Range and the waterholes on Newcastle Waters.(17) It was the middle of the dry season and consequently the lake was dry but Hill considered the area suitable for agriculture, provided there was adequate drainage in the wet season. He returned on 5th with a ‘...good botanical collection, many natural history specimens and photographs.’

Macpherson commenced preparations for a departure but was having trouble preventing the camels getting at the poisonous plants in the area. Finally, late on 7 August, they set out on the next stage of the expedition to Borroloola.

The trip to Anthony’s Lagoon, which was reached on 22nd, was fairly uneventful except for the loss of two camels from poisoning. A few days were spent there while running repairs were made and the camels rested. Once again they had to be shepherded because of the poison plants in the area.

While at Anthony’s Lagoon, on 25th, they witnessed the arrival of the first motor car to make the journey from Camooweal in Queensland. On board was Mr F.B. Powell, a mining engineer, and party, who were on their way to inspect the silver and lead mines at McArthur River.

Anthony’s Lagoon was departed on 26 August. The next day they met the geologist Dr W.G. Woolnough on the track, with the trooper from Borroloola. The doctor was one of four academics carrying out an inspection for the Commonwealth Government of its newly acquired Northern Territory. At McArthur River the mine was briefly inspected and Borroloola was reached early in the afternoon of 8 September. Their arrival was duly recorded in the Police Station letter book by Mounted Constable W.C. Miller.(18) The expedition made a temporary camp at the court house. Problems with the camels continued and the Aborigines had to be employed full time looking after them.
An old steam launch was located and overhauled for use in surveying the McArthur River. It was owned by the storekeeper Arthur McLeod. A camp site some 4 km from town and free of poison plants was selected and a base camp established.

On 16 September Barclay, Macpherson, Hill and Collins set off down the river in the launch. After some trouble with the boiler, the mouth of the river was reached on 20th. It was also very difficult to keep the small launch properly trimmed. Deciding that she was not very seaworthy they did not venture out to sea and turned back. At low tide in the early hours of the morning of 22nd, while they were camped at Carrington's Landing, the launch capsized at her moorings. Luckily not too much damage was done and after a day's delay they were able to get underway again, arriving back at Borroloola at sundown on 24th.

Over the next few days Barclay and Macpherson were engaged in drawing up the traverses made so far. On 29th Barclay was served with a summons by Miller for unlawfully owning an unregistered dog. At the hearing the next day he was fined 1 Pound and 1 Pound costs. The dog had been registered at Alice Springs but in the confusion of paperwork at the camp the receipt could not be found. The presiding magistrate was A. McLeod. The Police Station Letterbook for the same day records a memo from Barclay to Miller rebuking him for using wheat grown at Borroloola as poultry feed instead of saving it for resowing to 'acclimatise' it. Perhaps one act was a retaliation for the other.

While the launch was out of action, McLeod placed a four oared boat at the disposal of the party and this was overhauled and converted to a cutter to suit their requirements. The camels were beginning to deteriorate in condition and it was decided to try and locate a better site to graze them. On 3 October the camp dog, Rover, died from a poison bait. On the same day Barclay received a request from McLeod to convene a meeting of the residents of the town and other interested persons to discuss matters affecting the district. The meeting was held at the store the following evening.

It was attended by McLeod, T.J. Lynott the hotel keeper, C.J.D. Lynott a well sinker, and two stockmen, E. Wyndham and J. Monaghan. The meeting expressed the need for a telegraph line as it took up to two months to get a reply to a telegram. A better road to the south, with wells, to link with the Barkly Tablelands, was needed. At present there was a 130 km dry stage which restricted travel by teams to a few weeks after the wet season. Travel was impossible during the wet and at the height of the dry. Proper facilities were needed on the river for unloading cargoes from shipping. The maximum weight that could be handled with present facilities was 400 kg. It was considered that Port McArthur would provide an ideal outlet for stock from the Barkly Tableland. McLeod and the hotelkeeper thought that the country along the rivers was ideal for agriculture and the tablelands suitable for sheep.

Over the next few days Macpherson worked with Collins on the boats making repairs and modifications. His merchant navy experience was put to good use. On 10 October Barclay wrote a preliminary report on the route from Newcastle Waters to Borroloola. In it he claimed:

...abundant good country between the Overland Telegraph and Queensland Border to carry from eight to ten million sheep in addition to other stock. This splendid country has a natural outlet at the McArthur River... Since my arrival here I have ridden over fully 500,000 acres [202 343 ha] of first class agricultural land and well watered capable of close settlement.
He included a map indicating sites at which he recommended the sinking of bores, with tanks, rather than wells. He suggested this would open up considerable trade from the tableland for Port McArthur. He concluded by saying that without a survey it was hazardous to give an opinion regarding the possibility of a railway but was confident a cheap line could be constructed to the harbour.

On 11 October Barclay decided to go to Camooweal in Queensland where he could communicate with the Government directly by wire. Macpherson took charge of the party with instructions to shift the camels and then inspect Cabbage Tree Cove on North Island, of the Sir Edward Pellew Group, as a possible anchorage and on his return to survey the principal bars and obstacles in the McArthur River.

The camels and camp were shifted to Duck Island in the river where it was adjudged that good camel feed, relatively free from poisonous plants, was available. Preparations were made for the trip to North Island. Duck Island was departed on 15th with the launch towing the lugger. The river was cleared on 16th and Cabbage Tree Cove reached at noon the next day. The islands were inspected and soundings taken. They returned to the McArthur on 21st and commenced the survey of the river.

Meanwhile Barclay had arrived at Camooweal on 20th. He sent a telegram to Melbourne in which he suggested that he stay in Borroloola with Hill and one other to survey the surrounding country and to make a trial survey for a railway to connect Anthony’s Lagoon with Port McArthur. He further suggested that Macpherson and the others return to Alice Springs with the camels, before the wet set in. This was approved of with the proviso that Barclay was to return to Darwin by 1 April next year.

Macpherson was to return to Alice Springs via Avon Downs, the Marshall River and Arltunga.

Barclay arrived back in Borroloola on 6 November. Macpherson left Borroloola on 13th with Waldron, Simpson, Collins and the two Aborigines. Thus the Barclay-Macpherson Commonwealth Survey and Exploring Expedition effectively came to an end.

After the departure of Macpherson and the others Barclay, Hill and Foulis stayed on at Borroloola until March 1912. During this time they were engaged in surveying the McArthur River for a suitable route for a railway line to connect the Pellew Islands to Anthony’s Lagoon. Hill continued his duties as a naturalist.

On 5 March Barclay notified the Administrator that the three men would soon be leaving by boat for Darwin. Instead they left in mid March, before the steamer arrived, and set out to travel overland by horse via Tanumbirini, Nutwood Downs and New Elsie Station. They arrived at Katherine Telegraph Station on 12 April. From here Barclay wired Melbourne for instructions. He was told to proceed to Darwin and report to the new Administrator, Dr J.A. Gilruth. Four days later at Pine Creek he again wired Melbourne to ask for instructions for Hill and Foulis. Hill was also to report to the Administrator and Foulis was to return by vessel from Darwin. Barclay and Hill presented themselves to the Administrator on 17th. Hill returned to Melbourne but was to return to Darwin in November as Economic Entomologist.
RESULTS - 1912

Two cases of specimens of flora, fauna and minerals were dispatched from Borroloola via Darwin and these were sent to the museum in Melbourne on 20 December 1911.(1) The specimens of flora were delivered to the government Botanist, Professor A.J. Ewart and the results published in 1917.(2) Hill had collected about 850 specimens.(3) He published his ornithological notes from the expedition in 1913.(4) Of the fauna specimens almost nothing is known of their fate.(5) On 3rd January 1912 Barclay sent off another batch of undeveloped negatives.(6) Of the hundreds of photographs taken on the expedition somewhat less than 50 have been traced.(7) Some of Hill's note books survive and Macpherson's diary and six of Barclay's field note books have also survived, but the latter reveal little of great interest.(8) Several of Barclay's maps, especially from the Borroloola-Sir Edward Pellew Group region, survive but appear to have been put to little practical use.(9)

This last of the Barclay-Macpherson expeditions, although adding substantially to the scientific knowledge of the flora and avifauna of the Northern Territory failed to do much else. Little of the country traversed could truly be said to have been previously unexplored. Even that between Haast's Bluff and Newcastle Waters had been crossed several times before.(10) The one difference was that all the previous expeditions had generally travelled in an east-west direction while the Barclay-Macpherson Expedition had travelled south to north. The press, both in the Northern Territory and interstate,(11) had followed the progress of the expedition and perhaps when The Age reported that 'plainly, Captain Barclay has made no rich find' and 'intimates that he has nothing urgent to report', it best summed up the results.(12)

There was one other notable result to come out of the expedition and that was Barclay's report on the Hermannsburg Mission.(13) The report, with a covering letter dated 18 July 1911, was sent by Barclay from Newcastle Waters. Why he did not send it from Alice Springs where the expedition had been encamped for a month is a matter for speculation. The report itself is undated. In it Barclay was very condemning of the unhygienic living conditions that he found at the Mission. He regarded the missionary in charge at the time, Pastor O. Liebler, as unfitted for managing the station. He also considered that the mission had some of the best grassed and watered land in central Australia, much of which he thought suitable for agriculture.

There was much substance in Barclay's claims. The unfortunate Liebler, who was newly arrived from Germany, had to take some of the blame for the poor hygiene at the mission. He was merely filling in for Pastor C.F.T. Strehlow, the regular missionary, who was on leave. It was apparent that the whole management of the mission had deteriorated under Liebler. However, others were also critical of the conditions at the mission, whether it be under the guidance of Strehlow or his stand in. A report by G.A. Johannsen, who worked at the mission from April 1909 to June 1911, criticised the running of the mission under Strehlow.(14) More influential people, such as Baldwin Spencer, went so far as to recommend its closure.(15) In addition, Barclay had never had a high opinion of the way the mission was run, as evidenced in an article he wrote for The Review of Reviews in 1905.(16) As for Barclay's claim for agriculture, while on a small scale and with the aid of irrigation it may have been feasible, on the scale he was thinking of it was not a legitimate claim. In defense, it must be said that in the context of the era, agriculture was still being thought of as possible in central Australia.(17)
On 30 October, Atlee Hunt, in a memo to Corporal Stott of the Alice Springs Police, requested him to visit the mission and make a full report. Stott carried out his investigation in January 1912. He found that the buildings used by the missionaries were in good order but those used by the Aborigines were poorly ventilated and unhygienic. Most wells were in poor condition and cattle yards in need of repair. He considered that the stockmen were the only Aborigines gainfully employed, while all of the Aborigines were treated satisfactorily. In conclusion he considered that '...the Fink (sic) River Missionaries are in no way improving the present condition of the Natives.' The head stockman, Mr E. Munchenberg, informed Stott that the station had been kept much cleaner since Barclay's report.
By May 1912 Ministerial approval had been given for Barclay to carry out a survey of the Pellew Group to ascertain whether a practicable port could be located there. (1) He was also required to determine if a railway could be built from the mouth of the McArthur to such a port. This was in anticipation of a Royal Commission which was to be set up to enquire into Northern Territory railways and ports. (2)

On 4 June Barclay set out by vessel for the purpose of determining the latitude of the Point Charles Light House the position of which he claimed was repeatedly reported incorrectly. (3) His determination of 120° 23' 21" he claimed to differ by one second, or 30.78 m, from the recognised determination but concluded that the position fixed by the Admiralty was correct. The report was passed on to the Royal Navy who merely replied that the correct position had been determined some years ago.

