THE EXPLORERS OF THE MORETON BAY DISTRICT  1770 – 1830
The Explorers of the Moreton Bay District
1770-1830

J. G. STEELE
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I call attention to the editor’s own introduction to this book, particularly to his first three paragraphs; and having done that, am inclined to say that there is really nothing for another person to add, by way of ushering it into the world.

On second thoughts, however, one or two things come up that may usefully be said, partly by way of underlining, partly by way of admiration. Dr. Steele has explained his aims and methods, and they seem simple and intelligible enough: to collect and print accurate texts of a particular period, to relate them to one another and to say accurately what they mean in modern terms, and to do this not merely from paper work but from field work. One’s aim and one’s method may alike seem simple; but only fellow-workers can know how difficult – how complicated, even – the thing can sometimes become. One simply wants to make accessible the inaccessible; one simply wants to reduce the written word to immediately comprehensible print; one simply wants to add a few other words of explanation. I know from personal experience how difficult it is to grapple with these simplicities; how tedious, how baffling, how infuriating the editor’s work can be; what a hairline he sometimes seems to be treading between necessary information and pedantry; how hard the chase sometimes after necessary information; how hard sometimes the task of merely printing with accuracy any manuscript document. “Merely” – I have heard it described as beyond human capacity. So I record my admiration of Dr. Steele’s editorial technique. He has brought his men into full light.

And what interesting men these young explorers are! – these sailors (well, Cook was verging on forty-two), soldiers, botanists, surveyors. (It is doubtful whether we can call the ticket-of-leave Pamphlet, Finnegan, and Parsons explorers, however much their wanderings and blunderings hold our attention. We like our explorers to know roughly what direction they are going in, with compass or without.) The explorers knew their jobs; their measure of competence was very high indeed; the professional botanical competence of a man like Allan Cunningham spilled over into his exploring. Of course they were concerned with only a small part of Australia, and with comparatively short journeys (unless for the sailors this particular stretch of coast was a bit of something bigger, as it was for Cook and the wonderful Flinders). Of course, too, after Edwardson in 1822 they were concerned with the inland, not the coast; and each sort of exploration has its own problems. There is fortunately here no fearful tale of hardships, there is no dreadful record of ironies, no doomed fight against fate, there is no Burke and Wills chronicle, no Leichhardt, no Kennedy. There could hardly be, under the geographical circumstances. The solitary tragedy is that of Logan; and hard luck Logan had; but he was not driven to the limit of endurance, starved, exhausted, tortured by hope and hopelessness, before his life was taken. No: this record
is indeed one of competence, in a difficult sphere but a sphere which competent men would manage–sometimes just manage (think of the barefoot mountain climbing). This does not make it, any more than the men, less interesting—if it is the exploration we are primarily interested in, and not the accidental, or supplementary, drama.

Perhaps that last remark is not very wise. One is prone to think in terms of drama too exclusively human, of attack and defence and bloody death; or of outright heroism in the face of nature as morose or vicious, nature as relentless enemy. There is no need for that. There are more sorts of drama than tragedy, or melodrama. There is drama in the working out of a plan, in success or surprise or disappointment, as man confronts the hills and plains and waterways, even when he knows that the odds are in his favour—knows that, unless he is very foolish, or most unlucky, he will survive. There need not be drama in the contact of explorer with aborigine; but undoubtedly in the pages of this book there will be found some. If the explorers had been less sensible or less humane men there might have been more. Fortunately they were both sensible and humane: instead of too much excitement we get steady and invaluable observation.

These young men write well too, not only observe well. They have good minds, a hold on the concrete. Of course if they hadn’t, they could hardly have been in the exploring trade. Cunningham uses an occasional long word, but he had a right to, he was a scientist. They are generally simple, direct, vivid without trying to be. Take Oxley and Fraser as examples: admirable—and, if the style reflects the man, they are all admirable characters, not just those two. Well, here they are, in their own words. As time goes on, and they recede into history, they need the words of an editor as well as their own; but, if we are to understand what they did, know them as more than names in a school book—and we ought to—their own words are indispensable. They could hardly be better presented than they are here.

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ILLUSTRATIONS

The source of each illustration is given in its legend, except in the case of the following portraits.

The portrait of Captain James Cook, 1776, by Nathaniel Dance, on page 5 (Fig. 2) is in the National Maritime Museum, Greenwich. Captain Matthew Flinders on page 9 (Fig. 4) is from a miniature painted in 1801; the original is in the Public Library of New South Wales. Captain John Bingle, on page 41 (Fig. 8) is from G. Mackaness (ed.), The Discovery and Exploration of Moreton Bay and the Brisbane River (2 vols.; Sydney: D. S. Ford, 1956), II, 31. The portrait of Lieutenant John Oxley on page 87 (Fig. 13) is in the Oxley Library, Brisbane, painted by A. H. Field from a miniature. The photograph of Major Edmund Lockyer on page 179 (Fig. 23), taken later in life than his expedition described in this book, is by courtesy of the Royal Historical Society of Queensland, Newstead House, Brisbane. The portrait of Patrick Logan on page 205 (Fig. 26) is in the galleries of the Mitchell Library, Sydney. The lithograph of Allan Cunningham by Allan and Ferguson on page 215 (Fig. 28) is in R. Heward, “Biographical Sketch of the Late Allan Cunningham”, Journal of Botany, London (1842), p. 140.
Fig. 1. Explorers' routes, Moreton Bay District. Map drawn by author, 1970.
INTRODUCTION

AIMS

The first aim of this work is to collect in one volume the journals, field books, and reports of the explorers of the Moreton Bay District between 1770 and 1830. The need for such a collection springs from their relative inaccessibility: some of these documents, such as the journals of Cunningham for 1824 and 1829, have never before been published; others were published in books or periodicals that have been out of print for many years.

The second aim is to produce accurate texts of these documents. The texts have been checked against autograph manuscripts or, in cases where manuscript sources are not known to exist, the earliest published versions. The textual sources are acknowledged in the introduction to each chapter. While every effort has been made to ensure the accuracy of the words, the spelling (excepting names of persons and places) and punctuation may differ from the original, and many abbreviated words have been expanded.

The third aim is to annotate the documents and to relate them to each other, as well as to modern maps and landmarks. Previous editions of the documents have been annotated in isolation from one another, and geographical assumptions have not usually been checked. Most of the geographical notes in this edition are based on personal inspection of the places concerned, and in some cases the explorers' compass bearings have been checked in the field.

FOOTNOTE REFERENCES

References to other parts of this book are given in footnotes in the following form, e.g. Cunningham, Report, 30 July 1828.

This refers not to the title and date of the document cited, but to the running head at the top of the particular page; the date is that of the events described on that page.

As the book is arranged in chronological order of events, the dates in the running heads are sufficient to locate the reference, except in cases where two documents relate the same events; in that case, the two documents are in close proximity.

1 The name "Moreton Bay District" strictly belongs to a later age when free settlement had begun. The Sydney Gazette of 12 May 1842 reported: "His Excellency the Governor has defined the boundaries of the Moreton Bay district to be as follows: 'On the south by the ranges which separate the sources of the Rivers Brisbane and Logan from those of the Richmond and Clarence; on the west by the range dividing the sources of the rivers flowing into the western interior from those which fall to the eastern coast; on the east by that coast; and on the northward by the limits of colonization, until a more definite boundary shall be determined on that side.'"
INTRODUCTION

THE PERIOD 1770–1830

Captain Cook sailed past in 1770, but apart from Flinders’ informative survey of Moreton Bay in 1799, it was not until 1822 that exploration began in earnest, bearing fruit in 1823 with the discovery of the Brisbane River. Oxley, Cunningham, and Logan were the main figures in exploration until 1830. By that time, the district had been mapped and its explorers had departed forever; Oxley and Logan were prematurely dead, and Cunningham had made his last visit to Brisbane in preparation for his return to England.

THE COUNTRY

It was the mountains that first attracted the explorers’ attention. The Glass Houses, picturesquely named by Cook,2 enticed the navigator Flinders overland to these “stupendous peaks”.3 Looking towards Mt. Barney, Wilson’s Peak, and Cunningham’s Gap, Oxley wrote, “a more magnificent view it has not often fallen to my lot to behold”.4 Cunningham described Mt. Barney as “a stupendous range of mountains whose broad dome-like and conical summits . . . presented a specimen of bold and rugged scenery not to be found in any explored part of the country”,5 while Fraser remarked that the mountain “rises with a grandeur that baffles all description”.6

The plains and rivers also had their appeal. Oxley described the scenery of the Brisbane River as “peculiarly beautiful”.7 Near Kalbar, Logan observed that “the country now exceeded, in beauty and fertility, any thing I had before seen”.8 Palen Creek, near Rathdowney, “sweeps through a most beautiful valley”, wrote Fraser, and the whole area “may compare with any scenery that I ever saw”.9 Near Rosevale, Cunningham wrote, “certainly, there is not in any explored part of New South Wales a more beautiful subject for the pencil of the artist than the landscape presented to the traveller from the centre of [this] plain”.10

The trees attracted the attention of all the explorers. The hoop pine was described as “a magnificent species of pine”,11 “the monarch of these woods . . . It was totally impossible not to halt a few moments to admire this noble tree”,12 which “towers over all other plants”.13 Of the Moreton Bay Chestnut, it was said that “there is no plant indigenous to the shores of Moreton Bay and adjacent country upon which the eye rests with greater pleasure”,14 and “the shade afforded by the whole tree excels any I have hitherto seen in New South Wales”.15

2 Cook, Journal, 17 May 1770.
3 Flinders in the “Norfolk”, 27 July 1799.
4 Oxley, Field Books, 22 September 1824.
5 Cunningham, Report, 2 August 1828.
6 Fraser, Journal, 2 August 1828.
7 Oxley, Report, 29 November – 6 December 1823.
8 Logan at Mt. Barney, Journal, 9 June 1827.
9 Fraser, Journal, 1 August 1828.
10 Cunningham, Report, 26 August 1828.
11 Oxley, Report, 29 November – 6 December 1823.
12 Cunningham, Journal, 21 September 1842.
14 Cunningham, Report, 30 July 1828, Note 144.
15 Fraser, Journal, 4 July 1828.
The coastal natives were found to be the most civilized and friendly yet encountered in Australia. Flinders remarked on their superior huts and fishing nets, and spoke well of their songs. According to Uniacke, the women were treated humanely, and some of them had “shape and features . . . such as no white woman need have been ashamed of”.

THE EXPLORERS

The explorers reveal themselves through their writings, whether official reports, private journals, jottings in their field books, or letters to friends. They developed theories about the geography of the country, and would not rest until they had fully tested them. In general, they were not employed as explorers, but took time off from their official jobs as surveyors, botanists, and soldiers, sometimes at the risk of official censure. There was keen competition and debate among the explorers, but they gave high praise to one another’s achievements.

Their narratives are frequently amusing or dramatic. Flinders, trying to impress the natives with his musket, failed to kill the bird, and when his sailors tried to entertain the natives by dancing a Scottish reel, the natives were unmoved. Imagining he saw war canoes coming to attack his ship, Flinders prepared for a battle, only to find that the natives were merely fishing, splashing the water to drive the fish (or possibly dugong) into their nets. When Finnegan was estranged from his companions, the natives marooned him on a sand-bank at low tide, forcing his companions to rescue him in their canoe. Oxley’s hat was stolen by the natives, much to the embarrassment of that gentleman.

Fraser followed Logan almost to the top of Mt. Barney, but became so frightened and exhausted that he had to be helped back to the camp. Finnegan and Pamphlet, trying to cross the South Passage from Moreton Island to Stradbroke Island in a bark canoe, were swept out to sea by the tide, narrowly escaping capsize in the breakers. When Lockyer was being towed along the upper reaches of the Brisbane River during a flood, the rope broke, and he was swept out of control across the rapids; and another time he was jerked out of the boat while crossing a rapid, and a servant caught him by the leg as he went under. Cunningham had to fight a bushfire started by mischievous natives, and Logan was chased by a tribe of natives, fell from his horse, and was clubbed to death.

16 Flinders in the “Norfolk”, 30 July 1799.
17 Uniacke, Narrative, 29 November – 6 December 1823.
18 Flinders in the “Norfolk”, 30 July 1799.
19 Flinders in the “Norfolk”, 24 July 1799.
20 Flinders in the “Norfolk”, 18 July 1799.
21 Narrative of Thomas Pamphlet, 3 June 1823.
22 Oxley, Field Books, 17 and 27 September 1824.
23 Fraser, Journal, 3 August 1828.
24 Narrative of Thomas Pamphlet, 27 April 1823.
25 Lockyer, Journal, 26 September 1825.
26 Lockyer, Journal, 29 September 1825.
27 Cunningham, Report, 19 June 1829.
28 Search for Logan, 19 – 28 October 1830.
Lieutenant (later Captain) James Cook, on his voyage around the world in H.M.S. “Endeavour”, approached within 6 miles of Point Lookout on Stradbroke Island on 17 May 1770, and gave it this name on account of the reef (Flat Rock) a few miles north of it. He also named Cape Morton (now spelt Moreton), and the bight between these two capes was named Morton Bay (not the present Moreton Bay). From a position at least 18 miles north-east of Cape Moreton, Cook saw and named the Glass Houses (now called the Glasshouse Mountains), and the northern entrance to the present Moreton Bay was named Glass House Bay.

The journal of Captain Cook was originally issued in a much-revised form by Hawkesworth, who changed the spelling of Morton to Moreton. In recent years a very accurate copy of Cook’s original journal has been produced by Beaglehole. The following text is that of Beaglehole, with some of the spelling modernized, but preserving Cook’s original place-names.

COOK, JOURNAL, MAY 1770

THURSDAY Winds southerly mostly a fresh breeze with which in the p.m. we steered along shore N\textsuperscript{w}E at the distance of about 2 leagues off. Between 4 and 5 we discovered breakers\textsuperscript{5} on our larboard bow; our depth of water at this time was 37 fathoms. At sun-set the northernmost land\textsuperscript{6} in sight bore NBW; the breakers NWBW distant 4 miles and the northernmost land set at noon,

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3 On board his ship, Cook reckoned each day as beginning at noon. For example, 17 May (ship time) began at noon on 16 May (civil time). Furthermore, Cook had neglected to advance the date by one day on crossing the International Date Line. Making this adjustment, we find that Cook’s 17 May actually began at noon on 17 May (civil time). For a full discussion of this, see J. Gorton, Senator and Minister for the Navy, in *Hansard* for 17 November 1959.
4 Off what is now Jumpinpin.
5 Flat Rock.
6 Cape Moreton.
which formed a point which I named Point Lookout, bore west distant 5 or 6 miles (Latitude 27°6'). On the north side of this point the shore forms a wide open bay which I have named Morton Bay, in the bottom of which the land is so low that I could but just see it from the top mast head. The breakers I have mentioned lies about 3 or 4 miles from Point Lookout. At this time we had a great sea from the southward which broke prodigious high upon them. Stood on NNE until 8 o’clock when, being past the breakers and having deepened our water to 52 fathoms, we brought to until 12 o’clock, then made sail again to the NNE. At 4 in the a.m. we sounded and had 135 fathoms. At day light I found that we had in the night got much farther northward and from the shore than I expected from the course we steered, for we were at least 6 or 7 leagues off, and therefore hauled in NWBW having the advantage of a fresh gale at SSW; the northernmost land seen last night bore from us at this time SSW distant 6 leagues. This land I named Cape Morton, it being the north point of the bay of the same name (Latitude 26°56', Longitude 206°28'). From Cape Morton the land trends away west farther than we could see, for there is a small space where we could see no land; some on board was of opinion that there is a river.