Barclay finally departed for the Pellew Islands on 25 June, but not before ruffling the feathers of Gilruth and not before the 'White Australia Policy' was applied to his activities. (4) Gilruth considered that '...I think more might have been done by him to expedite matters. He engaged four Malays without my knowledge...' Barclay was unable to recruit suitable white seamen or Aboriginals and finally Gilruth had to give his approval. He had also recruited a Mr S.A. Newsham to assist him.

By mid July Melbourne was anxious to know if Barclay had completed a report on his trial survey for the railway line along the McArthur River and a letter of enquiry was sent to the Administrator. (5) Gilruth replied on 17 August that he had not received a report.

Meanwhile Barclay arrived at Carrington's Landing on the McArthur on 15th after:

...a tempestuous voyage from Darwin having to beat the whole distance and twice to shelter from heavy S.E. gales; on several occasions our record after 24 hours hard thrash to windward was from one to three miles (1.6-4.8 km) to the good. The vessel could make no show against the heavy seas running. (6)

The vessel was a Government lugger that had been named H.M. Survey Vessel Jean. (7) Along the way Barclay mapped Stretton Strait off Elcho Island and made some soundings at Groote Eylandt. At Groote he was informed by the local Aborigines that just 'three moons' (months) before they had been visited by a Malay proa which had been fishing in the area. If this report was correct then it was a most unusual record of Macassans. The trepang industry had effectively ended in 1907 and May would have been very late in the season for Macassans to be as far south as Groote Eylandt. (8) Perhaps there had been problems with linguistics somewhere along the lines of communication.

Barclay wrote a further letter to the Administrator on 19th from Borroloola. (9) He had delivered petrol for the forthcoming visit to the area by the Administrator in his car. He informed the Administrator that he would be sounding Batten Creek for the next two weeks and that on his arrival he would like to show him around the country. Barclay had partly sounded a harbour which he also hoped to show the Administrator. The following day Barclay had Newsham charged with 'continued disobedience of orders as seaman.' (10) At the hearing on 23rd the charge was withdrawn and the Commonwealth had to pay 10 Shillings costs.
On 13 September he reported to the Administrator that he had found a satisfactory railway crossing of Batten Creek and levelled the approaches. From there he had made a traverse to the margin of the mangroves bordering the sea. The next day he intended to connect the land traverse, which was complete to Anthony's Lagoon, to the islands.

Melbourne was becoming more anxious about a report from Barclay. On 21 September, through the Administrator, a letter was sent to Barclay demanding that it be sent via the Administrator and that the report was to be treated as urgent. By the time this was received in Darwin Gilruth was approaching Borroloola on his overland tour by car. His representative in Darwin sent a reply to Melbourne and enclosed a copy of Barclay's report dealing with his more recent work. Gilruth, along with Baldwin Spencer the Chief Protector of Aborigines, arrived at Borroloola on 5 October and stayed there for four days. They met up with Barclay at the hotel, a fact which, years later, seems to have sparked Spencer to write a vitriolic attack on Barclay. Barclay and Spencer must have met before as Spencer was to write that he "...had known him long years ago when his name was not quite the same." It must have been when Barclay was using his alias and was probably in Adelaide in 1894 at the beginning of the Horn Expedition in which Spencer took a leading part.

The Administrator was less concerned about where he had met Barclay and was to recommend to the Government that it proceed with the bores between Newcastle Waters and Top Spring and if Barclay's reports of the harbour at the Pellew Islands and a possible railway link proved to be sound it would do a lot to help the settlement of the area.

Melbourne sent a wire to the Administrator on 28 October asking if he had heard anything of Barclay, what he was doing, what instructions he had had and what arrangements had been made regarding finances. Barclay was now earning 10 Pounds 10 Shillings per week and it had been 12 months since they had heard from him. The Administrator replied by wire that he had met Barclay in Borroloola and would write. Gilruth's letter of 8 November enclosed copies of all Barclay's recent reports, with maps. He reported that Barclay's work was progressing satisfactorily and that as he had no reports from prior to May he had asked Barclay to send duplicates, the originals apparently having gone astray.

It was also during this period that Dr H.I. Jensen, the Director of Mines and Government Geologist, was carrying out geological investigations in the area. Barclay devoted several weeks to showing Jensen around the Pellew Islands at the time of his visit.

On 19 December Gilruth sent a wire to Melbourne reporting that he had heard from Barclay that day. Because his Malay crew were demanding higher wages, Barclay had replaced them with an Aboriginal crew. He expected to leave Borroloola soon with enough information to estimate the cost and worth of a harbour.

Meanwhile back in Melbourne the National Museum received a further shipment of "...four boxes of natural history specimens and two bundles of native weapons..." Barclay's period of employment was extended to 17 April 1913.

On 28 January 1913 Melbourne received a wire from Barclay informing them that his work was complete and as soon as the lugger was made seaworthy he would return to Darwin. The lugger had apparently been badly damaged by a storm.

Barclay finally arrived in Darwin on 15 April. He reported to Gilruth that he was well satisfied with the results of his work. He had explored Carrington Channel which he believed to be a better route to Borroloola from the harbour he had located between North and Centre Island. Except for the crossing from South West Island to Centre Island he
believed the proposed railway could be cheaply constructed. A detailed report was to follow. Barclay had also met with an accident which would necessitate two weeks sick leave. His employment was further extended to 30 June.(23)

Soon after returning to Darwin Barclay was admitted to hospital with a septic leg.(24) As a consequence he was unable to complete a detailed report but was expected out of hospital on 21 May. In fact it was early June before he was released(25) and his plans and reports, with the help of the Chief Surveyor, were expected within a month. The Minister, in his 1913 *Report on Operations since the Transfer to the Commonwealth*, was obliged to report that the final report was still not to hand.(26)
On 9 August 1913 the Administrator sent a telegram to Melbourne intimating that Barclay's report and plans were still not complete. As the work was required for the Royal Commission on Northern Territory Ports and Railways he suggested that Barclay should accompany the Commission, at its expense, to Borroloola and show them his work on the spot.

Prior to its departure from Darwin, Barclay gave evidence before the Commission in which he described his work in the Pellew Islands and submitted his proposal for a connecting railway to the anchorage he had sounded there. He also submitted his plans of his surveys and soundings as evidence. His proposals were backed up by witnesses Captain Mugg, Master of H.M.C.S. *Stuart*, and Dr Jensen, the Government Geologist. Barclay also gave evidence for a north-south railway and a railway to serve the Victoria River country from Newcastle Waters.

The Commission, with Barclay, had in fact left Darwin by the *Stuart* at 4 p.m. on 7th, two days before the Administrator's suggestion that he join them. One of the Commissioners was David Lindsay. They reached the Pellew Islands on 13th. The Chairman, Frank Clarke, was impressed with the islands and the anchorage they provided and was keen to make a close inspection in the ship's launch. However it was not to be, the launch's motor refusing to run for any length of time. A week went by as the Commission transferred itself from the *Stuart* to Borroloola with all its equipment. An inspection of the country around the town was made on 22nd and by this time it was evident that a close inspection of the Pellew Islands was out of the question.

On Sunday 24th the Rev. W.M. Wilkinson rode into town. This remarkable cleric had left Laura in Queensland at the end of April to inspect his parish on horseback. His parish included north Queensland and all of the Northern Territory. He was to spend another two years in the saddle while he rode throughout the Territory. He spoke of the country he had just crossed in glowing terms to the Chairman. The Commission, and presumably Barclay, attended his service that night.

Barclay then left with the Commissioners to inspect the country to the south. They were back in Borroloola in early September. On 10th the Chairman gave Barclay a written testimonial recording his satisfaction at the help and assistance given by Barclay and expressing the hope that Barclay would be given the opportunity to complete his report so that its value could be fully realised. Now that his work for the Commission was finished, Barclay was effectively unemployed.

In their final report the Commissioners expressed the opinion that they were satisfied that a suitable harbour and connecting railway were practicable at a reasonable cost. However since they were unable to make a detailed examination of the islands and there were insufficient data on which to base a reliable estimate of costs, they suggested that a more detailed engineering survey was required.
In a letter to Atlee Hunt, which he wrote from Borroloola on 28 September 1913, Barclay expressed the wish to be allowed to return to Melbourne to complete his report. His field work was complete and he was under instructions to proceed to Darwin at the first opportunity. He did not consider that Darwin was the best place to complete his work, especially with the wet season being imminent.

Barclay was still maintaining his contacts with the R.G.S. for on the same day he wrote to the Secretary. As well as reporting that he had finished his work in the area he also understood that ‘...the Commonwealth Parliament intend to order publication [of his maps and reports] but in any case I will forward the Society with early copy.’

It took a month for Barclay’s request to reach Melbourne. It raised the question of whether or not he was still employed by the Department. The record is not clear but a file note of 25 November indicates that since Barclay had neither been dismissed nor his services dispensed with under the terms of his contract, he would probably have to be considered as still in the Department’s employ and have to be asked to report back to Melbourne.

This is apparently what occurred as the Melbourne press recorded that he returned on 22 December. His preliminary report on the construction of a single narrow gauge railway from Anthony’s Lagoon to the anchorage in the Pellew Islands, with estimates of costs (1,027,000 Pounds), was dated 5 January 1914. It was the date of his 69th birthday. The report also included estimates of costs to clear the McArthur River of obstacles to provide a channel of 1.8 m depth (1,570 Pounds) and the estimated cost to improve the road from Anthony’s Lagoon to Borroloola (1,200 Pounds).

On 3rd February Barclay wrote to Gill reporting that he was at work completing his maps and reports and hoped that ‘...when published I look for some thanks & credit.’ The short note was written on Departmental notepaper in a hand showing all of his 69 years.

On 12 February Barclay submitted Part IV, titled McArthur River and Anchorage, of his general report. There is no record of Parts I to III and there were also apparently Parts V and VI, of which there is also no record. The accompanying letter was addressed from Jolimont and he expressed regret at the delay in submitting the report, the delay being due to his wife’s illness. This is the one and only surviving reference in his correspondence that refers to his wife. On 14th a message was sent to Barclay requesting him to call at the Department’s office to discuss his reports. The implication from the Jolimont address was that Barclay was no longer working for the Government. This exchange of correspondence is the last of Barclay’s that survives.