Flinders on 14 July 1799 (see Flinders in the "Norfolk") measured the latitude as 27°26'10" showing that Cook’s measurement was considerably in error. Flinders offered an explanation of the error on 18 July 1799.

After James Douglas (1702–68), the fourteenth Earl of Morton, who was President of the Royal Society 1764–68. This bay is on the eastern side of Moreton Island; the present Moreton Bay is on the western side.

This remark has given rise to a theory that the South Passage between Moreton Island and Stradbroke Island did not yet exist, but came into being between 1770 and the arrival of Flinders in 1799. The theory was supported by aboriginal legends, the erosion that has been observed at Amity Point, and the occurrence of a breakthrough of the type suggested at Jumpinpin about 13 May 1898.

By adjustment as in Note 3: the morning of 18 May (civil time).

The present Cape Moreton.

Flinders on 15 July 1799 (Flinders in the "Norfolk") found the latitude to be 27°00'29" S., and the longitude 153°30'50" E., which is 206°29'10" W. Considering that Cook did not have a chronometer, his longitude was surprisingly correct. Flinders used lunar observation at this place to correct his chronometer. Cook may have made a similar observation as a check on his charts.

The northern entrance to the present Moreton Bay, called Glass House Bay on Cook’s chart (Fig. 3).

Joseph Banks wrote in his journal for this day: “Land trended much to the westward; about 10 we were abreast of a large bay the bottom of which was out of sight. The sea in this place suddenly changed from its usual transparency to a dirty clay colour, appearing much as if charged with freshes, from whence I was led to conclude that the bottom of the bay might open into a large river. About it were many smokes, especially on the northern side near some remarkable conical hills”. From J.C. Beaglehole (ed.), *The Endeavour Journal of Joseph Banks* (2 vols.; Sydney: Angus and Robertson, 1963), II, 63.

The Brisbane River is indeed at the bottom of Moreton Bay, but it would not be likely to change the colour of the water 6 leagues from Cape Moreton.
Fig. 3. “A Reduction of Captain Cook’s Original Chart of the East Australian Coastline from Originals in the British Museum”, from W. J. L. Wharton (ed.), Captain Cook’s Journal (London: Elliot Stock, 1893), back pocket.
there because the sea looked paler than usual; upon sounding we found 34 fathoms water, and a fine white sandy bottom, which alone is sufficient to change the apparent colour of sea water without the assistance of rivers. The land need only be as low here as it is in a thousand other places upon the coast to have made it impossible for us to have seen it at the distance we were off. Be this as it may it was a point that could not be cleared up as we had the wind, but should anyone be desirous of doing it that may come after me, this place may always be found by three hills which lay to the northward of it in the latitude of 26°53' south. These hills lay but a little way inland and not far from each other; they are very remarkable on account of their singular form of elevation which very much resembles glass houses, which occasioned me giving them that name; the northernmost of the three is the highest and largest. There are likewise several other peaked hills inland to the northward of these but they are not near so remarkable. At noon we were by observation in the latitude of 26°28' south, which was 10 miles to the northward of the log, a circumstance that has not happened since we have been on the coast before. Our course and distance run since yesterday noon was NBW 80 miles, which brought us into the longitude of 206°46'. At this time we were about 2 or 3 leagues from the land and in 24 fathoms water. A low bluff point which was the south point of an open sandy bay bore N 62° W distant 3 leagues and the northernmost point of land in sight bore N 4° E. Several smokes seen today and some pretty far inland.

16 That is, at the bottom of the present Moreton Bay, as Banks's journal (Note 14) makes clear. Hawkesworth introduced an error here by making this apply to Cook's Morton Bay: "Some were of the opinion that the bottom of Moreton's Bay opened into a river." Hawkesworth, op. cit., p. 306.
17 Three of the Glasshouse mountains, probably Beerwah (1823 feet), Tibrogargan (1160 feet) and the higher (1025 feet) of the two Tunbubudlas. Crookneck (Coonowrin, 1230 feet) was not visible as a distinct mountain, since from Cook's position it was immediately in front of Beerwah. For a fuller discussion, see F.W. Whitehouse, "Early Ascents of the Glasshouses", in Heybob, the magazine of the University of Queensland Bushwalking Club, VIII (1966), 72-77.
18 Hawkesworth (op. cit., p. 306) has, "for which reason I called them the Glass Houses".
19 Cook was referring to Beerwah, which is indeed the highest and largest. But the most northerly of the larger Glass Houses is actually Crookneck; this substantiates the idea that Cook did not see Crookneck (Note 17).
20 Between Coolum and Noosa.
21 This illustrated the fact that Cook computed his longitude from his "course and distance run" from a previous position of known (or assumed) longitude.
22 Noosa Head.
23 Laguna Bay.
Lieutenant (later Captain) Matthew Flinders was the first explorer to enter Glass House Bay (now Moreton Bay). Having left Sydney on 8 July 1799 in H.M. Sloop "Norfolk" he reached Cape Moreton on 14 July. For two weeks he explored the bay and its environs. He named Point Skirmish, Pumice Stone River, and Red Cliff Point (now South Point, Pumicestone Channel, and Woody Point). Finding that there was a passage (South Passage) from Glass House Bay to the ocean, he named the land to the north of it Moreton Island. Other islands he discovered were Mud, St. Helena, Green, King, Peel, and Coochie Mudlo Islands. He observed the "High Peak" (now Flinders Peak, 2223 feet) which is shown on his chart (Fig. 5). He hiked to the Glasshouse Mountains, climbing Beerburum and visiting the foot of Tibrogargan. Apart from his initial skirmish with the natives, he found them to be friendly, and described their achievements with respect and admiration.

The basic document printed here is an extract from Flinders' report to Captain John Hunter, Governor of New South Wales; a manuscript copy, made for Governor King, is in the Mitchell Library, C211, and the present text has been taken from this manuscript. Additional material, from Collins' Account of the English Colony in New South Wales, has been interpolated at the appropriate places; it is marked with a rule in the margin and refers to Flinders in the third person. The interpolation is an attempt to reconstruct the journal from which both of these accounts were condensed. The method is due to Mackaness, whose arrangement has been adopted here, with slight modifications.

In 1802 Flinders sailed along the coast in H.M.S. "Investigator". This voyage resulted in the first circumnavigation of Australia's coastline. The relevant extract from Flinders' A Voyage to Terra Australis is quoted.
Fig. 5. Moreton Bay, from M. Flinders, *A Voyage to Terra Australis* (2 vols. and folio atlas; London: G. & W. Nichol, 1814), atlas.
At ten in the morning we steered West for a large space where no land was visible; and seeing breakers off the south point of the opening, were satisfied that this was Moreton Bay. The breakers are occasioned by a small, flat, rocky island which lays North three or four miles from Cape Lookout. We passed between these and when the Point bore S. 5° E. two and a half miles, got ground with 20 fathoms, the bottom a blackish peppery sand. At noon Point Lookout bore S.E. three or three and a half miles and the observed latitude being 27° 24' 6" it raised some doubts whether this could be Moreton Bay, for Capt. Cook’s latitude of the Point is 27° 6'. This however proved to be Point Lookout and its latitude must be about 27° 26' South.

After steering half an hour longer upon a West Course, for an opening in the head of this bay, the water shoaled to four fathoms; and seeing breakers running out from the low sandy South side of the opening towards the middle of the Bay, we wore round and steered N.E.B.N. past the shoal water and then kept away along the shore for the northern extreme. There appeared to be a very large extent of water within the opening, but I suspect there is no passage for a vessel this way. The country to the seaward is wretchedly sandy, as was that which we sailed along in the afternoon. At dusk Cape Moreton bore West two or three miles, and the highest Glass House, whose peak was just topping over the distant land, had opened round it at W. 3° or 4° N. Two Haycock like hummocks distinct from any other

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4 Captain Cook’s Morton Bay, the shallow bight between Point Lookout and Cape Moreton.
5 Flat Rock, first seen by Cook (Cook, Journal, 17 May 1770), but deriving its name from Flinders’ chart (Fig. 5).
6 Five degrees east of south. Flinders’ directions are compass bearings relative to the magnetic meridian. To relate them to his chart, it is necessary to take into account the magnetic declination, or variation from true north. Flinders assumed the variation to be 10°E. (15 July) and later verified this by measurement (31 July). Before plotting his bearings on the chart, one should turn the protractor 10° clockwise from true north.
7 This opening is the South Passage, and Flinders subsequently (18 July) proved that it led to Glass House Bay. The south side of the opening is Amity Point.
8 South Passage became the usual shipping route from the ocean to the Brisbane River. It was sounded in 1824 by Hoddle and Penson (Oxley and Cunningham, 1824, Introduction; Oxley, Field Books, 28 September 1824), and used by the brig “Amity”. It was buoyed in 1825 by Gray (Lockyer, 1825, and Figure 24), and served by a pilot station at Amity Point. In 1847 the steamer “Sovereign” was lost in the South Passage, and forty-six were drowned; soon after, the northern entrance became the normal route.
land opened soon after a few degrees to the southward. We now hauled in round Cape Moreton to go into Glass House Bay, and, when the extreme of the Cape bore South one mile and half, struck soundings with fourteen fathoms upon a sandy bottom. Steering West, we carried eight fathoms till eight o'clock, when having little wind, and that from the southward, we dropped the Anchor for the night, Cape Moreton bearing E. B. S. two or three miles. In the morning we made a trip over to the Glass Houses, the wind being from the South-westward, but getting into shoal water kept working to windward near the eastern shore till noon. The observed latitude then was 27° 00' 29" South and

**MONDAY 15TH**

Cape Moreton bearing E. 10° N. 2 or 3 miles will be in the same latitude allowing the variation to be 10° East. This differs 4½' from its situation in Capt, Cook’s Voyage.

While ranging within a mile of the shore, ten natives were counted, half of whom were probably women, from their keeping behind the others. The men made many antic gestures to our people. One had a green branch in his hand, which he waved to and fro at the extent of his arm, from the ground on one side of him to that on the other; and some of them would run into the water occasionally, and beat the surf with their sticks. They appeared to be friendly, using nearly the same word in calling our people that would have been made use of by a Port Jackson native, and seemed desirous that they should proceed up the bay.

At two o'clock we bore away to go round the shoal which had obliged us to tack in the morning, finding there was no passage between it and the Cape Moreton Shore. Some part of this spit is so near the surface of the water that the swells from the sea broke upon it. We passed over the north point of the Shoal in a quarter less three fathoms, Cape Moreton then bearing East, six miles and a low sandy point on the west shore S. 41° W. The water deepened immediately to eight fathoms, but was very irregular after-

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9 The Glass Houses were discovered and named by Captain Cook (Cook, Journal, 17 May 1770). The highest one is Beerwah, 1823 feet. The hummocks mentioned by Flinders are Beerburrum (906 feet) and the higher (1025 feet) of the two Tunbubudlas, otherwise known as The Twins. The second twin (963 feet) was hidden behind the first. Flinders treated the hummocks as being separate from the Glass Houses, yet the highest one was probably among the three Glass Houses that Cook saw.

10 The chart (Fig. 5) shows an anchor symbol here.

11 He meant "towards the Glass Houses"; as can be seen by referring to his chart (Fig. 5).

12 Variation of the compass needle from true north. The chart indicates the point at which the latitude was observed, distinguishing it by a small circle.

13 Bribie Island, at what is now called Skirmish Point.
wards between three and a half fathoms and thirteen. At eight in the evening we anchored in eleven fathoms, about two miles from the low sandy shore on the west side of the Bay.

During the night I took two sets of distances of the star Fomalhaut east of the Moon's nearest and two of the star Antares west of the Moon's farthest limb. The corresponding time by the watch\(^{14}\) being corrected by altitudes of the stars Altair and Achimmar, and compared with the lunars, gave the longitude of the anchorage 153° 18' 25" east of Greenwich, which being reduced to Cape Moreton by the Sketch will be 153° 30' 50" east for its longitude. According to Capt. Cook the longitude of the Cape is 153° 32' S.\(^{15}\)

TUESDAY At daylight we again weighed to turn up the bay, the wind being still from the Southward. Assisted by a strong flood tide, we made good progress, but in half an hour were obliged to tack, having gotten into two and a half fathoms upon the edge of a large shoal. In stretching to the South-west our soundings were various: it first deepened to seven, then gradually shoaled to two and a quarter; deepened to five; shoaled again to two and three-quarters, and then again deepened to five and six fathoms. Seeing an opening\(^{16}\) in the low western land, I wished to anchor near it, in order to examine it with the boat whilst the returning tide was running, but here again the water shoaled and obliged us to tack for deeper water to anchor in. At a quarter past eight dropped the Anchor in three and half fathoms; the opening bearing N. 53° W. about five miles and the extreme of the land\(^{17}\) towards Cape Moreton N. 58\(\frac{1}{2}\)° East.

After breakfast, Mr. Flinders went in his boat toward the opening, taking Bong-ree\(^{18}\) the native with him. As they approached the sandy point\(^{19}\) on the east side of the opening, some dogs\(^{20}\) came down upon the beach, and

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\(^{14}\) Chronometer.

\(^{15}\) Should be E., not S. Also see Cook's journal (17 May 1770) at Note 12.

\(^{16}\) Pumicestone Channel.

\(^{17}\) Comboyuro Point on Moreton Island.

\(^{18}\) An aborigine who accompanied Flinders from Sydney. A village called Bongaree, near South Point, is named after him.

\(^{19}\) South Point, which Flinders named Point Skirmish.

\(^{20}\) According to C.C. Petrie, *Tom Petrie's Reminiscences of Early Queensland* (Brisbane: Watson, Ferguson and Co., 1904), native dogs (dingoes) were captured as pups and tamed by the natives. They were the only pets they had. Pups were nursed as carefully as babies, and carried on journeys. All dogs would sleep with their owners, and drink from the same vessel. They were taught to hunt, and helped in the chase for goannas. Collins (*op. cit.*, I, 567) remarks: "The dogs of this country are of the jackal species; they never bark; are of two colours, the one red with some white about it; the other quite black. They have an invincible predilection for poultry, which the severest beatings could never repress. Some of them are very handsome."
Fig. 6. Bongaree and one of his wives. The general's uniform was given to him by Governor Macquarie. He is seen here welcoming new arrivals at Sydney Cove by taking off his hat and bowing gracefully, in imitation of Macquarie. From A. Earle, Views in New South Wales and Van Diemen's Land (London: 1830).
soon after several natives made their appearance, most of them carrying fishing nets over their shoulders. They lay upon their oars for some time, conversing with them by signs, and repeating the words which they made use of. As they seemed to be friendly, Bong-ree wished to make them a visit; and, seeing nothing among them but the pieces of firewood which the natives usually carry with them, the boat was backed in, and he jumped on shore, naked and as unarmed as they themselves appeared.

He quickly made an exchange with the yarn belt from his waist, for a fillet made of Kangaroo hair. The musquets were kept at hand in the boat, to be prepared against any treachery; but everything seemed to go on well, the natives appearing rather shy than otherwise. Mr. Flinders joined his companion, taking his gun with him. By making friendly signs, laying down the gun and offering them a woollen cap, he was suffered to approach, and one took the cap; but when Mr. Flinders made signs that he expected to have his net bag in return, he gave him to understand that he must first give him his hat. This hat was made of the white filaments of the cabbage-tree and seemed to excite the attention and wishes of the whole party.

As the hat was not given to him, he came forward, first throwing the cap that he had received upon the bank behind him, to secure it, and seemed very anxious for either the hat or gun, or both. Everything, however, was carried on very amicably; and Mr. Flinders, with his native, retreated slowly toward the boat, but turned again, upon finding that they pressed close after them. One of them then, laughing, and talking at the same time to Mr. Flinders, attempted to take the hat off his head with a long hooked stick; which, on his discovering, created a laugh. Behind him another was stretching out a long arm to the same object, but was fearful of coming near enough to reach it.

On our people getting into the boat, and shoving her off into deep water, they did not seem pleased, but tried to persuade them to land again. Finding they could not succeed, one of them threw his piece of firewood at them; but it falling short, the matter was treated as a joke, and laughed at. On this, another ran into the water, and threw his also, but it likewise fell short:

21 A band tied around the head or the upper arm. Fillets are mentioned again on 24 and 30 July.
22 A string bag, or “dilly”, was made from rushes or bark. A man always carried a small one under his left arm, with the handle slung over his shoulder; it contained a piece of white clay, red paint, a lump of fat, and a hair comb, and also a rag for absorbing honey. (Petrie, op. cit., pp. 106–108.)
23 The ornate hats of the explorers fascinated the natives. Bingle traded his hat with the natives at Bribie in 1822 (Bingle, Natives of Moreton Bay in 1822) while Oxley’s hat was stolen at Breakfast Creek on 17 September 1824 (Oxley, Field Books).
he then took the hooked stick, and slipping off the hook which it seems was only lashed or tied on, produced a spear, with which he ran up to the middle in water, and threw at them by hand. It passed over the centre of the boat about a foot and a half above the gunwale, but touched no one.

After this impudent and unprovoked attack, Mr. Flinders snapped his gun at the man who threw the spear; but the flint having received some wet when it was laid upon the beach, it missed fire. It was loaded with buck shot, and he was strongly tempted to fire among the cluster of natives who were standing upon the beach; but, recollecting himself, he tried again at the offender, who was still standing in the water, with his back turned towards them, and calling to his companions. The gun again missed fire.

While this was transacting, the major part of the natives were observing Mr. Flinders' motions with much unconcern. On the third trial, however, it went off. The man in the water fell flat, as did every individual among them; but those on shore rose almost instantaneously, and scrambled away towards the bank, some upright and some upon their hands and feet. One of the people in the boat then fired among them, and they fell again upon their faces; but they all got up and flew immediately behind the bank into the wood. Even the man in the water rose up, and made off; but his progress was much slower than that of the others, and he stooped a great deal, carrying one hand behind him upon his back. From hence it was conjectured that he was wounded, and he looked every now and then over his shoulder as if expecting to see the spear that he supposed must be sticking in his back. According to Bong-ree's account, another native had his arm broken by the second shot.

As this very wanton attack had unfortunately obliged the party to fire upon these people, in order to maintain that superiority which they meant upon all occasions to assert, Mr. Flinders thought it might be the means of preventing much future mischief, to give them a more extensive idea of his power, and thereby deter them from any future attempt in his intercourse with them. For as this bay was to be examined, and the leak which the sloop had sprung was to be stopped there, it became more than probable that they would often meet; and he was well satisfied of the great influence which the awe-of a superior power has in savages, to create respect, and render their communications with each other friendly.

In this view, with two musquet balls in his gun, he fired at a man who was looking at them from among the trees, and who, being about two hundred yards off, perhaps thought himself secure. One of these balls touched the edge of the bank in a right line for him, the other passed over, but whether it took effect could not be seen. They afterwards landed, intending to bring away the nets, which it was supposed they had in their flight and alarm forgotten. On going upon the bank, previously to ascertain the position of
the enemy, he saw several of them running different ways among the trees, apparently with a design of coming round upon them; and, not knowing their force or numbers, Mr. Flinders directed the native and a man who had also landed to return to the boat. But from information since gained from Bong-ree, whose eyes were better than those of Mr. Flinders, he believed they were running to conceal themselves. They had not left their nets.24

From a low sandy point which is called Point Skirmish in the sketch25 of Glass House Bay, we proceeded up the opening which proved to be a river26 leading towards the Glass House Peaks. These peaks stand upon the low flat ground considerably within the mountains, and as far as I could judge, had every appearance of being volcanic. This was in some measure confirmed by the quantity of pumice stone laying at high water mark upon the eastern shore of the river, where we landed to see the nature and appearance of the country; the ebb tide which came very strong down the river, not permitting us to proceed up it. Amongst the largest and most common trees there was one which I had never seen at Port Jackson. The leafy parts afford a dark shade and bear some resemblance to a Pine.27 When cut, the wood smelt strongly of Turpentine, which it also exsuded from places where the bark had been wounded. The external part of the wood is white, but the body of it is of a reddish brown; the bark somewhat resembles that of the tree called the iron bark at Port Jackson.

The blue gum, she-oak, and cherry tree of Port Jackson were common here, and also one with the leaves of the gum tree, but with the soft bark of the tea tree. The soil where it grew was very sandy; but fearing that the natives might surprise them while among the trees, Mr. Flinders did not go far from the beach; it was, however, covered with very tall and not innutricious grass.

Five or six huts, from twelve to fifteen feet in length, were seen standing near each other. They resembled a covered arch-way, rounded at the far end. The roofs, and the manner of securing them, were nearly the same as those

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24 Nets were their source of food, and therefore valued highly. See Flinders in the "Norfolk", 28 July 1799; Narrative of Thomas Pamphlet, 27 April – 3 June 1823; Parsons, April 1823 – September 1824.

25 A sketch accompanied Flinders' report to Hunter. It appears to have been similar to the chart eventually published (Fig. 5).

26 It is not a river, but a channel separating Bribie Island from the mainland. Now called Pumicestone Channel.

27 The Bribie Island pine. Oxley (Field Books, 29 November 1823) referred to it as Cupressus australis, but it is now called Callitris columellaris. Flinders observed the tree also on Coochie Mudlo Island (Flinders in the "Norfolk", 19 July 1799) and on his return to Pumicestone Channel he cut down a log of it (28 July 1799) to take to Sydney for testing.
which they had seen in Shoal Bay; but these had not any curved entrance to keep out the weather, nor was the hut any smaller in that part than elsewhere, but the sides and roof were equally calculated to shelter the inhabitants from a storm. In one of them was found a small and very light shield, and in another an old net, which had a bag to it, and was knotted and made in the same way as it would have been if made by an European Seine maker. It appeared to be intended for a scoop-net. There were marks of a large kangooroo having passed, and many traces of dogs were visible on the beach.

The soil was everywhere sandy where we saw it. In returning to the sloop, we passed by a dry shoal laying off the mouth of the river. The deep channel into the river is between this shoal and Point Skirmish, and there is from three to six fathoms in it.

Before he left the sloop Mr. Flinders had given directions to examine a part on the starboard side, where he suspected the leak to be, and on his return was informed that it was found to have been occasioned by the starting of a plank from the timber about three or four streaks from the keel. The caulker had filled it up with oakum from the inside, since which she had made but little water lying at anchor.

From the situation where the Sloop lay at this time, the bay had no appearance of closing round, but seemed to promise a large river at its head, and a communication with Moreton Bay, if not something more interesting. At 3 in the afternoon we got under weigh with a light northerly air to proceed up it. In passing over the edge of the shoal upon which we had anchored,
the Sloop touched the ground, but the rise of the tide took her over into deep water in a few minutes, and we then steered South, carrying regular soundings with us from six to four and a half fathoms till dark, and then anchored about three miles from the western shore in five fathoms upon a bottom which was soft and muddy, whereas heretofore the ground had been always sandy. The extreme of the land near Cape Moreton N 33° E. and the highest Glass House N. 44° W. 33

**WEDNESDAY 17TH**

At daylight on Wednesday morning we again weighed and turned up with a southerly breeze as long as the tide lasted. At half past ten o’clock anchored one mile and a half off a point that has red cliffs in it, 34 in three and half fathoms. A little West of this Point I observed the latitude with the artificial horizon to be 27° 16’ 25” S. The bight 35 which lays round the Point, is shoal with a muddy bottom; the land is low, but not so sandy as in the neighbourhood of the river. The rocks are a strongly impregnated Iron Stone, with some small pieces of granite and chrystal scattered about the shore. From Red Cliff Point we pulled 36 over to a green head 37 about two miles to the westward, round which the bight is contracted into a river-like form, 38 but the greatest part of it is dry at low water.

The small reefs which lay off this head presented a miniature of those which form such a barrier to the northern shore of New South Wales, and render it almost inaccessible.

In a house which stood upon the west side of the head they found a net, or seine, about fourteen fathoms long, the meshes of which were much larger than any English Seine, and the twine much stronger; but its depth was much less, being not more than three feet. At each end it had a pointed stick of about the same length. Upon the shoal near the house, there was more than one inclosure of a semi-circular form, and the sticks and branches of which it was made were set and interwoven so close that a fish could not pass between. This net Mr. Flinders supposed was to be placed diametrically across the semi-circle at high water, and thus secure all the fish that might get within the enclosure, until the falling tide should leave them dry. He brought away the net, as a proof of the superior ingenuity of these over the natives of Port Jackson, leaving them in return a hatchet, the only present which he had to make them; and that they might the sooner learn the great

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33 Comboyuro Point and Mt. Beerwah.
34 Woody Point, the south-eastern corner of the Redcliffe Peninsula.
35 Bramble Bay.
36 Rowed, presumably in the boat.
37 Clontarf Point.
38 Hay’s Inlet.
use of their new acquisition, and be consoled for the loss of their net, he cut down some branches and laid them before the hut. . . . The remains of a canoe made of the stringy bark were lying upon the shore, near the house where the net had been taken.

There were traces of dogs, Kangaroos, and emus upon the beach. Two hawks of a moderate size were shot, but their plumage was unlike that of any known at Port Jackson. That which was the most remarkable was of an unvariegated dull red colour in the body, with a milk-white neck, breast, and head.

The wood that we collected at high water mark for our fire, proved to be Cedar and of a fine Grain.

A light sea breeze coming from the northward in the afternoon, on our return on board, we got the Sloop under weigh, steering our course S.E.B.S. The water gradually shoaled to two fathoms, and the breeze dying away at the same time, we pulled to the north eastward with the sweeps into two and a half, and then anchored for the night upon a soft muddy bottom. The extreme near Cape Moreton now bore N. 21° E. and the farthest connected land now visible on the same side of the bay, E.N.E., which is not far from the latitude of the entrance from Moreton Bay; the shore to the S.W. was four or five miles distant.

THURSDAY

In the morning there was a moderate breeze from the Southward, and having a flood tide we got under weigh. After running a little to the northward to get into deeper water, we hauled up to pass between two islands of from three to four miles circuit each. The northernmost one is the largest and appeared to be well covered with wood, probably the greater part of Mangrove, the Island being low almost with the water's edge. The foliage of the Trees upon the southern one was equally dark and luxuriant with this, but the interior part of the Island is higher. To the Southward of this last also, there are two smaller Islands, nearly upon a level with the first and covered with Woods; the southernmost one, however, is very small. In passing between the two first islands, our soundings were from seven and a half to four and a half fathoms, with a muddy bottom, and then increased to twelve fathoms; but shoaling again suddenly to three we tacked to the westward a little before ten o'clock. In this situation the entrance from Moreton Bay

39 Rowed the sloop, not the boat.
40 Flinders was now almost sure that there was a passage from Cook's Morton Bay (Pacific Ocean) to Glass House Bay (Moreton Bay).
41 This shore included the mouth of the Brisbane River, concealed by low islands.
42 Mud Island.
43 St. Helena Island.
44 Green Island and King Island, the latter being very small.
was open, the South side of it bearing N. 68° E. six or eight miles and the west side of what will now be Moreton Island bore N. 2° W. Another island, apparently larger than either of the four mentioned, bore from the same place S. 55° to 34° E. at the distance of about five miles.

Reckoning the northernmost of the four islands to be the first in number, we made our course good for the third island, after tacking; and the water deepened almost immediately to six fathoms.

At this time their attention was much attracted by a party of natives from these islands, who appeared to be standing up in their canoes, and pulling towards them, with all their strength, in very regular order. They seemed to have long poles or spears in their hands, with which they also appeared to be paddling, the whole of them shifting their hands at the same instant, after the manner of the South Sea Islanders. As about twenty of them were counted, and seemed to be coming on with much resolution, our people prepared for whatever might be the event. The Sloop was put under easy sail, her decks cleared of every incumbrance, and each man was provided with a competent number of musket balls, pistol balls, and buck shot, which were to be used as the distance might require; for it was intended that not a man should escape if they commenced an attack.

Being thus prepared, they bore away toward them, finding that with their exertions they did not approach much nearer to the vessel. But what was their surprise on discovering that, instead of advancing in canoes to attack them, they were standing upon a large flat, that surrounded the third island, driving fish into their nets, and that they had but two canoes among them. They were standing in a line, splashing in the water with long sticks, first for some time on one side, and then all shifting to splash on the other. Thus this hostile array turned out to be a few peaceable fishermen: peaceable indeed; for on the approach of the vessel they sunk their canoes upon the flat, and retreated to the island, where they made their fires.

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45 Visible.
46 Amity Point.
47 This bearing is incorrect; it cannot be reconciled with the other bearings taken from this position.
48 First use of the name Moreton Island. Flinders justified this name on 31 July.
49 Peel Island.
50 Green Island.
51 This was the normal method of catching dugong, which were plentiful near Green Island and St. Helena Island. About ten men would stand in the water, each holding his net and the next man’s net to make a wall. Others would go behind the dugong in canoes and frighten it towards the nets by hitting the water with sticks. A dugong would drown if it became tangled in a net, and it was then pulled ashore. (Petrie, op. cit., pp. 67–68.)
52 Fisherman Island, at the mouth of the Brisbane River, acquired its name from the mistaken belief that it was the island where Flinders saw the “fishermen”.
The flood tide having ceased to run, we dropped the anchor at Noon, in six fathoms; and by the Sun's meridional Altitude, in the latitude 27° 27' 16" South. The third island, upon which there were natives, bore W. 4° S. one and a half or two miles, and the centres of the two northern ones N. 40° and N. 15° W. The extreme from Moreton Bay bearing N. 68° E. from this Anchorage, confirms its latitude by the observation of the 14th, taken on the sea side of it, altho' it differs considerably from that given by Capt. Cook. The difference may perhaps be thus accounted for. That great navigator finding by the meridional observation on the day, the previous evening to which he passed this part of the coast, that a northerly current had prevailed in the last twenty-four hours, probably allowed a proportional part of it to correct the situation of Point Lookout, as given by the log; whereas, in reality the northerly current might have commenced only the time that he opened the Moreton Bay entrance and became exposed to the outset from it. Nay, it is by no means improbabe, but that, instead of a northerly, he might have had a southerly set from the preceding Noon when the latitude was 27° 46', to the time when he opened the entrance in the same manner it had prevailed the day before, when the observation was 17° South of the log.