Barclay still had in his possession some instruments and other articles supplied to him for the expedition. The Commonwealth attempted to retrieve the items and in correspondence between Atlee Hunt and the Secretary of the Treasury in 1915, Hunt wrote that Barclay admitted in January 1914 that he still had some of the items and he had offered to pay for them rather then return them. Despite this being agreed to, the Crown Solicitor had still not been able to obtain payment so Hunt sought approval to write off the amount outstanding. This was approved on 23 December 1915. From this period until his death there is no further record of Barclay’s life.
Part IV was a general discussion of the anchorage and proposed railway and a general description of the Pellew Islands, and McArthur River and Batten Creek. It was used by the controlling Minister, P.M. Glynn, in his Outline of Policy for the Northern Territory of June 1914.(10) From this statement of policy it was clear that the Government was not prepared to construct a railway line to serve an area that was as lightly populated as that in the vicinity of Borroloola. As for the harbour, all it was prepared to do was to consider the question of whether or not it would obtain a survey by a harbour engineer.

On 3rd July 1915 Thomas Gill wrote to Atlee Hunt about the 1904 Barclay-Macpherson Expedition.(11) The R.G.S.A.(S.A.) had decided to publish the report in the next volume of their proceedings. The Society wished to publish some of the photographs taken by Barclay, with the report. They had been handed to the South Australian Government at the time but apparently sent to Melbourne at the transfer of the Territory to the Commonwealth. Hunt replied on the 15th that his office held none of the photos taken by Barclay on that expedition.(12) The report was published without photographs, in 1916.(13)
Barclay died at the Auburn Hotel in Hawthorn on 20 September 1917 from disease of the heart and kidneys at age 72. He was buried at sea on 22nd approximately 225 km south of Melbourne. He apparently died intestate and left Constance Barclay unprovided for. In May 1918 Mrs Barclay sold her husband’s field books from 1911-13 and other manuscript material to the Mitchell Library in Sydney. At this time she owned a small cottage at Macedon, a small town about 55 km north-west of Melbourne. In the bushfires of January-February 1919 the cottage was burnt down and perhaps much of Barclay’s original material from his expeditions was lost in the fire.

On 16 August 1922 Barclay’s first wife, Alice Mary Eden Barclay, died in England. She died intestate at Bexhill-on-Sea in Sussex. The eldest son, Henry Alfred Leighton Barclay, managed the estate, the net value of which was 36 Pounds 7 Shillings.

At the end of March 1923 Engineer Vice-Admiral Sir William Clarkson was requested by the Department of Home and Territories to report on existing wharf and shipping facilities in the Northern Territory and the possibility of developing other ports, particularly at the mouth of the McArthur River. One of the things he investigated was Barclay’s harbour scheme and connecting railway. The Admiral agreed that the harbour provided sufficient depth of water for deep draught ships and adequate protection from the sea. However he considered that the island proposed for the railway terminus had insufficient area for the necessary buildings and works associated with such a terminus. He concluded that ‘...railway connexion with the mainland in the manner proposed would cost many times the amount estimated by Captain Barclay, and it is much too risky a scheme to recommend for adoption.’ Barclay’s scheme, along with several others, was continually looked at over the ensuing years but as with the others was never adopted.

Towards the end of 1924 Constance Barclay applied to the Commonwealth Government for financial assistance in recognition of her husband’s work in the Northern Territory. Since Barclay’s death she had been acting as a governess to various families but now she was unable to obtain employment. She was now living on the charity of friends at Surrey Hills, Melbourne.

The Minister for Home and Territories, Senator Pearce, (the Northern Territory was no longer under the control of External Affairs) wrote to Mrs Barclay on 8 February 1926 explaining (incorrectly) that as Barclay had been employed by the Department for less than two years he could not justify the payment of a special grant. As she had now reached 60 years of age he urged her to apply for an old age pension.

In an undated letter Mrs Barclay replied pointing out that her husband had spent much of his life exploring in, and lecturing on, the Northern Territory, often at his own expense. She had photographs and newspaper clippings which she wished to show the Minister as substantiating evidence.

A meeting was arranged between the Secretary of the Department and Mrs Barclay on 15 February. Two days later Frank Brennan M.P. made representations on behalf of Mrs Barclay, who had for a while been employed by him as a nurse.

The Secretary, in a memo to the Minister, listed the arguments in favour of a grant and also raised the precedent of a grant to David Lindsay’s widow of 250 Pounds. He recommended the payment of a similar grant to Mrs Barclay. The matter was referred to
the Treasury. The Treasury took the view that she was eligible for an old age pension and
the Treasurer directed Brennan to suggest to Mrs Barclay that she make the necessary
application. The record does not reveal if Mrs Barclay received a grant.

On 16 November 1927 Barclay’s eldest son died at Guys Hospital, Surrey. He was
described as being of Scarfield School, Collington Lane, Bexhill-on-Sea. He was aged 55
and left all his property to his uncle, Rev. A.D. Barclay, of Looe, County of Cornwall. His
effects were valued at 135 Pounds 11 Shillings and 11 Pence.

Despite being in poor health in 1924-26, Constance Barclay was still alive in 1944. She
was now living in New South Wales at Booker Bay, near Woy Woy, and on 31 July she
wrote to W.H. Ifould of the Department of War Organization of Industry. She was
still in poor circumstance and requested a permit to enable her to purchase a radiator to
ward off the cold of winter.

In correspondence to the Mitchell Library in 1944, Ifould revealed that he had known
Barclay well about forty years ago. At this period of his life, Ifould was working in
the Public Library in Adelaide, where in 1905 he became the principal librarian. Doubtless
the two men had come to know each other at this time. In a short postscript to
his letter, Ifould revealed that Barclay had had a great capacity for drink.
EPILOGUE

Despite the survival of a considerable amount of material relating to Barclay, including his own extensive writings, very little has emerged from it that gives an insight into the man’s private life and personality.

Although the record is far from complete, his education was quite good, especially for the period in which he lived as a child. Doubtless this would have been helped by being born into a family with a strong military background with its attendant status and privileges.

The record of his training in the Royal Marines is more complete and it appears to have been fairly comprehensive. The almost three year sojourn on board H.M.S. *Topaze* no doubt rounded off the young Barclay’s education and training.

Then came the fairly momentous decision, very soon after his first marriage, to move to the Australian colonies. Three sons were born to the Barcleys during this period but it also appears that the marriage foundered soon after with Barclay electing to remain in the Antipodes and Mrs Barclay returning to England with the boys. For whatever reason, the break up was total, and serious enough to cause a complete rift between Barclay and his parents.

His exploration to the north-east of Alice Springs Telegraph Station in 1878 was in an area largely unexplored and although the party did not achieve its ultimate aim Barclay showed considerable fortitude and leadership. It should also be stated that he had the services of an excellent bushman in Charles Pfitzner.

For the rest of his life Barclay was never in the one place for longer than four years, with the possible exception of his time in New Zealand. However, his one consuming interest was the Northern Territory to which he was to return time and again until he was well into his sixties. Although the extant record of these journeys within the Northern Territory is not great there were periods of privation and hardship to endure, not uncommon in the history of exploration of the Northern Territory.

It was during these travels that Barclay formed a partnership with Ronald Macpherson that endured for at least seven years and lasted through three extensive journeys in the Northern Territory. It is unfortunate that very little is known about this friendship.

There are several other mysteries which must remain about the man Barclay:

- what was behind the use of the name Strathallan and the crest with its motto?
- who (and what) was behind the Strathallan Expedition?
- was there a second marriage or was it, as it would appear to be, simply a defacto relationship?
- what was behind Barclay’s rental of extensive lands in the Northern Territory?

Then there is the grandee side of his nature: the top hat and kid gloves look, apparent throughout much of his life; the adoption of a name with apparent links to the nobility; his use of the title ‘Captain’; and membership to various learned societies to give but a few examples.
There seems little doubt of his propensity for drink as stated by Ifould. The Reverend Scherer(1) in writing about Barclay’s adverse report on the Hermannsburg Mission also wrote that ‘Rev. O.Liebler stated that Barclay evidently enjoyed himself very much during his stay and drank all the cider from the dates that the mission produced.’ W.H.Hill(2) also wrote that his father, G.F.Hill, confirmed Barclay’s capacity for drink.

However, on the positive side, W.H.Hill(3) recalled his father writing ‘...[Barclay was] a most amiable old gentleman but at times given to saying and doing stupid things.’(4) And further: ‘I never heard him complain or utter a bad word.’ In addition G.F.Hill never mentioned quarrels between Barclay and Macpherson and that in fact they got on well together.(5) This would tend to put the lie to Christopher Walker’s claim of dissention between the two men.(6)

Finally, it is evident from Mrs Constance Barclay’s correspondence with Federal Government bureaucrats of the time that she was fiercely loyal to her husband and had a very strong belief in the work he had done for Australia as an explorer.

All that remains to commemorate Barclay’s contribution to the Northern Territory is a street in Alice Springs which bears his name. On the north coast of the Northern Territory, south of Goulburn Island, there is a Barclay Point, but the origin of the naming of this point is not known.(7)
APPENDIX 1

Barclay Nomenclature

Introduction

The following table lists geographic features which are known to have been named or are believed to have been named by Henry Vere Barclay. The spelling is as given by Barclay.

To quote Barclay: '...I mapped the major part of the Waterhouse, Macdonnell (sic) and Strangways Ranges; discovered and named the Jervois & Tarlton Ranges and also the Hale, Plenty, Marshall and Arthur Rivers with many other minor features, as may be seen by reference to Parliamentary Paper no. 209 of 1878 and the map issued therewith...' Very few of the features obviously named by Barclay and Winnecke are actually named in their journals of the expedition/s. They probably named several of the features around Alice Springs while working on the triangulation of the area both together and separately, as intimated by Barclay in the quote above. Thus it is often difficult to attribute the naming of specific features to either man. Before Barclay handed over the leadership to Winnecke the two men spent some time together working up their traverses and compiling maps and they probably applied names to features at this time. This is supported by some of the claims later made by both men, as becomes evident in the discussion below.

Prior to the work of Barclay and Winnecke, little survey work and exploration had taken place in the vicinity although it would have been well known to the local population. Stuart had named most features and John Ross some others. Yet other names doubtless came about by common usage and their application is impossible to credit to specific people. It is also most likely that names were applied to features in the Survey Office back in Adelaide and not necessarily by the two surveyors. This is known to have occurred with Ernest Giles' explorations.

Discussion

Arthur Creek. 22° 35' 136° 30'
This feature is first named on Barclay's 1878 map. Favenc states that Barclay named the creek and Barclay also made the claim of himself. Barclay, with Pfitzner, reached the creek on 23 May. It was probably named after his brother, Arthur Denny Barclay.

Bald Hill. 23° 17' 134° 10'
This feature also makes its first appearance on Barclay's map. Barclay recorded it in his journal on 14 March as 'a remarkable bald hill...' Thus the hill derived its name from its appearance.

Mt Baldwyn. 22° 48' 135° 57'
Shown on Barclay's map and spelled with a 'y' it is now known as Mt Baldwin. While the origin of the name is not certain, a possibility is that it was named by Barclay after Rev. Baldwin Leighton (see Barclay family tree).
Mt Campbell. 23° 06' 134° 42'
Barclay first mentioned this feature in his journal on 5 February while N.E. of Mt Milton.(9) However, curiously, the feature is not shown on his map, and he also made no claim to have named it. This feature appears not to have been recognised beyond Barclay's journal. If Barclay had originally applied the name it seems likely that he would have named it after W.Campbell of his survey team. However, he was most probably merely formalising local usage. Other features named by Barclay after his men were not mentioned in his diary and there seems little reason to suppose that Campbell should be singled out, especially so early in the expedition.

However, a Mt Campbell does appear on Winnecke's 1882 map. But the Mt Campbell on Winnecke's and modern maps is some 50 km from the position given by Barclay, to the east of Mt Riddoch.

With these factors in mind, and Campbell's relatively small contribution to the expedition, another possibility arises for the origin of the naming of the mountain on Winnecke's map. The feature may have been named after Allan Campbell. As well as being an Adelaide medical practitioner and administrator of some repute, he was elected to the Legislative Council in late 1878.(10)

Conical Hill. 22° 48' 136° 28'
Although first appearing on Barclay's map under this name it is now known as Mt Cornish. On 22 May Barclay recorded in his journal, 'I started at 12.30 towards a conical hill...' (11) Another feature first named for its appearance but probably too common a name for it to survive. The name Cornish was applied by Charles Winnecke in 1883 '...after Mr. H. Cornish, the surveyor and explorer.'(12)

Edwards Creek. 22° 51' 134° 09'
Although not recorded in Barclay's journal the feature makes its first appearance on his map. Probably named after one of his men, Henry Edwards.

Gillen Creek. 23° 00' 134° 13'
Not mentioned in Barclay's journal but appears on his map. May have been named after Francis James Gillen who became an operator on the telegraph line in 1875.(13) There is also a suggestion that it could have been named after Gillen's brother, Peter Paul, but he did not become a politician until 1889 and consequently it seems less likely that Barclay would have known him.(14) At the time of the survey he was about 20 years old and working for a storekeeper at Clare, S.A.

Hale River. 23° 23' 134° 45'
Upper reaches crossed by Barclay on 14 March 1878.(15) Favenc and Barclay both claimed that the latter named the river.(16) Cockburn records that the river was mapped and named by Barclay after Robert Dalton Hale who made the claim to Cockburn that he was a resident of Alice Springs at the time.(17) While this claim is difficult to dispute, there is no extant record to support it.(18) Another explanation for the name has been that it was named after Bishop Mathew Blagden Hale, who left South Australia as an Archdeacon in 1848, thirty years before the Barclay expedition.(19)

If Barclay did name the river, there is a more likely explanation. The presiding Minister at his first marriage was John Matthew Hale Whish.(20) Hale was Whish's mother's maiden name(21) and there is a possibility that Barclay commemorated the family name.
High Bluff. 22° 50’ 135° 18’
Shown on Barclay’s map with this name, this feature is probably what today is known as Entire Point. On 16 April 1878 Barclay recorded ‘...to N. high flat-topped hills running parallel to our course...’ and he may have been alluding to the Bluff then.(22)

Jervois Ranges. 22° 37’ 136° 14’
Named the ‘Jervois Ranges’ by Barclay on 22 May 1878 after Sir William Frances Drummond Jervois, C.B., G.C.M.G., who was then the Governor of South Australia.(23) It is shown on Barclay’s map as the Jervois Range and is known today by that name.

Mt Johnston. 23° 10’ 134° 21’
This feature is first shown on Barclay’s map, but on Winnecke’s later map the name is spelled Johnstone and it is now known by that name. If Barclay’s map is correct it was most probably named after D.Johnston of Winnecke’s team. Another possibility is that it was named after J.McL.Johnston(e) an operator on the telegraph line.(24) In 1875 Johnston was employed at The Shacktle telegraph station in the north(25) and he may still have been there in 1877-78 thus making it less likely to have been named after him.

Langford Creek. 22° 40’ 134° 23’
This feature is first shown on Barclay’s map and was reached by him on or about 10 February 1878.(26) The name is not mentioned by Barclay in his journal and its origin is not known.

Mt Laughton. 23° 22’ 134° 23’
This feature is shown on Barclay’s map with this spelling but is now called Mt Laughlen. The origin of the name/s has not been discovered. This mountain was probably that named by John Ross on 19 December 1870 as Mt Thring.

Mt Leighton. 22° 49’ 136° 02’
This feature appeared on maps for many years but was deleted from the 1:250 000 topographic maps, series R 502, in 1964. Possibly it was what is now known as Mt Thring. Barclay had also given the name to his son, so he may have named it after him. It was an old family name going back to his Grandfather’s sister who married into the Leighton family in England.(27) Refer to Barclay family tree.

Lucy Creek. 22° 12’ 136° 35’
This feature is not named on Barclay’s map. Barclay and Pfitzner reached this creek on 25 May 1878.(28) Winnecke was to reach the same creek from the opposite direction in 1880 but he also did not name it. It may have been named after Barclay’s sister, Lucy. Another possibility is that it was named after Edwin Robert Chettle Lucy a stationmaster on the telegraph line from 1877.(29)

Marshall River. 22° 54’ 136° 37’
Barclay was to claim many times that he named this river(30) and it was recorded as early as May 1879 that he had done so.(31) Favenc also recorded that Barclay named the river.(32) However, in Winnecke’s diary from his 1883 explorations he wrote ‘...the Hay and Marshall Rivers (of my previous explorations)...’(33) Neither river is mentioned in his report nor do they appear on his map from his previous explorations. The two surveyors may have jointly applied the name, but in view of the record from 1879 it would appear that Barclay would have the greater claim. The origin of the name is not known.
Mt Milton. 23° 05' 133° 54'
This feature appears on Barclay's map and is also mentioned by him in his journal. He made no claim to have named the mountain which suggests that it was a name that probably came about by common usage and was merely formalised by Barclay and Winnecke. The name probably came from William Milton, a teamster on Section C of the O.T.L.

Mueller Creek. 22° 35' 134° 27'
Named by Barclay on 10 February 1878. It may have been named after the botanist Baron Sir Ferdinand von Mueller, as recorded by Cockburn. Although Baron Mueller was well known at the time there seems little reason for Barclay to perpetuate his name in yet another feature of central Australia. Giles had already seen to that and the two explorers did know each other.

It seems more likely to have been named after J.F. Mueller, the Officer in Charge of the Alice Springs Telegraph Station at the time of the expedition. Another suggestion is that it was named after Mueller's brother who was supposed to be a well sinker on the telegraph line. As already stated Barclay named the creek on 10 February. On 19 February after returning to the Burt Well, Barclay recorded that he 'found Mr. Mueller and some well sinkers camped there.' The implication is that it was J.F. Mueller that Barclay met at Burt Creek. The creek is now more commonly known as Muller Creek.

Mt Pfitzner. 23° 02' 134° 07'
This feature first appears on Barclay’s map and doubtless derives from C.Pfitzner, one of Barclay’s men.

Mt Playford. 22° 32' 136° 22'
This feature makes its first appearance on Barclay’s map and was reached by Barclay and Pfitzner on 23 May 1878. It is likely that the feature was named after the South Australian Thomas Playford who was M.H.A. for East Torrens and Commissioner of Crown Lands and Immigration at the time of the survey.

Plenty River. 22° 55' 135° 45'
Named by Barclay on 20 April 1878 after finding a plentiful supply of water in a well the expedition dug in the river, at Camp VII.

Mt Powell. 23° 08' 135° 22'
Shown on Barclay’s map as having water in a rockhole. Other comments on the map suggest that Barclay visited the area, probably on 9 June 1878, although he does not specifically record it in his journal. On the map of E.Flint’s exploration of 1882, Flint recorded the feature as ‘Barclay’s - Mt Powell.’ Named by Barclay after Commodore R.Ashmore Powell who was commander of H.M.S. Topaze.

Randall’s Peak. 23° 25' 134° 10'
May not have been named by Barclay, although it makes its first appearance on his map. Again, it was probably a name that was formalised by Barclay and Winnecke. May have been named after Walter David Randall who was an operator on the telegraph line.

Mt Sainthill. 22° 45' 135° 41'
Probably named by Barclay but the derivation is not known.
Tarlton Range. 22º 47' 136º 48'
Barclay claimed to have named this range. It is not shown on his 1878 map but may have been what he marked as 'Low broken hills'. The name first appears on Winnecke's map of 1882. He does not refer to it in his report but in his diary from his 1883 explorations he refers to 'the Tarlton Range (of my previous exploration)....'(48) Perhaps, as they were working together, the two surveyors have a joint claim to the naming of the range.

In the letter quoted in the introduction to this appendix, Barclay first wrote the name as 'Tarleton' but crossed out the 'e'. With this, and Barclay's connections with the Royal Marines, in mind there is the possibility that the name derives from Rear Admiral John Walter Tarleton C.B. who was a Lord Commissioner of the Admiralty from 1872 to 1875 inclusive.(49)

Probably the more likely source of the name is Robert Alfred Tarlton who was a prominent South Australian businessman and pastoralist, and member of the Legislative Council from April 1873.(50)

Cockburn also lists Mount Knuckey, 'East of Alice Springs', as having been named by Barclay.(51) This feature was named by Winnecke in 1883 '...after Mr. R. Knuckey, one of the well-known pioneers of the Overland Telegraph Line.'(52)

Purvis claimed that 'Mts. Undoolya and Benstead, the Trephina Creek...must all be accredited to Barclay and Winnecke...'(53) Benstead and Undoolya are shown on both surveyor's maps but they are probably names that were applied locally and formalised by them. Trephina is not shown on their maps and most likely cannot be attributed to them.
APPENDIX 2

Macpherson’s return Journey from Borroloola

With Barclay’s return to Borroloola from Camooweal on 6 November 1911, Macpherson received the news that he was to take the party back to Oodnadatta via the eastern Barkly Tablelands, Marshall River, Arltunga and Alice Springs.(1)

Over the next six days preparations were made to split the expedition and prepare for the trip south. The health of the camels had improved but they were clearly not thriving in the hot moist weather and had suffered from ticks and mange. One bull camel, Barney, died from poisoning on the 12th.

Macpherson departed Borroloola at 2.45 p.m. on 13 November. With him were Waldron, as second in command, Thomas Simpson, Edward Collins, the two Aborigines, and eighteen camels. Cape Crawford was reached on 17th. The wet season had set in and rain commenced on 16th making for slow progress. Another camel, Jumper, had become sick and died on the 19th.