From our situation at this Anchorage, Glass House Bay seemed to be closed round, except at one small opening, which bore S. 27° E. As soon as the ebb tide slacked, we got under weigh to turn up for it. On our standing near the south part of the shoal that seemed to surround the island we tacked occasionally to get as far up the bay as possible, whilst the tide was favorable for us. A little before twelve at night, we were obliged to anchor, finding that the deep water had contracted into a narrow channel. From this situation the South side of Moreton entrance bore N. 12° E. and the large eastern island from N5° E. to 38° W. at the distance of two or three miles. Between this island and the shore to the eastward there are two small spots, which being covered with wood look as if they were models for islands; their appearance very pretty.

FRIDAY

19TH

In the morning we again weighed to beat up towards an island bearing S. 33° to 22° W. two or three miles, past which there appeared to be an arm leading to the Southward. After a good deal of trouble and getting

53 Came within sight of.
54 Towards Redland Bay.
55 Green Island.
56 Peel Island.
57 Bird Island and Goat Island.
58 Coochie Mudlo Island. This is the native name for the island, and means "red stone".
59 Redland Bay.
frequently into shoal water, we were obliged to give up the idea of finding the deep channel, if there was any, and anchored about a mile and a half N.E.B.E. from the island, in two fathoms, the bottom muddy as before. Going on shore to the island in the boat, we sounded in six fathoms twice; from whence I conclude that there is a deep, though narrow passage to the eastward of this island. The island is two or three miles in circumference.

Footsteps of dogs, and those recent, were numerous upon the beach; but traces of men were scarcely visible: there were, however, several fire-places, and many other marks of the island having lately been visited.

The central part is higher than the skirts and is covered with a coat of fine vegetable mould of a reddish colour. On the S.E. side of the island, this higher part descends suddenly into a steep bank, where the earth is as red as blood; and being clayey, portions of it are almost hardened into rock. The trees upon it are large and luxuriant and the new Pine is amongst them. The exterior part of the island on the west side is a flat, which the tide seems to rise over. It is abundantly covered with large Mangrove Trees. On the S.W. and N.E. sides, it is mostly low and sandy and here the Palm-Nut tree is produced. I conjecture that it is these nuts principally which induce the natives to visit this island. There was abundant testimony under the trees that they were not suffered to fall off and rot.

They met with some boughs so ranged as to keep off the southerly winds; and from the fire-places which they were placed to defend, it was inferred that not less than five or six natives had made this their place of residence, probably a temporary one only, as they do not meet with any huts regularly constructed.

The black and the white cockatoo, the beautiful laylock headed parroquet and the bald-headed Mocking bird of Port Jackson, inhabit here, but there were no marks of resident quadrupeds: vermin excepted. The latitude of this island, deduced from the Sun’s altitude at Noon is 27° 34' 59" S., making the depth of this bay from Cape Moreton to be thirty-four miles; for beyond this island the bay is contracted into a river of considerable width indeed, but it appeared to be so shoal, or if there was any deep channel, to be so difficult of access, that I gave up all idea of pursuing it further, especially as the wind seemed adverse; and therefore returned on board with the intention of running into the river near the Glass House Peaks; there to lay the Sloop ashore and get fresh water, if a convenient situation could be found.

60 The “new pine” was the Bribie Island pine; see 16 July 1799, Note 27. The “palm-nut tree”, described by Flinders at Shoal Bay on 12 July 1799, was the Pandanus palm.
61 Collins (op. cit., p. 241) has “lilac”.
62 Not a river, but Redland Bay or the channels to the south of it.
63 Pumicestone Channel.
It was with a good deal of trouble, and the risk of getting repeatedly aground that we again got into the deep channel, that runs past the south side of the large easternmost island. At three quarters of a mile from the point of a spit, laying off from the west end of this island and when the same spit bore N. 30° E. in a line with the south side of Moreton entrance, our soundings were five and half and six fathoms; and steering from thence with a fair breeze, to repass between the first and second islands, carried various soundings between $4\frac{1}{2}$ and 8 fathoms. At dusk we dropped the anchor on the north side of the second island, in two and a half fathoms; and next morning when it was low water, saw that the shoal, by which this island is partly if not altogether surrounded, was dry at no great distance from us. There was no appearance of natives upon this second island.

SATURDAY 20TH

Rainy, blowing weather prevented us from getting under weigh earlier in the morning than 10 o'clock, and the interval in which it ceased, was so short that soon after eleven we anchored again in five fathoms. From thence we steered for the Pumice Stone River in the afternoon, thinking to run into it by the west side of the dry shoal that lays off its mouth; but finding after repeated attempts that the shoal water extended as it is marked in the sketch, and the wind being at South East, we anchored at sunset, in two fathoms; the mouth of the river bearing W. about two miles.

[SUNDAY 21ST]

Early the next morning (Sunday, the 21st) Mr. Flinders went in his boat to examine the river, and the entrance into it. On approaching Point Skirmish, five or six natives came down to the boat unarmed, and, by friendly gestures and offers of their girdles and small nets, endeavoured to persuade him to land. He could not satisfy himself whether they had any treacherous design in this, or whether their presenting themselves unarmed proceeded from any confidence which they might have felt, that neither himself nor his people would hurt them if they were not the aggressors. In this point of view, the offer of their girdles and nets might have been meant as an atonement for their former conduct; he did not, however, choose to trust them, but proceeded to examine the river.

Although the shoals in the river were very intricate; yet, finding that there was depth of water sufficient to admit the sloop, he determined to get her into it.

Upon these shoals were several pelicans, and they had not proceeded far with their boat before they were greeted with the well-known creaking

64 Peel Island.
65 St. Helena Island.
66 First use of the name Pumice Stone River. The pumice stone had been discovered on 16 July. On the chart, the name is “Pumice-stone River”.
note of the swan. These now engaged a great part of their attention, and before they left the river eight of them were killed.

When they had nearly reached the end of their excursion, two natives came down to the beach, and seemed desirous for them to land. There being a dry sand at a sufficient distance to be out of the reach of spears, they put ashore upon it. About the same time, Mr. Flinders taking up his gun to fire at two red-bills, the natives ran into the woods; but on Bong-ree's advancing that way they returned, and he made a friendly exchange for their hair fillets and belts, giving them a white woollen cap in return, and came to the boat for a piece of white cloth and some biscuits for them, to make the exchange equal. During this time Mr. Flinders was on shore upon the sand bank with a gun, to cover him in case their behaviour should be unfriendly. On his advancing toward them, they were very vociferous for him to remain at a distance, and would in no wise admit of his approaching without laying down his gun. This place was about six miles from Point Skirmish; but it was evident that the fame and dread of their fire-arms had reached thus far, and were most probably increased by the shooting of the swans, which they must have witnessed.

In returning down the river, they were called to by a man on the west side, who had a spear in his hand; but two women and several children being behind argued rather against any premeditated hostility. The women and children retired on their approaching the shore; but they were observed to be peeping at them from behind the bushes. This man made great exclamations for the musquet to be laid down, calling out "Woo-rah, woo-rah," as others had done, and seemed pleased when it was complied with; but he could not have heard many particulars of their weapons, for, on pointing a musquet towards him to try the experiment, he did not appear to be sensible of the danger to himself in that case. As he did not choose to quit his spear, and the sun was descending, they did not land, but backed in near enough to throw him a yarn stocking, which they shewed him was to be worn as a cap with a tail to it, and then parted good friends.

At seven o'clock in the morning, we got up to the mouth of the river with the sloop; but being calm the ebb tide obliged us to anchor for an hour; we then pulled in for the entrance, passing to the westward of the dry shoal over six feet water. A breeze from the North-west enabled us to turn up the river with the assistance of the flood; the soundings being from four to seven fathoms in the deepest parts, and the shoals distinguishable by the ripples upon them.

There are two flats with Mangroves growing upon them, three or four miles up the river, past which there appeared to be a narrow channel of deep water, but in attempting it we touched the bottom and were obliged to run
back for a little distance and cross over to the other side of the river, where the deep channel runs close to the eastern shore. The deepest part of the Channel where it crosses over is near the upper side of a dry shoal, but there is only three fathoms on it, afterwards there are five and seven fathoms. Finding a place opposite to the Mangrove flat where there was deep water close to the rocks and a beach just above it, convenient for laying the Sloop ashore upon, we dropped the Anchor off the beach. After dinner, we slipped that cable, dropped another Anchor off the steep rocks, veered in and made fast to the trees.

**TUESDAY 23RD**

At two o'clock we hauled the Sloop on shore and from six till nine in the evening were employed in filling up the seam with Oakum, which by dropping out, had occasioned the leak; and then nailing the plank to, afresh, covered the whole with tarred canvas and sheet lead. On account of the superior rise of the following tide, the Sloop was afloat by one o'clock in the morning; at which time we hauled her off to the anchor and at daylight took her alongside the steep rocks and employed the rest of the day in reshipping our ballast and water.

**WEDNESDAY 24TH**

In a spare interval of a few hours before high water (the day he laid the sloop ashore) [Mr. Flinders] attempted to get some swans, but met with none that could not fly. He saw several large fish, or animals that came up to the surface of the water to blow, in the manner of a porpoise, or rather of a seal, for they did not spout, nor had they any dorsal fin. The head also strongly resembled the bluff-nosed hair seal, but their size was greater than any which Mr. Flinders had seen before. He fired three musquet balls into one, and Bong-ree threw a spear into another, but they sunk and were not seen again. These animals, which perhaps might be sea lions, were not observed anywhere but in this river.

Not finding any fresh water wherewith to fill up their casks, they had dug a hole in a low situation about a hundred yards inland. The first spit consisted of vegetable earth, mixed with a large portion of black sand; the three following feet were composed of different layers of sand, and then they came to the hardened black clay of which the rocks on some parts of the banks were formed. Here the water began to ooze in at the sides of the hole, which in the course of six-and-thirty hours was filled, but with very thick water. Luckily there was not any occasion to use it; for one of the people,
incautiously straying into the wood, met with a hole of very good water, at which they completed their stock.

While they were employed in making up the sails, which had been loosed in the first part of the morning to dry, three natives made their appearance upon the beach, a short distance below the vessel, and unarmed as before. Bong-ree went up to them in his usual undaunted manner; but they would not suffer Mr. Flinders, or any of his party to approach them, without first laying down their musquets. Presents were made them of yarn caps, pork, and biscuit, all of which they eagerly took, and made signs for Bong-ree to go with them, and they would give him girdles and fillets, to bind round his head and the upper parts of his arms. So long as their visitors consisted only of two, the natives were lively, dancing and singing in concert in a pleasing manner; but, the number of white men having imperceptibly increased to eight, they became alarmed and suspicious, seeming to look with a jealous eye upon a shot belt which Mr. Flinders wore, and which, though they did not rightly know how, might somehow or other be a deadly weapon.

Observing this, he gave it to one of the people to take away; but this he afterwards thought was wrong, as tending to make them suspicious of every thing they saw, and thus be a means of destroying their friendly intercourse. By this shot belt they seemed to recognise Mr. Flinders as the person who had fired upon them before, and were more desirous that he should keep at a distance than any other person. Three of the sailors, who were Scotch, were desired to dance a reel, but, for want of musick, they made a very bad performance, which was contemplated by the natives without much amusement or curiosity. Finding they could not be persuaded to visit the sloop, our people parted with them, but in a very friendly manner.

**THURSDAY**

**25th**

Having weighed the Anchors, we turned two or three miles up the river in the afternoon for the convenience of being nearer to the Glass House Peaks, which I meant to take this opportunity of visiting. In the deepest parts of this river there were from four to six fathoms water, but the channel is much divided and narrow. We anchored in three and quarter fathoms.

They anchored near that place on the western shore where the man who had a family with him had called them; and at this time they saw a fire, and heard several younger female voices in the same place.

**FRIDAY**

**26th**

In the morning, I took the boat up a small branch that points towards the Peaks, but afterwards joining the main stream, forms two low Mangrove Islands, leaving the Glass Houses at some distance on the left hand. About half past nine I left the boat accompanied by two sailors and our native.
Steering N.W.B.W. through a low swampy country brought us to the side of a creek whose banks are low, muddy, and covered with Mangrove. This creek carried us to the S.W. ward to near the head of it, where the stream passing through a rushy swamp permitted us to wade over it. From thence we steered between N. 50° and 60° W., getting a sight of the flat topped Peak at times, which appearing to be considerably higher than the highest Glass House, was that which I first meant to visit; but seeing one of the round sloping mounts still nearer to us, we altered our course for it, after having refreshed ourselves at Noon; and on walking about nine miles from the boat, reached the top. The country we walked through is low, swampy and brushy, and in the latter part of the way somewhat uneven. In the swampy parts, the surface is full of winding holes, where the water lodges and renders walking both tiresome and difficult. Those places that are somewhat higher are sandy or stony, and in these the grass tree abounds, but in general the trees are the same as before mentioned, except that the Pine was not observed amongst them.

The mount is a pile of stones of all sizes, mostly loose near the surface: the decayed vegetable matter that is lodged in the cavities, produces a thick covering of long but rather spindly grass, very fit for thatch, from its length. Its ascent is very difficult and similar to that up Mount Direction, which stands upon the east bank of Derwent River in Van Diemen's Land. The trees upon the mount are of the same kinds as below, but straighter and more tall. The view of the bay and the neighbouring country is very extensive from the top of this mount; the uppermost part of the bay appeared at S. 24° E., where there were several smokes. This last bearing I apprehend to be near the head of the River, which the intricacy of the channel and the shortness of time combined, would not permit me to enter with the Sloop. Near the head of Pumice Stone river there is a spread of water which here S. 72° E. and seemed to divide off into small Branches; there were other small branches falling in below that: the whole forming a collection of channels, which ramifying through the low country draw off all the water that collects within the ridges of back mountains. These mountains appeared to be

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68 Glass Mountain Creek, designated as Salt Creek on Flinders' chart (Fig. 5).
69 Tibrogargan, 1160 feet.
70 Beerwah.
71 Beerburrun.
72 Evidently there are two mountains of this name in Tasmania; the other is in the south-west.
73 The bearing should probably be S. 44° E.
74 The vicinity of Redland Bay, which had appeared to be a river.
75 This bearing should be N. 72° E., the one given is towards the mouth of the supposed river.
between ten and twenty miles distant, laying in a north and south direction, and the country between to be nearly as low as that we had walked over. There was a large smoke near the foot of them. From this mount, which is the eastern and northernmost of the two that appear in the sketch of the Glass Houses, the flat topped Peak bore N. 8° W. one mile and a half. The way was over an irregular country, the higher parts of which were sandy and stony, the lower, swampy, as before. At about two thirds of the distance, a stream of water induced us to stop for the night, the sun being then below the trees.

[Saturday 27th] At seven in the morning we were under the steep cliffs of the flat topped peak. The stone is whitish, close grained and hard, but not heavy. It is not stratified, but there were many cracks in it. At a little distance from the peak there were pieces of a reddish stone scattered about and some crumbs of granite. It somewhat surprised me that we met with no volcanic appearances. The Pumice Stone in the river and the situation of these stupendous Peaks upon low flat ground, induced me to form anxious expectations upon that head. But it must be observed that although I could not distinguish any marks of scoria, lava, basaltes or other igneous remains, they may still exist, more especially about the High Glass House, which was not visited; for unless very evident, they would escape my observation from inability to discover them. As the steepness of the cliffs utterly forbad all idea of ascending to the top of the flat-topped peak, we bent our course downwards to the river, steering S.S.E. to go clear of the head of the creek and of the swamps in its neighbourhood.

But this direction took him a great way inland; and upon his altering the course to reach the place where he had left the boat, he had to cross a broad stream of fresh water which fell in lower down, and to walk near three miles to reach the water side. He, however, hit the place with unexpected readiness, and was very acceptably presented with a black swan, which the people in the boat had caught, and which was at the moment ready for satisfying the appetites of his party, which were not trifling, for a more laborious and tiresome walk of the same length would seldom be experienced.

The marks of Men and of animals were but very few and scarcely to be seen in the upper parts of the walk; birds were almost equally scarce, but

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76 Parts of the Conondale Range and the D'Aguilar Range are at this distance.
77 This sketch is not available, but the chart (Fig. 5) shows Beerburrum and the higher Tunbubudla.
78 Tibrogargan Creek.
79 All the Glass Houses are necks of Tertiary trachyte.
80 Elimbah Creek.
we got a new kind of pheasant of the size of an English Magpie: the Emu was not seen altho' their voice had been so often heard as to induce us to think they must be numerous. The more inland part of the country is something better and higher than in the neighbourhood of the salt water, but none that we met with, was fit to grow a grain of wheat.

Sunday 28th

As soon as the ebb made in the morning, we got under weigh to turn down the River; the wind being S.S.E.

There were many natives on the shore abreast of them, who seemed particularly anxious to be visited, dancing and singing to attract attention, and express their own good-will; and, when they could not prevail upon our people to land, followed the sloop along the bank, their hopes seeming to revive by the trips which in tacking they occasionally made towards the shore.

The intricacy of the Channels being a great obstacle to our progress, we were not able to get out of the River in one Tide, but brought up about one mile short of the entrance, anchoring in three and half fathoms near the eastern shore. Three Swans that the Boat caught whilst coming down made the Number up to eighteen which were procured in this River.

Shortly after anchoring, Mr. Flinders took some people with axes on shore to cut a log of the pine\(^{81}\) for the workmen at Port Jackson, who might ascertain the kind and worth of the wood. There was a house and several natives near the place, with whom Bong-ree was in conversation when the tree fell, the crash and report of which startled them a good deal, and might probably assist in giving them a higher idea of the power of their visitors.

These people were still very averse from the appearance or approach of a musquet, keeping a watchful eye upon their least movement. The gallant and unsuspecting native, Bong-ree, made them a present of one of his spears, and a throwing stick, of which he showed them the use, for they appeared to be wholly ignorant of the latter, and their weapons of the former kind were inferior to his.

Very bad weather detained Mr. Flinders here for two days, during which they were occasionally visited by the natives, who came down upon both sides of the river, and entertained them with singing and dancing; their singing, indeed, could not be distinctly heard, being nearly lost in the wind. Not a spear was at any time seen among them.

While lying here, Mr. Flinders had some opportunity of observing their manner of fishing, which was perfectly new to his companion, Bong-ree. The

\(^{81}\) Bribie Island pine (see 16 July 1799, Note 27). The wood proved to be useful for piles of wharves, sheathing of boats, and cabinet work.
party on the east shore, near which the vessel lay, went out each morning at daylight along the side of the river with nets on their shoulders; and this, as far as a distant view would allow of observation, appeared to be the mode in which they used them. Whichever of the party sees a fish, by some dextrous manoeuvre, gets at the back of it, and spreads out his scoop net: others prevent its escaping on either side, and in one or other of their nets the fish is almost infallibly caught. With these nets they saw them run sometimes up to their middle in water; and, to judge from the event, they seemed to be successful, as they generally soon made a fire near the beach and sat down by it; no doubt, to regale with their fish, which was thus no sooner out of the water than it was on the fire.

The rain ceasing on Tuesday afternoon a party went to the eastern shore to procure firewood, and to comply with the desire which the natives had so often expressed of seeing them land among them. On approaching them, they carried their nets away\[82\] into the wood; but three of them, who remained, suffered the white people to advance without laying down their musquets, which had never happened before. They were still timorous, but on being encouraged and requested by signs to sing, they began a song in concert, which actually was musical and pleasing, and not merely in the diatonic scale, descending by thirds; as at Port Jackson: the descent of this was waving, in rather a melancholy, soothing strain. The song of Bong-ree, which he gave them at the conclusion of theirs, sounded barbarous and grating to the ear; but Bong-ree was an indifferent songster, even among his own countrymen.

These people, like the natives of Port Jackson, having fallen to the low pitch of their voices, recommenced their song at the octave, which was accompanied by slow and not ungraceful motions of the body and limbs, their hands being held up in a supplicating posture, and the tone and manner of their song and gestures seemed to bespeak the good will and forbearance of their auditors. Observing that they were attentively listened to, they each selected one of our people, and placed his mouth close to his ear, as if to produce a greater effect, or, it might be, to teach them the song, which their silent attention might seem to express a desire to learn. In return for the pleasure they had afforded, Mr. Flinders gave them some worsted caps, and a pair of old blanket trousers, with which they were much gratified. Several other natives soon made their appearance, probably those who had carried away the nets. It was some little time before they could overcome their dread of approaching the strangers with their fire-arms; but, encouraged by the three who were with them, they came up, and a general song and

\[82\] See 16 July 1799, Note 24.
dance was commenced. Their singing was not confined to one air; they gave three, but the first was the most pleasing.

Of those who last came, three were remarkable for the largeness of their heads; and one, whose face was very rough, had much more the appearance of a baboon than of a human being. He was covered with oily soot; his hair matted with filth; his visage, even among his fellows, uncommonly ferocious; and his very large mouth, beset with teeth of every hue between black, white, green, and yellow, sometimes presented a smile, which might make one shudder.

Among other friendly interchanges, they learned the names of Mr. Flinders and his party. Him they called Mid-ger Plindah and his brother Samuel they called Dam-wel. Three of their names were Yel-yel-bah, Ye-woo, and Bo-ma-ri-go. The resemblance of this last to Porto Rico imprinted it on Mr. Flinders's recollection. When these people joined the party the strangers were shown, and their names severally told to them, until they had gotten the pronunciation. This ceremony was reciprocal, and accorded with what Captain Cook had said before of an inhabitant of Endeavour River: "he introduced the strangers by name, a ceremony which upon such occasions was never omitted." The difference of latitude between these two places is 11° 39', or seven hundred miles.

With regard to the comparative size of these people, they were evidently somewhat lower than the common standard of Englishmen, and perhaps less in every respect, except in the disproportionate size of the head; and indeed this was not general. In the features of the face, particularly in the elongation of the lower ones, in the small calf of the leg, and the curve of the thigh, they bore a general resemblance to the natives of Port Jackson; but there was not one in all this group, whose countenance had so little of the savage, or the symmetry of whose limbs expressed strength and agility, so much as those of their companion Bong-ree.

A hawk presenting himself in an interval of conversation, Mr. Flinders thought it a fair opportunity of showing his new friends a specimen of the effect and certainty of his fire-arms. He made them comprehend what was intended; but, while shifting the buck shot which were in the musquet for a charge of small shot, their agitation was so great, that they seemed to be on the point of running into the woods; however, an expedient to keep them was devised; the seamen placed them in a cluster behind themselves, and in this situation they anxiously saw Mr. Flinders approach towards the bird, and fire. What must have been his sensations at this moment! for the hawk flew away, though not indeed unhurt, as the natives noticed that the leg was

83 The natives could not pronounce the letters "f" or "s".
84 Matthew Flinders' brother, Samuel, accompanied him.
broken. The disappointment brought to his recollection how ineffectual had been some former attempts of his to impress them with an idea of the superior refinement of his followers. Bong-ree, his musician, had annoyed his auditors with his barbarous sounds, and the clumsy exhibition of his Scotch dancers unaccompanied with the aid of musick, had been viewed by them without wonder or gratification.

It is almost unnecessary to say that these people go naked. They, however, wore belts round the waist, and fillets about the head and upper parts of the arm. These were formed of hair, twisted into yarn-like threads, and then into bandages, mostly reticulated. Indeed the inhabitants of this bay appeared to possess in general a very pointed difference from, if not a superiority over, those of New South Wales, particularly in their net-works. A seine eighty feet in length, and the scoop nets which they use, have been mentioned. To these may be added the bag in which they seemed to carry their portable property, and which was most probably of the same kind as those mentioned by Captain Cook; but they were seen of different sizes, and two that Mr. Flinders procured were very differently worked. They were in general shaped somewhat like a breast plate; and, being suspended from the necks of the possessors, led him, previous to his first interview with them, to suppose they were some kind of defence for the more vital parts. There was no doubt but that they were provided with nets for catching very large fish, or animals, as the fragments of a rotten one lying on the shore were picked up, the meshes of which were wide enough to admit the escape of a moderate sized porpoise; and the line of which it was made was from three quarters to an inch in circumference. Probably the large animals which Mr. Flinders took to be sea lions might be the objects for which these large nets were fabricated.85

Mr. Flinders was of opinion, that this mode of procuring their food would cause a characteristic difference between the manners, and perhaps the dispositions of these people, and of those who mostly depend upon the spear or fiz-gig86 for a supply. In the one case, there must necessarily be the co-operation of two or more individuals; who therefore, from mutual necessity, would associate together. It is fair to suppose, that his association would, in the course of a few generations, if not much sooner, produce a favourable

85 The large nets were indeed for catching dugong. They were made from the inside bark of a scrub vine (*Malaisia tortuosa*), which was split into fibre, dried, and twisted into string. In making dugong nets, the natives measured the strings to get the correct size of mesh. The nets were sewn up in the shape of huge pockets, so that the dugong, when caught, could not escape from the net even if it broke away from the hunters, and would eventually drown and be reclaimed. The nets were held at the top by two pieces of stick ending in a handle. (Petrie, *op. cit.*, p. 67.)

86 A kind of fishing-spear.
change in the manners and dispositions even of a savage. In the other case, the native who depends upon his fix-gig or his spear for his support depends upon his single arm, and, requiring not the aid of society, is indifferent about it, but prowls along, a gloomy, unsettled, and unsocial being. An inhabitant of Port Jackson is seldom seen, even in the populous town of Sydney, without his spear, his throwing stick, or his club. His spear is his defence against enemies. It is the weapon which he uses to punish aggressors and revenge insult. It is even the instrument with which he corrects his wife in the last extreme; for in their passion, or perhaps oftener in a fit of jealousy, they scruple not to inflict death. It is the play-thing of children, and in the hands of persons of all ages. It is easy to perceive what effect this must have upon their minds. They become familiarised to wounds, blood, and death: and repeatedly involved in skirmishes and dangers, the native fears not death in his own person, and is consequently careless of inflicting it on others.

The net also appearing to be a more certain source of food than the spear, change of place will be less necessary. The encumbrance, too, of carrying large nets from one place to another will require a more permanent residence; and hence it would naturally follow that their houses would be of a better construction. Those which had been met with in Shoal Bay and Glass House Bay were certainly far superior to any that had been seen in the neighbourhood of Port Jackson; and this superiority Mr. Flinders attributed to the different mode of procuring fish which had been adopted by the inhabitants. He likewise supposed that the use of nets, and consequently whatever resulted from such use, arose from the form of the bay, which, being shoal for a considerable distance from the shores, gave the greatest advantage to nets, over every other method, more especially the setting and scoop nets. Pumice-Stone river, being full of shoals, required the same manner of fishing; and it was observed that most, if not all, of the islands in the bay were surrounded by extensive shoals, which, by extending the necessity, would assist in bringing nets into more general use.

At one time they saw near twenty natives engaged in fishing upon one of these flats, the greater part of whom were employed in driving fish into a net which was held by their companions. That they were so engaged, they convinced our people, by one of the party holding up a fish to them while he was standing in the water.

During the time the sloop was in Glass-House Bay, they scarcely saw any of the women.

Of their canoes but little could be reported. The only one which Mr.

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87 A large canoe would carry ten people; one at each end paddled with a round stick about 9 feet long, while the passengers sat low in the bottom. A patch of clay in the bottom was provided for resting a lighted firestick on, and safety
Flinders had any opportunity of examining was on the east side of Pumice-Stone river. This was formed of the stringy bark, and was much larger than any used at Port Jackson. The ends of it were tied up in the same manner; but it was misshapen and clumsy. Not any of the natives ever attempt to approach the sloop in canoes, although at times eight or ten were seen standing together, who appeared very desirous of having a communication with it.

On the day we laid the Sloop on shore, the Rise of the tide in Pumice Stone River, was but three feet and nine inches. The tides were then neaped and the remark of Captain Cook that “they had only one high tide in twenty-four hours which happened in the night,” seems to apply here: for although the Sloop was roused up as high as the strength of our crew and heeling her on the bilge could effect, yet she righted a full hour and a half before the night tide had done flowing and presently one man hauled her off. This superior rise of the night tide is well known, and advantage taken of it, at Port Jackson; it also rises higher at Western Port, round the southern Promontory of New South Wales. The time of high Water in the River, precedes the Moon’s passage over the Meridian by two hours and a half; I do not think the highest rise of the tide is more than seven, or less than five feet.

Having a moderate breeze at S.B.W. with fine weather in the morning, we got underweigh with the weather tide and beat out of the river. In the narrow Channel, between the dry Shoal that lays in the mouth of the river, and the low sandy shore of the Main, we carried six fathoms water at the distance of between one or two Cable lengths from the latter; but there were two lines of ripling water laying off from the shore, where we had but two and a half and two fathoms upon the least agitated parts; neither could I discover any more favorable passage by which Pumice Stone River may be entered. Nevertheless, I apprehend there must be one channel at least, with a depth of water more analogous to the entrance of the river.

The observed latitude at Noon 27° 4’ south, and the outer part of Point equipment included a shell for bailing water, and a ball of clay for filling holes. Canoes were made by peeling a single sheet of bark from a bastard mahogany or from a stringy bark tree, tying the ends with vine to keep it cylindrical, then setting fire to leaves and twigs inside it to make it pliable. The ends were then untied, bent up and again tied with string, and a skewer of wood was run through each end. The sides were strengthened with wattle and string. (Petrie, op. cit., pp. 97-99.)