The McArthur River was reached that afternoon and being in flood it could not be crossed. The heavy rain continued and another camel, Midget, was sick. Macpherson made camp. He was at a loss to explain the trouble with the camels and speculated that it might be ‘red water’ (tick fever) as they were carefully shepherded to keep them from the poison bush.

The river had fallen overnight and they were able to get clear of it by noon the next day. There was much poison bush in the area so the mouths of the camels were lashed up to prevent them from eating it. The thunderstorms commenced at 3 p.m. and continued till midnight.

The Kilgour River was reached on 22nd. Midget was still sick and several of the other camels were vomiting. Rain continued, making the ground very boggy and the way heavy going for the camels. Midget had to be abandoned on 23rd. Friday 24 November broke fine and clear and Macpherson took the opportunity to camp on some good camel feed and rest the camels. Waldron and Simpson went back to check on Midget, but the camel died soon after they found it. The two men performed a post-mortem and found the stomach was perfectly healthy but the kidneys were badly diseased. Thunderstorms started again at noon - their 9th consecutive day of rain.

Walhallow Station was passed at 10.30 a.m. on 25th and after a mid day break:

...a terrific thunderstorm commencing almost immediately afterwards with torrents of rain. Bad country to be caught in - open plain, and crab holes every where - track completely submerged in less than a quarter of an hour - camels continually bogged, necessitating shifting loads on and off time after time - travelled about four miles (6.4 km) between 1.15 p.m. and 4.15 p.m.

Anthony’s Lagoon Police Station was reached on 27th. There the camels were rested while the party waited for the south mail to arrive. From the two policemen, M.C.’s Holland and Kerin, Macpherson was able to obtain information on the state of the track ahead. The mailman, Fuller, finally arrived on 1 December with only his pack horses, having been forced to leave his buggy at Brunette Downs. ‘He reports a rough experience on downs south of here, hard job to get through even with horses - tells me quite

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impossible to travel camels for at least another three or four days even if no rain falls. Station buggy and transport wagons stranded on track...

Macpherson stayed on till 3rd and left after the noon meal. For awhile he was able to travel over hard red soil but upon reaching the black soil at 4.30 p.m. he decided to camp. There was no poison bush now so for the first time in over three months the camels were hobbled and allowed to wander on their own. The abundant flies and mosquitoes were ‘an abomination’ and made life difficult for man and beast.

Travel was resumed the next day although ‘...the black soil plain [was] fearfully boggy. Passed teamster Murray at 8.30 a.m. with his wagon bogged up to the axles alongside the road - he left Borroloola for Brunette at the end of August and has not arrived at his destination yet.’

On 5th one of the camels became bogged but after shifting his load he was hauled out after only a 10 minute delay. Corella Creek was reached at 11.20 a.m. and luckily the creek was down and they crossed easily. There was more heavy rain for half an hour at 3 o’clock.

Brunette was reached at 10 a.m. on 6th and after more rain and boggy conditions Alexandria Downs was reached in the early afternoon of 9th. Simpson was suffering badly from sore eyes and the flies also made it necessary to doctor the camel’s eyes and nose peg holes daily. However, the camels were now out of the poison country and a spell on good feed was improving them.

Alexandria was departed on 12th and the Ranken River reached on 13th. Four days were occupied there at the store while the camels were doctored and the supplies checked for the trip south. Necessary stores were obtained from the storekeeper, Watson. Another man, Duncan Cowie, was taken on the strength and in exchange for the use of the spare camel and rations was to help with the work of the party.

They left the store on 18th. Avon Downs was reached on 20th and departed the next day. The Ranken was reached again on 22nd and a couple of days occupied in making final preparations for the crossing of the desert country ahead. Macpherson did not expect to find water before reaching the Marshall River but fully expected to have to go through to the eastern end of the MacDonnell Ranges without it.

An early departure was made on 27th and a course set for Mt Playford. The desert country was struck at 11.40 a.m. Despite being able to find good camel feed from time to time, the camels were beginning ‘to look tucked up’ by 29th and travelling badly. By 30th they were beginning to show much distress and lying down at every opportunity.

It was evident to Macpherson that they would not reach the Marshall River without water for the camels, so on 30th he altered course for the Sandover River. One camel had to be abandoned and superfluous equipment was discarded. Travel was confined to the cooler hours of the day.

On 1 January 1912 an early camp was made on some Parakeelya and Macpherson went ahead on foot to try to locate the river. After five miles he returned to camp only to find that two more camels had died. Macpherson decided to temporarily abandon all their equipment and take the camels ahead with the water kegs to find water. They set off at 8.50 p.m. and when at 11.35 they struck a good patch of Parakeelya he stopped to rest the camels in the cool of the night.
Next morning one of the camels was missing and some of the others refused to move. Macpherson decided to go on with one of the Aborigines, Tom, to find water, leaving the others to tend the camels. The two men left at 10.30 a.m. and soon found the missing camel ‘...under a tree contentedly chewing his cud.’ They reached a creek soon after noon and after turning to the west came upon an Aboriginal camp at 2 p.m. There was not sufficient water in nearby wells for the camels but one of the Aborigines agreed to guide them to water to the east. At 5 p.m. they found a good supply of water after digging down into a large damp patch in the bed of the creek. Macpherson immediately sent up a smoke to alert the rest of the party.

As the others had not arrived by midnight Macpherson set off and arrived in camp at 2 a.m. to find that they had not seen the signal. A strong south-east wind had dispersed the smoke. Four more of the camels had died and another died on 3rd. The surviving camels were shifted to the water on the Sandover River. The only camel that was not showing signs of distress was the one animal that was known not to have eaten any poison.

At the new camp on the Sandover there was good camel feed and Macpherson determined to stay there for as long as necessary till the remaining camels recovered. On 6th Waldron, Simpson, the two trackers and a guide set off at 4 p.m. to retrieve the abandoned stores and equipment. They returned at 1 a.m. that night.

On 10th Macpherson took Simpson, Tom and three of the best camels to track the river to the east. At 11.20 a.m. they came across a party of hunting Aborigines and at 2.20 p.m. met the junction with what Macpherson thought was the Ooratippra Creek. They continued to follow the river the next day till 12.30 when they decided to return.

The river was followed back till the Ooratippra was reached and this was followed up for nearly 20 miles. They then turned north across country and the main camp was reached at 4.25 p.m. on 14th. Rain had set in once again. All but two of the camels were recovering.

On 17 January the party headed south to the Ooratippra Creek and the Ooratippra Waterhole was reached on 19th where the camels were spelled for a day. They now entered the rough country of the Dulcie Range and cleared it at 10.20 a.m. on 22nd. The Marshall River was crossed at 2.40 p.m. and camp made on a large waterhole.

At 10.20 a.m. the next day the MacDonnell Ranges were within sight and the Plenty River reached on 24th, 24 hours later. Mt Mary was passed at noon on 25th and Arltunga reached at 2.30 p.m. on 28th. There were no orders waiting for Macpherson so he waited for the next mail due on 31st.

The mail brought no orders so the party departed Arltunga on 2 February and arrived at the Alice Springs Telegraph Station at 11.45 a.m. on 5th. After making a return visit to Arltunga, Macpherson with the rest of the party departed Alice Springs on 13th. Oodnadatta was reached on 28th after an excursion to Dalhousie.

The services of Simpson and Edwards were terminated on 2 March. Of the original 20 camels only eight returned to Oodnadatta. Macpherson and Waldron arrived in Melbourne on 9 March 1912, not quite 14 months after their departure.
**ABBREVIATIONS**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Abbreviation</th>
<th>Description</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>AA</td>
<td>Australian Archives.</td>
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<td>ADB</td>
<td>Australian Dictionary of Biography.</td>
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<td>ADM</td>
<td>Admiralty.</td>
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<tr>
<td>CLO</td>
<td>Crown Lands Office.</td>
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<tr>
<td>CPP</td>
<td>Commonwealth Parliamentary Paper.</td>
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<tr>
<td>CSO(P)</td>
<td>Chief Secretary's Office, Premier.</td>
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<tr>
<td>ICE</td>
<td>The Institution of Civil Engineers.</td>
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<tr>
<td>ML</td>
<td>Mitchell Library, Sydney.</td>
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<tr>
<td>MUP</td>
<td>Melbourne University Press.</td>
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<tr>
<td>OTL</td>
<td>Overland Telegraph Line.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>P.M.G.</td>
<td>Paymaster General's Office (UK).</td>
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<tr>
<td>P.R.O.</td>
<td>Public Record Office (UK).</td>
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<tr>
<td>P.R.O.S.A.</td>
<td>Public Record Office of South Australia.</td>
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<tr>
<td>R.G.S.</td>
<td>Royal Geographical Society (UK).</td>
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<tr>
<td>SAPP</td>
<td>South Australian Parliamentary Paper.</td>
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<tr>
<td>SGO</td>
<td>Surveyor-General's Office.</td>
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</table>
NOTES

1845 - 1861

2 Baptism Register, St Mary’s Church, Bury, Lancashire.
6 Application for admission to ICE, Westminster, 10 July 1876.
7 H.J.Thomas pers. comm. 1987. Only some of the registers for the School of Design survive and these indicate that Barclay was a pupil from January to March 1861.
8 H.V.Barclay (1878), ‘Journal of Mr.Barclay’s Exploration, 1878’, *SAPP*, no. 209.
10 AA: CP 661/19 no. 7A.
11 Mitchell Library, Sydney, ML X 983.8/1.
12 R.G.S.A.(S.A.), MS. 7c.

1861 - 1866

1 Ernest Favenc (1908), *The Explorers of Australia and Their Life-Work*, Whitcombe and Tombs Limited, Christchurch. None of Favenc’s information relating to Barclay’s supposed naval career has proved to be correct. Perhaps he had obtained the information directly from Barclay who at this period in his life, i.e. 1900’s, had assumed a naval career.
2 ADM. 38 8328, Muster Book H.M.S. *Ilustrious*.
3 *Queens Regulations* (1861), ‘Royal Marine Cadets’, Chapter xvii, p. 157. Marine Cadets were required to be not younger than 15 years and not over 17 years of age. They were also required to be not under 5 feet 1/2 inches (1.59 m).
4 Application for admission to ICE, 10 July 1876.
5 *Queens Regulations* (1861).
6 ADM. 38 6144-6146, Muster Books H.M.S. *Excellent*.
8 Col.C.Field (1924), *Britain’s Sea Soldiers*, Lycam Press.
9 Barclay to Atlee Hunt, 1 December 1910, AA: CRS A3 137162.
10 Application to be placed on list of Authorised Surveyors for Colony of New Zealand, Wellington, 14 May 1880.
11 ADM. 38 6144-6146, Muster Books H.M.S. *Excellant*.
12 *Queens Regulations* (1861).
13 Application to ICE.