88 The south-eastern point of Bribie Island which alone now bears the name of Skirmish Point.
Skirmish bore S. 30° W. about three miles; the soundings ten fathoms. Steering N.N.E. with a good southerly breeze, enabled me to set the principal peaks of the Glass House as they shut on; which serving as cross bearings, to those taken from the top of the eastern sloping mount, will ascertain their relative positions with moderate correctness. We were running four knots and a half per hour, when at 50' past noon, the song “and a half three” awakened my attention; and the depth of water only varied between that of six fathoms till 1h 31', at which time there appeared to be a well defined line stretching towards Cape Moreton, which bore S. 68° E. This line terminated the shoal water of Glass House Bay. No ground could now be found with the hand line at the present rate of sailing, but on throwing the Sloop up in the wind, we struck a sandy bottom with twenty-five fathoms, and Cape Moreton then bore S. 56° E.; the last sight of this Cape was at 5' past 5, when it bore S. 30° E., between eight and nine leagues; and as it was just disappearing from the Deck, where the elevation of the eye was seven and a half or eight feet, a judgement may be formed of its height: and thence, a more correct estimate of the distance of any ship, that shall have this Cape appearing in her Horizon. The highest Glass House bearing S. 43° W. at the same time, corrects the distance of Cape Moreton given by the Log; for it lays W3° N. thirty-two miles from the Cape. On opening the Glass House in this point of view, it appears like a small peak upon the more distant ridge of Mountains, but, should the weather be clear, its whole form will be distinctly visible. The sloping mounts\textsuperscript{89} are at least equally remarkable from hence, having no back land, in the shade of which their forms might be lost.

This back ridge of mountains lays about ten leagues from the west side of the Bay at its entrance; but in stretching to the South, the mountains curve a little eastward, approaching nearer to the water at the head of the Bay. The intermediate land is mostly a low flat, more especially in the northern parts, where it is intersected by channels, which convey the water, collected within this circular ridge, into the bay, principally by means of Pumice Stone River. Near the head of the bay, it is probable that a considerable part of the land will be found fit for agricultural purposes. It will appear in the course of this narrative and in the sketch, that Glass House Bay is full of shoals. Nor can I attempt to point out any passage that will lead a ship into it, without danger: the east side of the bay is yet unfathomed, probably it may afford one. The latitude of Cape Moreton, has before been given at 27° 00' 29" South and its longitude at 153° 30' 50" east. The variation

\textsuperscript{89} From this position both the Tunbubudlas may have been visible, in addition to Beerburrum; yet Flinders never mentions more than two “sloping mounts”.

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resulting from a single amplitude was $9^\circ 56'$ east. I have called the land upon which Cape Moreton is situated, Moreton Island, supposing it to be that which its immortal discoverer would have applied to it, had he known of its insulation. The bearings have cut it off to a strip of Island, whose greatest extent East and West, is not more than 4 or 5 miles; but according to the observations for the latitude, its meridional extent is twenty-two miles. The ridge of land which runs along the middle of the Island, is nearly of the same height with the Cape, and altho' it appears to be composed of great Piles of sand, heaped together upon a base, mostly of stone, it is yet interspersed with small trees calculated to mislead a distant observer, who would probably think that some parts of it were not amongst the most barren spots in the Universe.

In passing out of the Bay, we saw a large turtle laying asleep upon the water, whence it becomes not improbable, that the capture of these animals, may form a part of the labours of the inhabitants: and of the Intention of their large nets.

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At eight next day, Mount Warning was set at S. 25° W., twenty leagues. On coming in with Point Look-out, I took observations for the latitude and longitude, which fixed it in $27^\circ 27'$ south, and $153^\circ 31'$ east. The latitude is the same as it had been made in the Norfolk, but is $19'$ south and $3'$ west of the situation given in Captain Cook's chart. The bearings of the land at noon were:

- Point Look-out, distant 3 leagues, S. 9° W.
- Moreton entrance to Glass-house Bay, S. 55° W.
- Cape Moreton, distant six leagues, N. 18° W.

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90 A single reading in the measurement of the compass variation from true north gave value quite close to that assumed ($10^\circ$E.) on Monday, 15 July.
91 Captain Cook.
92 The highest point of Moreton Island is Mt. Tempest, 919 feet high. Cape Moreton is about 250 feet high.
93 Excepting Cape Moreton itself, which is part of the Ipswich coal measures (Triassic), the whole of Moreton Island consists of coastal sand dunes which are largely covered with trees.
94 Turtles were plentiful and were indeed caught by the natives, but not with nets. The natives would dive from a canoe, turn the turtle on its back to render it powerless, and tie a rope to a flipper; the turtle was then hit on the head, and towed ashore. Turtle hunting was also played as a game, with one man playing the part of the turtle. (Petrie, op. cit., pp. 83 and 112.)
95 Monday, 26 July 1802.
96 Sunday, 14 July 1799.
97 See Fig. 3 and Cook, Journal, 17 May 1770, Note 7.
98 South Passage.
A strange vessel seen to the southward, had induced me to carry little sail all the morning; it was now perceived not to be the Lady Nelson,99 but probably one of the two whalers known to be fishing off the coast; we therefore made sail for Cape Moreton, and came up with it at four o’clock. I was much surprised to see a small, but dangerous reef100 lying between four and five miles off this cape to the north-east, which had not been noticed in the Norfolk; in entering Glass-house Bay101 I had then hauled close round Cape Moreton at dusk in the evening,102 and in coming out had passed too far westward to observe it.103 The longitude of Cape Moreton was now fixed by the time-keepers at 153° 26½’ east, differing only 1½’ from the lunar observations before taken in the Norfolk;104 when its latitude had been settled at 27° 0½’ S.

After passing the dangerous reef we steered northward until three in the morning.105

99 A ship accompanying the “Investigator”. Lieutenant Murray was in command.
100 Flinders Reef.
101 Moreton Bay.
102 Sunday, 14 July 1799.
103 Wednesday, 31 July 1799.
104 Monday, 15 July 1799. The difference was more than this.
105 Tuesday, 27 July 1802.
1822

Mr. John Bingle, a retired naval officer, arrived in Sydney in 1821, at the age of twenty-five. Three months later he was placed in command of H.M. Cutter "Sally", with instructions to search for a large river supposed to exist between Port Macquarie and Sandy Cape. Entering Moreton Bay in March 1822, he spent four days at Pumicestone Channel and satisfied himself that this was not a river. The documents presented here are (1) part of the log of the "Sally", the manuscript of which is in the Mitchell Library, MSS 486, and (2) "The Natives of Moreton Bay in 1822", by John Bingle, reprinted from Welsby.1

An informative article on Bingle and Edwardson, including all the known documents, appeared in Queensland Heritage.2

BINGLE IN THE "SALLY", MARCH 1822

MONDAY Pleasant south-easterly breeze and fine weather throughout. At 4 p.m. got in with the land about 6 miles to the northward of Point Danger. At 1 p.m. Mount Warning S.W. by W. Point Danger S.W.4W.4 At 6 while running down the coast which appeared a low swamp,5 observed a large break6 about 2 miles wide with scarcely any water on it and as far as I could see from the masthead it appeared to be the entrance of a large lagoon7 inclining North by South, at the back of it having a range of very high

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1 T. Welsby, The Discoverers of the Brisbane River (Brisbane: Diddams, 1913), pp. 70-76.
3 Bingle reckoned a day as beginning at noon, in accordance with nautical practice. See Cook, Journal, 17 May 1770, Note 3.
4 Possibly at 4 p.m.
5 Probably the first recorded impression of the Gold Coast of Queensland.
6 The bar of the Nerang River at Southport.
7 The Broadwater, linking the Nerang River estuary with the channels at the southern end of Moreton Bay.
mountains. At 7 shortened sail and stood to Eastward at midnight. Tacked at daylight, made all sail and stood in. At 7 a.m. Mount Warning S. by W., Point Lookout N. by W.S.W. At half past 10 Point Lookout W.S.W., Flat Rock N.W. At noon latitude per observation 27°18' S.

**TUESDAY MARCH 5TH**

First part, light E.S.E. wind and clear weather. At 4 p.m. rounded Cape Morton and stood in for the Bay. The reef bearing N.½ E., Cape Morton S.W. Steering W. or in a line with the Glass Houses about 7 miles, and then altering the course to S.W. ½ W. or direct for Point Skirmish — carrying 8 fathoms water while steering W and then gradually shoaling to 2½ fathoms, that being the least water on the bar where I crossed. About ¾ mile within I shoaled to 3 fathoms, and from that to where I anchored carried from 6 to 9 fathoms. At 7 anchored in 9 fathoms, sandy bottom. Glass House Mountains, bearing W. by N.½ N. Point Skirmish W.S.W. At 8 p.m. latitude per Moon 27°5'43" South, longitude per Moon and stars 153°18'45" East.

At daylight weighed and stood for Point Skirmish carrying from 8 to 10 fathoms, when abreast the Point shoaled to 2 fathoms low water — the wind being to the southward, and the ebb tide setting out, was obliged to haul off and anchor in 9 fathoms. Glass House N.N.W.'s At noon cloudy with flying showers.

**WEDNESDAY MARCH 6TH**

N.N.Easterly winds and fine weather throughout. At 2 p.m. weighed for the Pumice Stone River, at ½ past 3 rounded Point Skirmish, carrying 2 fathoms water in the shoalest parts, and proceeded up the River carrying from 5 to 7 fathoms. At ½ past 5 anchored in 4 fathoms, muddy bottom, about a cable's length from the shore. Many natives keeping weigh with us along the beach from Point Skirmish. At day-light hoisted out the boat and proceeded

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8 Probably in the Lamington National Park.
9 This would place him 40 miles off the coast.
10 The use of Cook's original spelling may suggest that Bingle was using a copy of Cook's chart rather than one of Flinders; yet he later used Flinders' names for Skirmish Point and Pumice Stone River.
11 The whole southern end of Bribie Island was considered to be Point Skirmish. Flinders' chart, intentionally or otherwise, conveys this idea. Bingle was still to the east of Bribie Island.
12 The shoals north of Moreton Island.
13 Probably should read W. by N.¼ W., which would be true if he were near the present Skirmish Point, the latitude of which agrees with that measured at the anchorage.
14 This longitude is close to Moreton Island, and would place the anchorage near Bulwer; but this would not yield a bearing W.S.W. towards Point Skirmish, so it is considerably in error. He probably anchored near the present Point Skirmish.
15 This cannot possibly be correct, as it suggests that he was on the land. He was still in the vicinity of Point Skirmish.
up the River,\(^{16}\) carrying 3 and 4 fathoms, about 2 miles and gradually decreasing to 2\(\frac{1}{2}\) and 2 in a narrow channel, and from that to 4, 5, 6, 7 ft. in large spaces 3 miles wide - finding, as I went up, the River to be nothing but a low mangrove swamp filled with islands and creeks - the main part running N.N.W. about 25\(^{17}\) and then to North-eastward - the water being equally salt as far up as I went and from the direction the River takes (if it may be so called), I have no doubt there is a similar entrance into the main as the one I saw on the 4th to the southward of Morton Bay.\(^{18}\)

| THURSDAY | North-easterly winds and fine weather throughout. Employed overhauling the rigging, etc.\(^{19}\) |
| FRIDAY | Pleasant North-easterly breeze and fine weather. Employed variously. |
| MARCH | At 7 a.m. weighed and sailed down the River.\(^{20}\) At 10 the wind dying away, anchored off Point Skirmish in 4 fathoms. |
| MARCH | First and middle parts, North-easterly breeze and fine, latter light Southerly airs. At 8 past 10 (high water) weighed and worked round Point Skirmish. |
| SUNDAY | Pleasant Southerly and South-easterly breeze throughout with fine weather. |
| MARCH | At 6 past 12 p.m. crossed the bar\(^{21}\) in 2\(\frac{1}{2}\) fathoms, that being the least east. At 8 past 2 shoaled to 3 fathoms, and from that to 4, 5 and 6 on a very large bank running from E. to W. about 6 miles and N. to S. 2 - when on the shoalest part the northernmost Glass House W. by S. At 3 got round the point\(^{22}\) and stood in the Bay; when in the middle of it could see from the masthead a large space of water inside but no entrance into the main;\(^{23}\) hauled off and stood along the coast, at 7 shortened sail and stood off the land, at midnight made sail and stood in. At 9 a.m. off Double Island Point. |

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\(^{16}\) According to Bingle's "The Natives of Moreton Bay in 1822", he went ashore and met the natives early this morning, spent over an hour with them and then stayed on board the ship for the rest of the day. It is impossible to reconcile this and other discrepancies, but as "The Natives" was written at least thirty-seven years later, this is not surprising (see Note 27).

\(^{17}\) 25 miles. The western side of Bribie Island is about 14 miles long in a N.N.W. direction, and Bingle appears to have gone the whole distance to where the channel turns N.E.

\(^{18}\) Bingle guessed correctly that it was not a river but a channel, with an entrance like the Southport bar.

\(^{19}\) According to "The Natives", Bingle went ashore and traded with the natives on the second morning of his stay in the Channel.

\(^{20}\) According to "The Natives", the whole tribe followed the ship 4 or 5 miles along the beach.

\(^{21}\) Across the entrance to Moreton Bay; compare with the text at Note 12.

\(^{22}\) Probably Caloundra.