1866 - 1869

1 *Topaz* was built at Devonport in 1856. She had a displacement of 2702 tonnes and an armament of 31 guns.
2 P.R.O. ADM. 196/61, Officer’s services Royal Marine Light Infantry.
3 Remark Books, H.M.S *Topaze* 1866-69, Hydrographic Department, Taunton, Somerset.
4 Barclay, *SAPP*, no. 209.
5 H.V.Barclay Strathallan to A.T.Maganey, 16 February 1894, Mortlock Library, A 527 (B7).
10 P.R.O. ADM. 196/61.

12 Application to ICE.

13 Barclay to Hunt, 1 December 1910, AA: CRS A3 13/7162.

14 Application to List of Authorized Surveyors, N.Z.

Barclay's plan of the fortifications of Valparaiso is held by the Hydrographic Department, Royal Navy, Taunton, A1217 shelf Uo.

15 P.R.O. ADM. 196/61.

1869 - 1871

1 P.R.O. ADM. 196/61.

2 Application to ICE.


4 P.R.O. ADM. 196/61.


6 P.R.O. ADM. 196/61.

1871 - 1876

1 Application to ICE.

2 Extract from *Imperial Institute Journal* (1899), vol. 5, no. 52, pp. 99-100, copy in ML At. 34-2/18.


4 Application to ICE.


6 D.Allen pers. comm. 1877. Lands Department, Hobart, Book 6, 1588 & 1589.

7 Register of Births, District of New Norfolk, 1873 no.1147/1737 and 1874 no.102/1827.


11 A check of the indices of the Office of the Principal Registrar Adelaide found no record.

12 See following chapter where this is discussed further.


1876

1 Application to ICE.

2 Application for admission to Royal Astronomical Society, 1 August 1876.


1876 - 1877

1 Discussed in following chapter.

2 H.V.Barclay (1907), 'Roughing It in Central Australia', *Life*, 15 November, p. 440.

3 P.R.O.S.A., GRG 35/1/1877/1073.


5 P.R.O.S.A., GRG 35/2/1877/1015.

6 Bessie Threadgill (1922), *South Australian Land Exploration 1856 to 1880*, Board of Governors of the Public Library, Museum, and Art Gallery of South Australia, Adelaide, p. 167.

7 *Life*, 15 November 1907, p. 441.

8 P.R.O.S.A., GRG 35/1/1877/1073.

9 *Life*, 15 November 1907, p. 441.
1877 - 1878

1 P.R.O.S.A., GRG 35/1/1877/1171.
2 Charles Winnecke (1882), 'Herbert River and North-East Exploring Expedition', SAPP no. 121.
3 P.R.O.S.A., GRG 35/1/1877/1171.
4 P.R.O.S.A., GRG 35/1/1877/1073.
5 Life, 15 November 1907, p. 441.
6 Life, 15 November 1907, p. 441.
7 P.R.O.S.A., Letters Received SG0, GRG 35/2/1877.
8 H.V.Barclay, (1907), 'The Resources of Central Australia', Life, 15 February, p. 144.
9 List of documents, etc., handed to Survey Dept., attached to 'Report of Mr.Barclay's Exploration to the Queensland Border', in Thomas Gill's papers, R.G.S.A.(S.A.).
11 P.R.O.S.A., GRG 35/2/1877.
12 P.R.O.S.A., GRG 35/2/1878/4225.
13 'Field Book no. 13, Latitudes, Alice Springs to Eastern Boundary of Province. Vide Journal no. 1, By H.Barclay, 1877-78'.
   In possession of 'The Institution of Surveyors, Australia', S.A. Div. Inc.
14 Pers. comm. 1987, Keith E. Mooney-Smith, Chief Draftsman, Northern Territory Department of Lands, Alice Springs.
15 Life, 15 November 1907, p. 443.
16 Lorraine Dale (1981), Buildust & Bough Shades - over 100 years of history and horse racing in 'The Alice', Aldette Publishers, Alice Springs.
17 List of Documents, etc., Thomas Gill's papers, R.G.S.A.(S.A.).
18 Barclay, SAPP no. 209.
   Winnecke, SAPP no. 121.

Early 1878

1 Barclay, SAPP no. 209.
   2 See Appendix 1.
   3 See Appendix 1.
4 There is no extant record of Europeans having previously visited this area. John Ross and his party travelled up the Waite in December 1870 while looking for a route for the overland telegraph. The intervening seven years allowed time enough for a lone prospector, or similar person, to visit the area.
5 See Appendix 1.

Mid 1878

1 Winnecke, SAPP no. 121.
2 P.R.O.S.A., GRG 35/2/1878/4225.
5 P.R.O.S.A., GRG 35/1/1878/1476.
6 Barclay to Bonython, 25 April 1906, R.G.S.A.(S.A.) MS. 7c.
7 P.R.O.S.A., GRG 35/1/1878/1476.
8 P.R.O.S.A., GRG 35/1/1878/1476.
9 P.R.O.S.A., GRG 35/2/1878/4225.
10 Winnecke, SAPP no. 121.
11 P.R.O.S.A., GRG 35/1/1878/1476.
12 P.R.O.S.A., GRG 35/1/1878/1476.

Late 1878

1 The South Australian Register, 10 June 1879, p. 6.
2 Winnecke, SAPP no. 121.
3 P.R.O.S.A., GRG 35/1/1878/1476.
4 P.R.O.S.A., GRG 35/2/1878/4225.
5 H.V. Barclay (1907), Life, 15 November, p. 442.
6 In possession of 'The Institution of Surveyors, Australia', South Australian Division Inc.
7 P.R.O.S.A., GRG 35/258/22.
8 ML X 983.8/1.
9 R.G.S.A. (S.A.), MS. 7c.
10 See following chapter for further discussion.

1878 to 1879

1 P.R.O.S.A., GRG 35/1/1878/1476.
2 A search at the Adelaide City Archives failed to find any surviving material relating to Barclay. A check by the City Engineer and Surveyor's Department also revealed no surviving maps or field books of Barclay's, Bob Inglis pers. comm. 1986.
3 Barclay to Hunt, 1 December 1910, AA: CRS A3 13/7162.
4 Application to Authorized List of Surveyors, N.Z.
5 The South Australian Government Gazette, 26 July 1877, p. 282.
6 The South Australian Advertiser, 6 January 1879, p. 38.
7 The Australian, 11 January 1879, p. 38.
8 P.R.O.S.A., Letters Sent SGO, GRG 35/2/1879.
9 P.R.O.S.A., GRG 35/2/1879/03.
11 South Australian Directory, 1879, Sands and McDougall.
12 'Missing Friends.', South Australian Police Gazette, 29 June 1881, p. 119.

1879 to 1884

1 Archivist, National Archives, New Zealand, pers. comm. 1987. Information from the indexes and registers of correspondence for the Lands and Survey Wellington District Office. The relevant files have not survived.
2 Barclay to Hunt, 1 December 1910, AA: CRS A3 13/7162.
3 Chief Surveyor, Department of Survey and Land Information, Wellington, New Zealand, pers. comm. 1987.
4 Field Book no. 478, held by Department of Survey and Land Information, District Office, Wellington, New Zealand.
5 Application to List of Authorised Surveyors, N.Z.
6 Barclay to Hunt, 1 December 1910, AA: CRS A3 13/7162.
7 Chief Surveyor, Department of Survey and Land Information, New Plymouth, New Zealand, pers. comm. 1987.
8 Maps ML 2, ML 19B, ML 20, ML 31 and MLC 31; Field Books N22-N26 and P74-P76 inclusive, all held by Department of Survey and Land Information, District Office, New Plymouth, N.Z.
9 Application to List of Authorised Surveyors, N.Z.
10 Maps SO 529 and DP 231.

1884 to 1887


79
J.R. Porter, Deputy Surveyor-General, Department of Lands, South Australia pers. comm. 1986.


1887 to 1890

1 ML X 983.8/1.
2 e.g. In P.R.O.S.A., GRS I 1890/243.
3 L. Burgo, Secretary, 'Society of Australian Genealogists', Sydney, pers. comm. 1986.
4 Barclay to Hunt, 1 December 1910, AA: CRS A3 13/7162.
5 David Lindsay (1889), 'An Expedition across Australia from South to North, between the telegraph line and the Queensland boundary, in 1885-6'. Proceedings of the Royal Geographical Society and Monthly Record of Geography, November number, pp. 650-71.
6 David Lindsay (1889).
7 The South Australian Register, 22 April 1891, p. 6.
9 Mortlock Library, Adelaide, A 527 (B7).
10 'Field Book no. 254, Survey of Gold Claim east of Alice Springs By H. Barclay Strathallan, March 1890'. In possession of 'The Institution of Surveyors, Australia', South Australian Division Inc.
11 ML X 983.8/1.
12 P.R.O.S.A., GRS I 1890/243.
13 R.G.S.A.(S.A.), MS. 7c.
14 P.R.O.S.A., GRS I 1890/931.

1890

1 ML X 983.8/1.
2 Somerset House, London. Will of Henry Bruce Barclay, proved 19 March 1890.
3 P.R.O.S.A., GRS I 1890/243.
4 P.R.O.S.A., GRS I 1890/243.

1890 to 1892

1 New South Wales Blue Book (1892), for the year 1891, Government Printer, Sydney, p. 126.
2 Barclay to Hunt, 1 December 1910, AA: CRS A3 13/7162.
3 Barclay to Hunt, 1 December 1910, etc.
4 The Institution of Civil Engineers, Minutes of Proceedings, 1916-17, vol. 203, p. 421.
5 Legislative Assembly Papers, New South Wales, 1889, no. 509.
6 P.R.O. ADM. 2328/00.
7 P.R.O. PMG. 20/11.
8 New South Wales Blue Book (1893), for the year 1892, Government Printer, Sydney, p. 124.
9 John H. Forsyth, Archives Officer, State Rail Authority of New South Wales, pers. comm. 1986.

1892 to 1894

2 The Daily Telegraph, 31 August 1895 and 7 September 1895, p. 9.

1894 to 1896

1 Mortlock Library, Adelaide, A 527 (B7).
2 Field Book no. 254, Survey of Gold Claims.
3 R.G.S.A.(S.A.), MS. 7c.
1896 to 1898

1 Pastoral Lease Register, F670 (1896-1902) A3083, Northern Territory Archives Service, Darwin.
2 Register Book, vol. 17, Folio 15, Registrar-General, Northern Territory.
5 Barclay's Death Certificate, Registration Number 8852/17D, states that he was married in London, England, at age 52 to Constance Moreton. Research in London has not confirmed the marriage. The certificate contains errors of information, e.g. Barclay's father is given as John Bruce Barclay (actually Henry Bruce) and his place of birth is given as Scotland (actually Bury, County of Lancashire), so it is highly likely that this information is also incorrect.
6 H.J.Thomas pers. comm. 1986 and 1987. A check of the marriage indexes for England, Scotland and Wales under H.V.Barclay and C.Moreton failed to find an entry for either person between 1891 and 1903. There is also no record of the marriage in South Australia between 1880 and 1906 and no record in N.S.W. between 1894 and 1899 inclusive.
7 H.J.Thomas pers. comm. 1986. A search of the central index of decrees absolute of the Divorce Registry, Somerset House, for the years 1869-1917 found no record of a divorce between H.V.Barclay and Alice Mary Eden Barclay.
8 H.Vere Barclay to Secretary, R.G.S., 19 January 1898, original held by R.G.S., Kensington Gore, London.

1898 to 1899

1 R.G.S.A.(S.A.), MS. 7c.
6 Admiralty Orders in Council, 22 February 1870, 'Royal Marines, Retirement and Promotion; New Scheme', paragraph 9, p. 301.
7 H.J.Thomas pers. comm. 1987. ADM 192/44; 'Navy List', July 1872 to October 1877; 'Warren and Lean’s Navy List'.

1899 to 1903

Copy of extract also held by R.G.S. in Barclay papers.
2 H.V.Barclay (1907), 'The Resources of Central Australia: A Fertile Fifth of the Commonwealth', Life, 15 August, p. 149.
3 H.Vere Barclay (1899), 'Mission a l’île de Paques', Comptes Rendus des Seances Societe de Geographie, no. 4, pp. 169-76.
4 Henry Vere Barclay (n.d.), Memorandum Upon the Northern Territory of South Australia, 11p.
5 J.A.Ferguson (1977), Bibliography of Australia, vol. 5, National Library of Australia, Canberra, p. 239.
6 P.R.O. 2328/00.
8 Barclay papers, Archives R.G.S.
9 Barclay papers, Archives R.G.S.
10 ML X 983.8/1.
12 Barclay papers, Archives R.G.S.
13 Barclay papers, Archives R.G.S.
15 H.V.Barclay (1902), 'A Mystery of the South Seas', The Pall Mall Magazine, September to December, vol. 28, p. 211-17.
16 These drawings are now held by R.G.S.A.(S.A.), MS. 7c, and some were published in their Proceedings of 1897-1898.
18 Barclay papers, Archives R.G.S.
1903 to 1904

1 H.V.Barclay (1905), 'Sun-Spots and Rainfall', The Transactions of the Tenth Meeting of the Australasian Association for the Advancement of Science, Dunedin, January 1904, p. 125 and diagrams.
2 e.g. Thomas Gill papers, R.G.S.A.(S.A.).
3 There are no extant records listing Fellows of The Royal United Services Institute, H.J.Thomas pers. comm. 1987.
4 There are no extant records listing Fellows of the Imperial Institute, H.J.Thomas pers. comm. 1987. There were Life Fellows, see Bulletin of the Imperial Institute, 15 October 1903, p. 108.
5 R.G.S.A.(S.A.) MS. 125c.
7 R.G.S.A.(S.A.) MS. 125c.
12 R.G.S.A.(S.A.) MS. 125c.
13 P.R.O.S.A., GRG 35/1/1904/375.

1904

1 Journal Central Australian Expedition 1904, R.G.S.A.(SA.) MS. 8c.
2 P.R.O.S.A., GRG 35/1/1904/375.
3 H.V.Barclay (1907), Life, p. 537.
4 P.R.O.S.A., GRG 35/1/1904/375.
5 P.R.O.S.A., GRG 35/1/1904/375.
6 P.R.O.S.A., GRG 35/1/1904/375.
7 R.G.S.A.(S.A.) MS. 8c.
8 A list of stores and equipment abandoned by the expedition appears at the end of the journal, MS. 8c.

1905

3 P.R.O.S.A., Photograph no. 82930.
4 R.G.S.A.(S.A.), Thomas Gill papers, etc.
6 R.G.S.A.(S.A.) MS. 8c.
7 See Barclay (1907), Life, 15 June, p. 534.
8 The original maps (2) and a cross section of the sand ridges at Anacoora Bore are held by the R.G.S., Australia S200.
9 There is no mention of Barclay's work in Vaughan Cornish (1914), Waves of Sand and Snow, T.Fisher Unwin, London.
10 This is discussed in the later chapter, 1906 - 1907.
11 Thornton to O'Loughlin, 3 July 1907, AA: CRS A3 15/3764.
1905 - 1906

3 See Journal entry 6 May 1904, R.G.S.A.(S.A.) MS. 8c.
4 Barclay to Bonython, 25 April 1906, etc.
10 Barclay to Bonython, 25 April 1906, etc.

1906 - 1907

1 Barclay to Bonython, 25 April 1906, R.G.S.A.(S.A.) MS. 125c.
2 Tietkens had led an expedition in central Australia in 1899 under the auspices of the R.G.S.A.(S.A.).
4 Newman to Premier, 7 May 1906, CSO(P) 1906/408.
5 Docket CSO(P) 1906/408.
6 Barclay to Minister, AA: CRS A3 15/3764.
7 Minister to Surveyor General, AA: CRS A3 15/3764.
8 Chief Draftsman to Minister, AA: CRS A3 15/3764.
9 A similar opinion of the expedition was to be given late in 1913 by a commonwealth Lands Officer to Atlee Hunt, Memorandum, 16 September 1913, AA: CRS A3 15/13764.
10 Since Barclay was not on the Register of Surveyors drawn up in 1897 he could no longer claim to be a Licensed Surveyor of S.A. from that date, John R.Porter pers. comm. 1987. He may have been unaware of the proclamation of the new Surveyor's Act in 1896.
12 AA: CRS A3 15/3764.
13 A note written on the original manuscript, P.R.O.S.A. A413, indicates that Barclay read the paper at the meeting. See also note at head of H.V.Barclay, Proceedings, R.G.S.A.(S.A.), vol. 35, p. 94.
18 Thornton to O'Loughlin, 31 July 1907, AA: CRS A3 15/3764.
19 Acting Surveyor-General to Minister, 25 September 1907, AA: CRS A3 15/3764.

1907 - 1910

1 15 June 1907, 15 July 1907, 15 August 1907, 15 November 1907, 15 January 1908, 15 February 1908.
2 ML At 34-2/18.
4 ML X 983.8/1.
5 ML X 983.8/1.
6 ML X 983.8/1.
7 L.E.Groom (1904), 'Northern Territory, memorandum prepared under the direction of the Hon.L.E.Groom, Minister for External Affairs, in connexion with the bill for the acceptance of the Northern Territory', CPP no. 20.
8 L.E.Groom (1904), CPP No. 20, p. 24.
9 ML X 983.8/1.
10 A rough sketch showing suggested 'Railways for Defence of Australia', dated 14 December 1903, is included in ML X 983.8/1.

Early 1910

1 Thomas Gill papers, R.G.S.A.(S.A.), docket CSO(P), 1910/93.
2 Thomas Gill papers, etc.
3 Thomas Gill papers, etc.

Late 1910

1 AA: CRS A1 1911/13023.
2 AA: CRS A3 13/7162.
3 AA: CRS A3 1911/13023.
4 AA: CRS A3 13/7162.
5 AA: CRS A3 13/7162.

1911 to 1912

1 AA: CRS A3 13/7162.
2 General Register Office, London, entry of birth no. 399, 1875.
3 'Explanation Department-What is the Barclay Expedition?', Life, 1 March 1911, p. 315.
4 R.H. Macpherson, Journal of Northern Territory Surveying & Exploration Party 1911-12, unpublished. The original journal, in two black note books, was held by the Department of Lands, Darwin, but disappeared in the aftermath of Cyclone Tracy in December 1974. A handwritten copy is held by Mrs Una Boemer, Alice Springs.
6 Life, 1 March 1911, p. 315.
7 Life, 1 March 1911, p. 314.
8 AA: CRS A3 13/7162.
9 Life, 1 March 1911, p. 315.
10 AA: CRS A1 11/7405.
11 Barclay to Hunt, 29 March 1911, AA: CRS A659 42/1/2696.
12 Mrs C. Tofte, Photographic Librarian, CCNT, Alice Springs, pers. comm. 1986.
13 AA: CRS A659 42/1/2696.
14 AA: CRS A659 42/1/2696.
15 It was the custom of the Aborigines to bury their dead in tree platforms, R.G. Kimber pers. comm. 1987.
16 Barclay to Hunt, 3 August 1911, AA: CRS A3 14/2682.
17 Barclay to Hunt, 5 August 1911, AA: CRS A659 42/1/2696.
20 Entry no. 6 for 1911, Borroloola Summons Book, N.T. Archives Service F272.
21 Barclay to Miller, 29 September 1911, Police Station Letterbook Borroloola, Northern Territory Archives Service, F275.
23 Barclay to Hunt, 29 March 1911, AA: CRS A659 42/1/2696.
24 National Library of Australia, N.T. Exploration Plan no. 2. Sheet 7 shows 2500 sq.miles (6475 sq km) divided into 100 sq.miles (259 sq km) blocks.
25 Barclay to Hunt, 20 September 1911, AA: CRS A659 42/1/2696.
26 Hunt to Barclay, 24 September 1911, AA: CRS A659 42/1/2696.
27 Life, 1 March 1911, p. 315.
28 In a letter written by Christopher Walker to Tom B.Way, of South Yarra, in January 1913, Walker wrote: 'If Mr.Barkley (sic) had have used the same method, he would not have perished 14 of his fine Bull Camels, east or a little north east of Barrow Creek. Barkly (sic) and McPherson (sic) were always disagreeing...'

See AA: CRS A1 34/9205. There is no corroborative evidence of this supposed disagreement between the two men and Walker was also wrong in blaming the loss of the camels on Barclay. The camels died during the journey back to Alice Springs under Macpherson's command. This remarkable journey while not strictly relevant to a biography of Barclay could be regarded as still part of the Barclay-Macpherson Expedition of 1911 and its story is told in Appendix 2.

29 Barclay to Hunt 12 February 1912 and 5 March 1912, AA: CRS A659 42/2696.


31 Barclay to Hunt, 5 March 1912, AA: CRS A659 42/2696.

32 Barclay to Hunt, 12 April 1912, AA: CRS A659 42/2696.

33 'Northern Territory of Australia', Annual report for the Year 1912, p. 33.

Results

1 AA: CRS A1 36/7290.
2 Ewart and Davies (1917), etc.
3 AA: CRS A1 36/7290.
4 Hill (1913), etc.
6 Barclay to Hunt, 3 January 1912, AA: CRS A659 42/1/2696.
7 24 photographs held by 'Promotion Australia', Canberra, are reputed to be from the 1911 expedition but this appears doubtful with some; 3 others are in Australian Archives, Canberra, CRS A659 42/1/2696; some are to be found in ML 983.8/R; and an unspecified number are held by the Australian Institute for Aboriginal Studies, Canberra, N2976-N2978.
H.V.Barclay, Field Note Books, ML B 564.
G.F.Hill, some personal diaries are in the possession of Hill's son, W.R.Hill, and Hill's field note book is held by the Library of the National Herbarium of Victoria.
9 e.g. AA: CRS CP661/19, no. 7A.
AA:CRS A3 15/402.
10 e.g. W.C.Gosse 1873, A.A.Davidson 1900.
11 e.g. The Northern Territory Times and Gazette, 20 and 27 January 1911.
The Age, 13 February 1911; The Age, 12 July 1911.
12 The Age, 14 July 1911.
13 AA: CRS A3 15/402.
This article was repeated verbatim in The Observer, 3 June 1905, p. 47.
17 e.g. T.E.Day (1916), 'Report and Plans of Explorations in Central Australia', Bulletin of the Northern Territory, no. 20, p. 16.
18 Hunt to Stott, 30 October 1911, AA: CRS A3 15/402.