\(^{23}\) Probably Lake Currimundi.
THE NATIVES OF MORETON BAY IN 1822\textsuperscript{24}

Talking of savages reminds me of my early life,\textsuperscript{25} when I surveyed the shores of the Northern Territory.\textsuperscript{26} I well remember in particular going into Moreton Bay, now Brisbane, Queensland;\textsuperscript{27} my interview with the natives, who had not at that early period of the Colony seen a white man,\textsuperscript{28} and had only the fear and cunning savages in general mostly possess. After anchoring,\textsuperscript{29} late in the evening, I early next morning prepared to visit the land to carry out my instructions,\textsuperscript{30} but, before doing so, armed myself and men – no natives at that time had been seen,\textsuperscript{31} nor their fires. Soon after landing, and looking around, I heard the shouting of many natives, and after some time had elapsed, an old grey-headed and bearded man\textsuperscript{32} made his appearance alone, with the bulk of his tribe behind him, creeping, and appearing greatly alarmed. I went to meet him, when he shrank back, and I had great difficulty in inducing him to meet me: so, to give him confidence, I held out a tomahawk to induce him to come forward, which he did with great fear and trembling. It took a long time before we met – more than an hour – and when we did it was only to touch each other's fingers. He was trembling all over and in a great state of excitement, so I laid down the tomahawk with a knife and some other trifles that I thought would be serviceable to him, retired a few paces, and then went forward to the boat to return to my vessel in the river. As soon as I got to it, the whole tribe came from their hiding place, out of the thicket or mangrove scrub, and were making signs to come to them, and shouting at the top of their voices, dancing and throwing up

\textsuperscript{24} By John Bingle. For date of composition, see Note 27 below.
\textsuperscript{25} At the age of twenty-five.
\textsuperscript{26} The east coast of Queensland as far north as Indian Head, on Fraser Island.
\textsuperscript{27} Queensland received its name in 1859, and Bingle died in 1882, so this account was written thirty-seven – sixty years after the events it describes.
\textsuperscript{28} Some of them would have seen Flinders and party in 1799.
\textsuperscript{29} In Pumicestone Channel, 4 – 5 miles from Point Skirmish.
\textsuperscript{30} His instructions were to search for a large river supposed to exist between Port Macquarie and Sandy Cape, and if successful, to bring back to Sydney specimens of the water it contained and the soils by which it was bounded, together with an accurate delineation of the course it pursued until it ceased to be navigable. (Gill, \textit{op. cit.}, p. 18, quoting from Goulburn's letter to Bingle, 2 January 1822, the original of which is in the Mitchell Library, Sydney.) According to the log, Bingle explored Pumicestone Channel this morning (6 March 1822); to this extent the two documents agree. But it is unlikely that a lengthy interview with the natives could have taken place on the same morning as the trip up the channel. Probably the interview took place on his return from the boat trip, which would explain his going on board the "Sally" immediately after the interview.
\textsuperscript{31} The log of the "Sally" contradicts this.
\textsuperscript{32} Possibly the same chief who befriended Finnegan, Pamphlet, and Parsons in the following year (Narrative of Thomas Pamphlet, October – November 1823; Fight Witnessed by Finnegan, November 1823).
their hands to show they were unarmed, leaving their spears in clusters shoved into the ground, and their war weapons laid aside. I, returning on board, concluded the first interview. Just as I was getting into the boat a flight of wild ducks flew over the tribe, I up gun and shot one, tumbling him down amongst them. The noise of the report of the gun did not in the least alarm them, as they were not aware of its powers to kill, but as the bird fell at their feet, their astonishment was beyond description with their shouts of wonder. I left the shore, and went on board for the rest of the day. It was on a sandy beach I landed, and from the time I got on board, they assembled in hundreds to see the print of my foot, which to them - I having shoes on - must have been and was marvellous; the beach being lined the whole day with the different intermediate tribes, as news had flown far and wide of the wonders they had witnessed. The next morning I went on shore, but the hesitation was not so marked, and after placing on the beach a number of what I considered useful articles to them, and my apparent confidence in them, they gradually crept towards me, seeing I had no intention of hurting them. The old man of my yesterday's acquaintance was the first to come forward, and took hold of my hand and made a great fuss, pawing me all over; as the rest of the tribe did as we became better acquainted. I had on my head an old Calcutta hat, which I put on his head to his great delight, considering himself clothed from head to foot. The whole tribe - men, women and children - were in a state of nudity, so there was no fear of petticoat interest, but the great wonder to all, and the difficulty to be solved, was my footprints in the sand, not being a foot like their own, so when most of them were assembled around me, I took off my shoe and stocking, convincing them I had a foot and toes like their own, and opened my shirt collar to show them I was flesh and blood as they were. I can never forget their surprise, their shouting, dancing and astonishment, hugging and making a great fuss over me, as you may well imagine, giving me their spears, war implements, baskets (made by the women), etc., a good collection for the Governor - Sir Thomas Brisbane. My gun was a great source of wonderment among them; they handled it with caution and examined it minutely. It so happened that a pelican was feeding on one of the sandbanks not very far distant, within range, so I pointed to it, making signs that I would kill it - fortunately I could depend on my fowling piece, it was a real good one; I fired, and down dropped the pelican to their great astonishment and delight, which was accompanied with the same outburst of shouting, etc. Every morning I...
remained in their river\textsuperscript{35} they brought me fish in abundance, enough for myself and ship's crew. When I left – with regret – the whole tribe were in great distress, following me four or five miles down the river, running on the beach with their women and children – shouting lamentations, throwing up hands, howling, and bewailing my departure. Still I always thought it prudent, both for myself and my men, to be on our guard and well armed. Fortunately no white man had been in that immediate neighbourhood before us,\textsuperscript{36} so we had nothing to fear, and others that followed us reaped the advantage of our friendly visit.\textsuperscript{37} At that time, early in 1822, I was little more than three months in the Colony.

\textsuperscript{35} Pumicestone Channel. After this encounter of 7 March, he remained only until 7 a.m. on 8 March, so the natives could only have brought fish on two mornings.\textsuperscript{36} Flinders had been there in 1799.\textsuperscript{37} Finnegan, Pamphlet, and Parsons were well treated in 1823.
Mr. William Lawrence Edwardson, formerly Confidential Clerk in the Commissariat Department in Sydney, was placed in command of H.M. Cutter “Snapper”, and sent to explore the coast north of latitude 28°30' S. In June 1822, he entered Moreton Bay; he examined Pumicestone Channel for almost its entire length, and the channels at the southern end of the bay as far as what is now Jumpinpin. The account presented here is from Edwardson’s report to Governor Brisbane, 29 July 1822, in the Archives Office of New South Wales, 4/1803.

On leaving Moreton Bay, Edwardson proceeded to Hervey Bay and proved Fraser Island to be an island. He died in Sydney in 1826.

**EDWARDSON IN THE “SNAPPER”, JUNE 1822**

Having delivered Provisions and Stores for Newcastle to the Commandant at that Station, I proceeded with all possible dispatch along the Coast to the Northward and arrived at the Latitude of 28°30 S. at Noon of the 14th Ultimo. The Line of Coast then became the object of my closest Investigation. From this Latitude to Point Danger the Land is High with Sandy beaches in front, bold to half a mile and clear of Danger, without any Openings or Places of Shelter. Off Point Danger lies a small Island, High and bold too, which may be seen about 12 miles off. Between this and the Reefs to the Eastward of it is a Channel of about two miles wide, perfectly safe by keeping the Island close on board and steering in about 10 fathoms.

The reefs are a set of Dangerous Shoals and bear from the Island S.E. 2½ miles, and stretch as far as E.N.E. They appear to occupy a space of about 4 miles in a N.E. direction.

From Point Danger a few miles Northernly the land is very high, with low Sandy Land in front, and thence to within 20 miles of Point Lookout, low sandy land. The whole space between these two Points is one continued Half-Moon Sandy beach with Regular Soundings and to within one mile of the shore perfectly safe to approach.

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1 Major T.T. Morrisett.
2 Near Cape Byron, 14 June.
3 Cook Island.
4 Edwardson did not notice the Southport bar, and apparently did not know that Bingle had discovered it a few months earlier.
The openings at the South part of Morton Bay can only be entered by Boats as there is only nine feet at low water, and the inside barricaded by dry sands. In Bad weather it breaks right across, and the tide runs about 4\(^\frac{1}{2}\) Knots. Finding it impossible to get the Cutter through this passage, I made way round the North end of the Island and worked up. First about 7 miles up the Pummice Stone River and then proceeded in the Boat 11 miles farther. This last part was completely choked up with Mangrove Flats, Sands and Mud banks, both shores a continued line of Mangrove bushes and in many Places barely passable for the Boat; from the Head of this River the Glass House bears W.S.W.

The Ship's channel into this place, the only one possible to get through, lies close to the Beach of Point Skirmish and has 4 fathoms at Low Water. From this Point to the South part of the Bay, a distance of about 30 miles by 22 miles, the whole is composed of Sand Ridges and Deep Holes interspersed with Mangrove Islands, and these again surrounded for miles by Mud flats and Oyster or Muscle Beds. The tide running in various directions at the rate of 3 to 4 miles per hour, stirs up the Mud and Sand so thickly as to hide all appearance of Shoals or Sands, and in deep water causing such strong Overfalls as to give it the appearance of Shallows. After repeated exertions to get the Cutter up to the Bottom of the Bay I found it was impossible and was obliged to proceed up the South River in the Boat. This river extends about 27 miles in a S.S.E. direction, and is only separated from the sea by a Narrow neck of low sandy Land, is full of Shoals, Sands and Mangrove Islands with deep water but no regular channels.

It is with much difficulty that a passage can be made in even a Boat as the Sands are so extensive and shallow and the Tide falls so fast in many places as to leave you aground a mile dry. The Natives in both rivers are too numerous to risk a landing except on the Islands. Taking a view of this place, it is in my Humble opinion extremely dangerous for even the smallest vessels to enter, and except in the Pummice Stone River does not afford the least Shelter or safe anchorage. The Island is one entire body of sand and

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5 South Passage.
6 At the southern part of Cook's Morton Bay.
7 Moreton Island.
8 Edwardson may have gone further up the channel than Bingle had done, but he did not discover the other entrance from the ocean at Caloundra.
9 One of the channels at the southern end of Moreton Bay, leading eventually to the Broadwater at Southport.
10 He probably went as far south as what is now Jumpinpin. About 13 May 1898, the sea broke through a narrow neck of land, to form the Jumpinpin Channel.
11 This advice was disregarded by Oxley in 1824, when he placed the first settlement at Redcliffe; but Oxley soon discovered (Field Books, 28 September 1824) that a heavy sea can rise in Moreton Bay.
12 Moreton Island.
has a few Natives upon it, consequently Fresh water. The Bay formed by Point Lookout\textsuperscript{13} affords good safe anchorage from W.N.W. by South to S.E. Gales. The Rocks off this Point are bold, too, and no Dangers but such are visible. Between Cape Morton and the Shores to the Northward about six miles off the latter lies an extensive flat having only 6 feet, and in fine weather is not easily discovered. In proceeding to the Northward from Cape Morton to Double Island Point in Latde. 25°54' South the land is alternately High and low with Sandy beaches but bold to one mile, and clear of Danger without any Openings or Places of Shelter.

\textsuperscript{13} Cook's Morton Bay.
Fig. 9. The finding of Pamphlet (drawn by J. R. Ashton), from A. Garran (ed.), *Picturesque Atlas of Australasia* (3 vols.; Sydney: The Picturesque Atlas Publishing Company Ltd., 1886), II, 316. Contrary to the appearance of this picture, Pamphlet and the aborigines were decorated with painted markings.
CHAPTER FIVE

1823 Finnegan, Pamphlet, and Parsons

SUMMARY  John Finnegan, Thomas Pamphlet, and Richard Parsons were sailing from Sydney to Illawarra to take on a cargo of timber when they were blown off course by a gale. Eventually they were shipwrecked on Moreton Island on 15 April 1823. They walked north along the beach to Cape Moreton, then continued along the northern shore and down the western side of the island to the South Passage. They crossed the South Passage by native canoe, and found the natives at Amity Point most hospitable. Eventually they built a canoe of their own, in which they crossed to Peel Island and then to the mainland near Cleveland. They followed the Brisbane River upstream as far as Oxley Creek on foot, and then returned down the river by native canoe and on foot. They reached Redcliffe on 30 June, and by late September were at Pumicestone Channel near Point Skirmish, enjoying the patronage of the native chief.

They made an excursion to the north, but Pamphlet and Finnegan each returned to Point Skirmish; Parsons was last seen by Finnegan in the vicinity of Noosa. Pamphlet and Finnegan were found at Point Skirmish by John Oxley on 29 and 30 November, respectively.

From 1 to 5 December, Finnegan accompanied Oxley on his exploration of the Brisbane River. They returned to Sydney on the “Mermaid”, and during the voyage Pamphlet and Finnegan dictated their story, “Narrative of Thomas Pamphlet”, to John Uniacke, a member of Oxley’s party.

Subsequently, John Oxley found Parsons at Point Skirmish on 11 September 1824. Finnegan revisited Moreton Bay with Oxley in November 1824, on the occasion of Governor Brisbane’s inspection of the Brisbane River; from March to July 1825 with the pilot, John Gray; and again in September and October 1825, as a member of Major Lockyer’s expedition up the Brisbane River as far as the Stanley River and Mt. Brisbane. In 1827 he joined the crew of the pilot ship “Regent Bird”, stationed at Moreton Bay.

Pamphlet, Finnegan, and Parsons were ticket-of-leave convicts. On being convicted of a further crime in October 1826 Pamphlet served his sentence at Moreton Bay until 1833.

SOURCES  This chapter consists chiefly of the castaways’ story, “Narrative of Thomas Pamphlet”, as told to John Uniacke and published in Barron Field’s book.1

1 B. Field (ed.). *Geographical Memoirs of New South Wales* (London: John Murray, 1825), pp. 87–130. Uniacke’s spelling of “Pamphlet” is used throughout this chapter, although Oxley’s “Pamphlett” (Field Books, 29 November 1823) is preferred by the descendants (1969).
Field's version of the narrative has evidently been redrafted from a manuscript in the Mitchell Library, B1431, and the manuscript is quoted here in footnotes whenever it appears to be more accurate. This manuscript has been printed in J.G. Steele, “Pamphlet, Uniacke and Field”, Queensland Heritage, II, no. 3 (November, 1970), 3–14, where its relation to Field's version is discussed at some length.

Two descriptions of native fights, also taken down by Uniacke, have here been inserted into Pamphlet's narrative. These descriptions appeared first as part of Uniacke's “Narrative of Mr. Oxley's Expedition”, also published in Barron Field's book. The rest of that narrative is deferred until the next chapter, along with Oxley's field book of that expedition; both of which contain summaries of the castaways' story, including some additional details.

An account of the adventures of Parsons up to the time of his rescue in September 1824 concludes this chapter. It is taken from the Australian, 21 October 1824. Further details concerning Parsons were recorded by Oxley and Cunningham, and appear in Chapter 7.

THE MITCHELL LIBRARY MANUSCRIPT B1431

The library catalogue, remarking on B1431, reads: “Differs in details (e.g. S W for N W , p. 3) from the narrative taken down by John Uniacke and published in Field's Geographical Memoirs. The manuscript does not seem to be contemporary; there is, however, no example of Uniacke's writing in the Mitchell Library 1952 to check.”

It now seems certain that Field's version was adapted from this manuscript, which may well be in Uniacke's writing. Field's version is more polished and more wordy; for example, “chain” becomes “cable”, for the benefit of readers not used to nautical terms, and “quickly” becomes “with great expedition”. Sometimes “I” in the manuscript becomes “we” in the printed version. The manuscript describes Uniacke as “super cargo of H.M. cutter 'Mermaid'”, which becomes “the recorder of this narrative” in Field's version. The necessary correction of “SW” to “NW”, referred to above, may have been made by Uniacke himself, but extensive redrafting was probably done by Field.

THE GAP IN THE NARRATIVE

Pamphlet's narrative is a complete account of their movements until their arrival at the Redcliffe Peninsula on 30 June, the 101st day after leaving Sydney; after that they had ceased to count the days. Unfortunately it was at this point in telling the story to Uniacke that Pamphlet became ill, and the story was continued by Finnegan. Finnegan took up the story from the time of their arrival at Point Skirmish, hence the journey from Redcliffe to Point Skirmish was not recorded. This has not always been understood; for example, Welsby took the details of the journey north from Point Skirmish to Noosa, and tried to apply them to a journey from Redcliffe to Point Skirmish.

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2 Ibid., pp. 27–86.
THE CHRONOLOGY

The castaways left Sydney on 21 March and were wrecked on Moreton Island on 15 April. From Pamphlet’s narrative, dates can be assigned to their movements until his arrival at Amity Point on 27 April. The time spent on Stradbroke Island and at the Brisbane River is given only approximately; if the total is added up, it suggests that they arrived at Redcliffe about 14 July, whereas they actually arrived on 30 June. Hence instead of taking nearly a month going up the Brisbane River, they probably took about two weeks.