1912 to 1913

1 Gilruth to Hunt, 2 November 1912, AA: CRS A3 12/46.
2 The Commission consisted of Frank Clarke (Chairman), A.Coombes and David Lindsay and was appointed on 28 March 1913. For details see D.H.Borchardt (1958), 'Checklist of Royal Commissions, Select Committees of Parliament and Boards of Enquiry', Pt. 1, Commonwealth of Australia 1900-1950, The Stone Copying Company, Cremorne, N.S.W., pp. 20-1.
3 Barclay to Administrator, 17 June 1912, AA: CRS A3 12/839.
It is worth quoting Spencer's report of Barclay in full and then discussing each point:

'At the hotel [in Borroloola] was a certain Captain Barclay. I had known him long ago when his name was not quite the same. The official title had also been self-bestowed. He had been wandering about the Centre for years and, amongst other things, had persuaded himself that he was a great explorer and the discoverer of the Barkly table-lands. It had not occurred to him that these were called after a Governor of Victoria whose name was spelt differently from his own. During his wanderings he must have learned to use a theodolite and was now employed, I think, on a survey of the mouth of the Macarthur [sic] River and the surrounding country, with the idea of running a line from Borroloola to the mouth of the river and so help in opening up the back country. Fortunately the results of an earlier rough survey of the country by Kilgour were available to work upon, but, even so, I have not heard of any important outcome of his work. Some months after returning from the Territory, I was interested to read in a southern paper a notice to the effect that H.M.S. surveying ship the Anne, Captain Barclay in command, had sailed from Darwin to continue surveying work in the Gulf of Carpentaria. It would probably have surprised the Admiralty to find that H.M.S. the Anne was a ketch of some twenty tons with a crew consisting of a captain, chief mate, a boy or two and perhaps a cook. However, Captain Barclay was a man of considerable resource and had complete confidence in himself, but, at the same time, I should think it possible that his surveys might need careful checking.'

Spencer's assertion that the official title was self-bestowed is, as has been shown, essentially correct, but, as has also been argued, Barclay may well have been entitled to use it. It is difficult to comment on Barclay having persuaded himself that he was a great explorer, but he could rightly call himself an explorer. It seems highly unlikely that he would have considered himself the discoverer of the Barkly Tablelands. Many a newspaper and journal article, even in the 1980's, has wrongly referred to the 'Barkly Tablelands'. It was used in Barclay's Review of Reviews article (p. 444) but whether Barclay or the editor was guilty of using the name...? Spencer's rather scornful reference to Barclay having learned to use a theodolite in his wanderings and his casting of aspersions on Barclay's surveying ability are without foundation. In addition, no-one by the name of Kilgour undertook any survey in this country. Spencer was probably referring to the explorations of Ernest Favenc, one of whose maps Barclay used as a base map for his own work. While there was no important outcome to Barclay's work in the area, the number of similar surveys that suffered the same fate in the Northern Territory is legion, the most recent example being the Alice Springs-Darwin Railway. In addition, as recently as the 1980's, a port, road and railway were still under serious consideration for the area, see The Alice Springs to Darwin Railway, Feasibility Study, Northern Territory Railway Executive Group, September 1986, Government Printer of the Northern Territory, p. 55. Apart from the name Anne, Spencer's information on Barclay's survey vessel appears to be correct but the vessel was also adequate for his purposes. The newspaper article he refers to has not, unfortunately, been located.

The reason behind Spencer's obvious dislike of Barclay would be interesting to know. Perhaps it was because Spencer suffered an attack of diarrhoea at the time of the meeting of the two men in Borroloola and not vice versa as Mulvaney and Calaby suggest in their biography of Spencer.
See also Jensen to Administrator, 1 February 1913, AA: CRS A3 13/4687 and extract of evidence given to Royal Commission on Northern Territory Railways and Ports pp. 2-3, AA: CRS A3 15/1904 Pt. 1.

18 Gilruth to Hunt, 8 November 1912, AA: CRS A3 15/1904 Pt. 1.


The very large number of Aboriginal weapons and artifacts collected on the expedition is held by the Museum of Victoria, Mark Chandler pers. comm. 1987.

20 Commonwealth Gazette, no. 23, 12 April 1913, p. 951.


22 Gilruth to Hunt, 15 April 1913, AA: CRS A3 15/1904 Pt. 1.

23 Commonwealth Gazette, no. 49, 5 July 1913, p. 1679.

24 Gilruth to Hunt, 21 May 1913, A3 15/1904 Pt. 1.


1913

1 Gilruth to Hunt, 9 August 1913, AA: CRS A3 15/1904 Pt. 1.

2 F.Clarke (Chairman) (1914), 'Northern Territory Railways and Ports - Reports of the Royal Commission', CPP no. 31, pp. 7, 21, 24, 30.

3 F.Clarke (Chairman) (1914), etc., p. 21; and map in AA: CRS CP661/19 no. 4B.

4 'Impressions of Country Travelled by the Northern Territory Royal Commission' - as recorded by Frank Clarke, Chairman, AA: CRS A3 14/2482, p. 33.

5 Lindsay wrote a brief account, with photographs, titled 'A brief description of that portion of the Northern Territory as seen by the members of the Royal Commission for Northern Territory Railways & Ports during their travels in 1913', AA: CRS A3 14/2482.

6 'Impressions of Country, etc.', AA: CRS A3 14/2482, p. 40.


8 F.Clarke (Chairman) (1914), etc., p. 7.

1913 to 1917

1 Barclay to Hunt, 28 September 1913, AA: CRS A3 15/1904 Pt. 1.

2 Barclay to Secretary, R.G.S., 28 September 1913, Barclay papers R.G.S.

3 Memo no. NT 13/10692, 28 October 1913, AA: CRS A3 15/1904 Pt. 1.

4 The Australian Mining Standard, 1 January 1914, p. 3.


6 Barclay to Gill, 3 February 1914, Gill papers R.G.S.A.(S.A.).

7 AA: CRS A3 15/1904 Pt. 1; this was prepared by Barclay in hard boards tied by ribbon and includes some of his photographs from the area.

8 Hunt to Secretary Treasury, 18 December 1915, AA: CRS A571 15/27950.

9 Treasurer, 23 December 1915, AA: CRS A571 15/27950.

10 P.M.Glynn (1914), 'Northern Territory - Outline of Policy', CPP no. 30.

11 Gill to Hunt, 3 July 1915, AA: CRS A3 15/3764.

12 Hunt to Gill, 15 July 1915, AA: CRS A3 15/3764.

1917 to 1944

1 Office of Government Statist, Registry of Births, Deaths and Marriages, Melbourne, entry of death, registration no. 8852/17D.
2 Davoren to Minister, Memo no. NT 24/4813, 5 February 1926, AA: CRS A1 1926/2745.
4 Davoren to Minister, etc., AA: CRS A1 1926/2745.
5 Somerset House, London, will of Alice Mary Eden Barclay, died 16 August 1922.
7 e.g. Norris C. Bell to Secretary Department of Works and Railways, 25 January 1924, AA: CRS A1 1926/923.
8 G.A. Gahan to Paterson, 3 March 1936, AA: CRS A431 46/1240.
9 AA: CRS A1 1926/2745.
10 Mrs Barclay to Pearce, n.d., AA: CRS A1 1926/2745.
12 The Times, 21 November 1927. The eldest son graduated from Cambridge University in 1891 and gained his B.A. in 1894.
13 ML At 34-2/18.
14 ML At 34-2/18.

Epilogue

2 Pers. comm. 16 March 1987, W.H. Hill, Batemans Bay, N.S.W.
3 Pers. comm. 10 March 1987, W.H. Hill.
4 An example of one of Barclay's strange actions is his decision, at the height of the wet season in March 1912, to return overland to Darwin instead of by boat.
5 Pers. comm. 3 April 1987, W.H. Hill.
6 See Note 28, 1911 to 1912.
7 Barclay Point, lat. 11° 44' long. 133° 25', first appears on the 1885 'Plan of Pastoral Leases and Claims in the Northern Territory of South Australia'.

Appendix 1

1 The Lats. and Longs. given are from Australia 1:250,000 Map Series Gazetteer, Australian Government Printing Service, Canberra, 1975. Where names of features are no longer recognised, e.g. Conical Hill, co-ordinates given are for the feature under its present day name.
2 While the Waterhouse Range is shown on Barclay's 1878 map there seems to be no corroborative evidence that he mapped it. He did visit Owen Springs Station which in this period, 1877-78, was located in the Waterhouse Range, so he may have done some work there. If so, he may also have been responsible for naming Mt Parks and Mt Polhill. Barclay's map also shows a Mueller Creek in this range and this probably explains the change to the spelling of the Mueller Creek in the Strangways Range. It also suggests that the creek in the south was named before Barclay's survey.
4 SAPP no. 209.
5 Favenc (1908), The Explorers, etc., p. 229.
6 Barclay to Bonython, 25 April 1906, etc.
7 SAPP no. 209, p. 8.
8 SAPP no. 209, p. 5.
9 SAPP no. 209, p. 1.
11 SAPP no. 209, p. 8.
12 Charles Winnecke (1884), 'Mr. Winnecke's Explorations During 1883.', SAPP no. 39.
It is not known for sure at which telegraph station Gillen was employed in 1877-78 but Barclay may have met him somewhere along the line.

Barclay to Bonython, 25 April 1906, etc.

There is considerable confusion over Johnston's correct name. In D.E.Kelsey (1975), *The Shackle*, Lynton Publications, Blackwood, he is referred to as J.W.Johnstone, however from the records of the Telecom Museum in Adelaide it is known that his correct name is J.McL.Johnston.

Telecom Museum, NT/OT Line Staff vol. 5/86. As for Gillen it is not known at which station Lucy was employed in 1877-78.

Barclay to Bonython, 25 April 1906, etc.

Appendix 2

1. The story of this journey is taken from Macpherson’s journal. He also provided a separate report to the Secretary of the Department of External Affairs: Macpherson to Hunt, 31 March 1912, AA: CRS A659 42/1/2696.

2. For the reason for this return journey to Arltunga see AA: CRS A3 12/1282 and Holmes (1980), *The White Range Settlement, etc.*, p. 43.
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