Owing to the gap in the narrative, it is necessary to work out later dates by counting back from the time of Oxley’s rescue of Finnegan on 30 November. Immediately prior to his rescue, Finnegan had been on a trip with the chief of the tribe of Point Skirmish to attend a fight, probably at Redcliffe. His story of this fight suggests an absence of nine days. (Pamphlet’s estimates of the time that Finnegan was away can be disregarded; he told Oxley it was three – four weeks, he told Uniacke it was two weeks, and in his narrative he told Uniacke he had no idea how long it was.) It would seem that Finnegan set out with the chief on 21 November.

Finnegan left on this trip on the day following his return from the north. He must have been on his northern trip at least nineteen days, because he arrived back at Point Skirmish later than Pamphlet, and Pamphlet was away about nineteen days. (Finnegan’s own story of the trip north accounts for only fifteen days, but he probably took longer than four days on the journey back; the four days were possibly the days spent actually walking.) The three castaways therefore set out northwards about 1 November. (Pamphlet’s estimates can again be disregarded; he told Oxley that they had set out three – four months ago, and he told Uniacke it was six weeks.)

According to Finnegan, the trip to the north began about a month after an abortive first attempt to go north, which was about five days after their arrival at Point Skirmish. This fixes the time of their arrival at Point Skirmish at the end of September. Hence the gap in the narrative, from the arrival at Redcliffe to the arrival at Point Skirmish, represents the months of July, August, and September.

WALKING SPEEDS AND ESTIMATES OF DISTANCE

The natives were accustomed to walk about 12 miles per day; this can be deduced from their walk with Finnegan on Stradbroke Island about 10 May, when they walked from Amity Point to Myora and back in one day; and also from Tom Petrie’s account of his walk with the natives about the year 1845, from Enoggera to Caboolture in two days.4

The castaways walked much more slowly, unless forced to keep up with the natives. Their slowness was due to their weak condition and sore feet. Around the bay and up the river they averaged only 4 miles per day.

Their estimates of distance were affected by their slow progress. For example, they estimated the distance from Amity Point to Myora to be 12–14 miles (actually about 6 miles); in general, their estimates should be halved.

After living with the natives at Redcliffe and Point Skirmish for four months, and enjoying a diet of fish in abundance, the castaways became stronger, although they were still troubled with sore feet. On their major journey north from Point Skirmish they travelled about 10 miles per day (they could still be overtaken by the natives). Their estimates of distance were now more realistic. For example, Pamphlet told Uniacke that he parted from Finnegan and Parsons after travelling about 50 miles north from Point Skirmish; probably it was 40 miles north, at the Maroochy River.

PLACE OF LANDING ON MORETON ISLAND

The castaways ran their boat ashore on the beach on the east coast of Moreton Island; this beach is about 25 miles long. Although it has been argued that they landed near the southern end, they actually landed only 2½ miles from the northern end.

The key to this is the fact that they walked in one day (16 April) from the place of landing to the headland of Cape Moreton, then across the back of the headland and a few miles along the northern beach. At this stage they were very weak, having lived without water for weeks before landing. There is evidence that they were still delirious on 16th. They each carried 20–30 lbs. of flour, and divided among them an axe, a bucket, and several smaller vessels and implements. Even if their feet were not yet sore (which soon reduced their speed to 4 miles per day), it is unlikely that they travelled more than 6 miles on 16th.

The distance across the back of the headland is indeed 1 mile, as estimated by Pamphlet. Pamphlet estimated that they travelled about 3 miles along the northern beach before finally stopping for the night. Even if this were only 2 miles, it leaves, at the very most, a distance of 3 miles for their journey up the east coast.

There is a prominent stream crossing the beach 2½ miles from the northern end of the eastern beach. In the wet season, there is sometimes another stream at 4 miles. Eager’s Creek is at 8 miles. It seems certain that they landed at the stream 2½ miles from Cape Moreton headland. In any case, it was quite impossible for them to walk from the southern end of the beach in the given time.

The argument that they landed near the southern end is based on the following evidence:

(i) They headed their boat into “a bight in which we could anchor, with a stream of fresh water running in it”. This bight was Cook’s Morton Bay, between Point Lookout and Cape Moreton. The best anchorage is at the southern end.

(ii) According to Field’s version, the beach where they landed was “a low sand, surrounded by sandhills”. The famous sand dunes are at the southern end of the island.

(iii) On reaching the southern end of Moreton Island, Pamphlet (25 April) believed that they had walked “nearly round the island”.

These three points are answered as follows:

(i) Close to the shore, the southern end of Cook’s Morton Bay does not look like a bight, but rather a channel, the South Passage; the northern end
is shaped like a right angle where Cape Moreton juts out across the beach into the sea.

(ii) Manuscript B1431, referring to the place of landing, has "low sand hills surrounded the beach". The manuscript is believed to be more accurate, and its "low sand hills" cannot be identified with the great dunes of the southern end of the island.

(iii) Pamphlet was mistaken.

NARRATIVE OF THOMAS PAMPHLET

Taken down by John Uniacke

[SYDNEY TO MORETON ISLAND, 21 MARCH–15 APRIL 1823]

We left Sydney, March 21st, in a large open boat, of twenty-nine feet six inches extreme length over all, and ten feet beam, belonging to William Farrel and Richard Parsons, for the Five Islands,\(^5\) to take in cedar.\(^6\) The crew consisted of Richard Parsons, John Finnegan, John Thompson and myself. We had a considerable quantity of provisions, flour, pork, &c., for the purpose of buying cedar, and four gallons of water and five of rum. About four o'clock the same evening, when within seven or eight miles of our destination, a violent gale came on from the west, which forced us to lower all sail, and keep the boat before the sea. The night came on with heavy rain and increasing wind, but we did not lose sight of land till shut out by darkness. The gale continued with unabated violence for five days, when it moderated; but the sea continued to run so very high, that we were still obliged to keep the boat before it, without being able to carry any sail till the eleventh day, viz, 2nd April,\(^7\) when the sea being much fallen, we made sail, supposing that the current had drifted us to the southward, and that we were then off Van Diemen's Land.\(^8\) We had no compass, but we steered by the sun, as near

\(^5\) Illawarra, 50 miles south of Sydney.

\(^6\) "The cedar, which grows principally at Newcastle (Hunter's River) and at the Five Islands, is generally allowed to be the most valuable wood for inside work of ships and houses, of any found in New South Wales. It grows from thirty to forty feet high, and from one to three in diameter. It is brought from Hunter's River and the Five Islands in small vessels, as the navigation of these places, being difficult, will not admit large ones." From R. Mart, "Extract from the Report of the Purveyor of the Navy Board on the Timber of New South Wales and Van Diemen's Land, 26th June 1821", in Field, *op. cit.*, pp. 313-21; in particular, pp. 319-20.

\(^7\) Actually 1 April. Dates given in the narrative appear to be calculated from 22 March instead of 21 March. As these dates do not exist in the manuscript B1431, they were probably inserted by Field. Corrected dates are given in the footnotes.

\(^8\) Tasmania.
as we could guess, a N.W. course, expecting very soon to make the land in the neighbourhood of the Five Islands, our original destination. Our small stock of water was totally expended on the second day, and the rain we caught in the commencement of the gale was so spoiled by salt water, that we were forced to throw it away. Our sufferings were dreadful for the following thirteen days, having nothing to drink but rum. We were almost unable to speak, and could with difficulty understand each other. John Thompson, a Scotchman, the best hand in the boat (having been an old man of war’s man) had become quite delirious from drinking salt water, and was totally useless to us. On the fifteenth day (6th April), a heavy shower of rain fell, and our sails being lowered and spread, we caught about a bucket and a half; but from the sails having been so much drenched with salt-water, it was almost useless to us. On the eighteenth day (9th April), a light mizzling rain fell, when we caught a bucket-full, which was much better. Thompson recovered a little on getting some of it, but still continued severely purged and otherwise affected by the salt water he had drunk. We still continued steering the same course, N.W. as we imagined, till the nineteenth day (10th April), when about eleven o’clock a.m. John Finnegan having gone up to the mast-head, said that he saw land right ahead, which he declared to be the headland of Port Stephen,9 he having formerly worked there; but not being able to credit him, I went up to the mast-head myself, and, after looking earnestly for some time, was unable to determine whether it was land or a cloud: however, we determined to steer for it; but towards evening we lost sight of it entirely. Thompson was at this time very bad, and Finnegan had become quite deaf; while Parsons and myself, though not so bad, were hardly able to speak or move: a dreadful lassitude came over us, and it was with much difficulty we could keep our watch of two hours each. We continued in this state till the twenty-first day (12th April), when at daylight, it being my watch, I distinctly saw land ahead, which, as the morning advanced, appeared to be three or four islands. We made all sail for them. Thompson, on hearing this joyful news, apparently revived a little; we had been obliged to bind him hand and foot, three or four days before, to prevent his jumping overboard, being completely deranged: his feet were now untied, when he immediately came aft to me, imagining we had already been on shore, and entreated for God’s sake I would give him fresh water. When he found I was not able to comply with his request, he became worse; raving in the most incoherent manner, saying he had just dined with his family in Scotland, &c.: he then lay down near the well, and in the course of an hour expired. We now stood on for the land till about ten o’clock, p.m., when, expecting to get on shore at daylight next morning, we hove the boat to, being then, according to our judgment, about

9 Port Stephens, about 30 miles north of Newcastle.
an hour's run from the shore. We saw plainly the natives round their fires, and intended to keep clear of them, if possible, the next day. About midnight the boat struck on a reef of rocks, but being light, the heave of the sea carried her over it without damage; and when daylight broke, we found we had drifted so far to sea that the land was barely visible: however, we had a fine fresh favourable breeze and smooth water, and again steered for the same land, and by sunset were within two or three miles of shore, but a little to the north of the place where we hove to the night before. We were, however, fearful of venturing on shore on account of the natives, whom we again distinctly saw; we therefore kept on through the night, steering north. In the morning the wind was light and the water smooth, and we were close in with the shore. I now saw plainly a run of fresh water trickling through the beach, and proposed to take the boat's running rigging and make it fast to the keg, and swim ashore with it, by which means they could all the fresh water on board; but this was objected to by Parsons, who being half-owner of the boat, was afraid of her being lost; we therefore continued our course all day, and towards evening Parsons declared he was dying, and that he must have fresh water if the boat was lost. We therefore looked out for a place to run her ashore or land, but the breakers and swell prevented us; so we continued our course all that night under easy sail. Thompson's body had continued on board all this time, as we constantly expected to be able to land and bury it: it now, however, began to grow offensive, and we consulted whether we should not throw it overboard. This was agreed to after some altercation. He was then searched, and in his waistcoat we found his ticket-of-leave sewed up. Parsons then bound a handkerchief over his face, and he was thrown overboard. He had been kept so long that he swam as light as a cork on the water. We continued the whole of this day, the twenty-fourth (15th April), running along shore to the northward, without being able to effect a landing; and during the night we ran on the same course under easy sail. The next morning Finnegan, who was at the helm, said he saw a bight in which we could anchor, with a stream of fresh water running in it. We accordingly steered into it, the water being tolerably smooth, and let go our anchor at about half or quarter of a mile from the shore, and payed out about forty fathoms of cable to let her drift further in. I then stripped, and having made the running rigging fast to the keg, jumped over and attempted to swim for the shore; but I was so weak and exhausted

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10 Thompson was a convict on parole.
11 Three days.
12 15 April.
13 Between Point Lookout and Cape Moreton; Cook's Morton Bay.
14 This stream is 2½ miles along the beach south from Cape Moreton headland; see discussion in the introduction to this chapter.
that, what with the little surf, and what with the keg, I was in the water near
an hour and a half before I could succeed in landing; but no sooner did my
foot touch the ground than I ran to the fresh water, and lying down by it,
I drank like a horse. I then returned to the beach for the keg, which I again
left and ran back for another drink. This happened three or four times;
and when I attempted to fill the keg, I was quite unable to do it, from weak­
ness and the quantity of water I had swallowed. In the meantime it began
to blow very fresh from the eastward, and my companions called loudly to
me to come on board to assist in hauling the boat off; but the surf ran so
high, and my weakness was such, that I did not dare to venture again into
the water: I therefore called to them, as the breeze freshened, to cut the
cable and let her run ashore. This, after some time, they did; and with the
help of a little swimming, both got safe on shore. The boat grounded on
the sandy beach, and in less than five minutes her bottom was stove in. The
eagerness of my companions for fresh water even exceeded mine. I had
brought on shore a pint tin pot to fill the keg: Parsons emptied this thirteen
times in succession; while Finnegan lay down in the water and drank to such
excess that his stomach could not retain it, but threw it all up again. This
he repeated four several times. We had all of us stripped off our clothes for
the purpose of swimming on shore, and the surf now ran so high, that it
was impossible to approach the boat for the purpose of getting them; so that
we were all perfectly naked, with the exception of an old rug jacket that
Finnegan picked up next morning.

[MORETON ISLAND, 15–24 APRIL 1823]

The beach on which the boat struck was a low sand, surrounded by sand­
hills, which did not even afford fire-wood; but had it been ever so abundant,
we had not the means of kindling a fire; we therefore ascended the hill, and
lay down on the sand to pass the night. It was raining heavily, and I being
the weakest was placed in the middle between my companions. We suffered
much throughout the night from cold and hunger; and next morning,
when day broke, we found the boat had gone to pieces, and that some few of
the things in her had drifted ashore. We then went down to the beach, and
found three bags of flour, two of which were totally spoiled; but the salt
water had not penetrated above two inches into the third. We therefore emp­
tied those which were spoiled, and each took from twenty to thirty pounds
of good flour, being as much as we thought we were able to carry. We still

15 Pamphlet later stated that Finnegan could not swim (3 June at Amity Point),
and later still remarked that Finnegan and Parsons were poor swimmers (about
mid-June, on the banks of the Brisbane River).

16 Manuscript B1431 has “low sand hills surrounded the beach”.
imagined we were far to the southward of Port Jackson. Four or five days before we were wrecked, we saw many flying fish and dolphins, and caught one or two of the former; but it never struck us on that account that we were to the northward of Port Jackson. Accordingly, after making a wretched meal of flour and water, which we mixed in a bucket that had drifted ashore, we set out along the beach in a northerly direction, and continued to walk, as expeditiously as our weakness would allow, till near dark. We then observed a native path striking into the bush, which apparently cut off a bluff head before us: this we determined to follow, and in a short time we saw before us a black woman and child, carrying water in a bark vessel. Fearing that if we were seen, this woman would alarm her tribe, we concealed ourselves till they had passed, and then continued our journey. There were several large huts near where we saw the woman; but the men were probably employed in fishing, as we did not see any. After proceeding about a mile, we reached the beach on the other side of the head; and on leaving the bush saw a large hut, near which was a boy amusing himself by throwing a spear at some crows. There were a great number of native dogs round the hut, but they did not appear to notice us. After a short time the boy turning round saw us, and instantly ran into the hut, from which a man now made his appearance. He hastily snatched a spear from the side of the hut, and then took hold of the child with the intention of running into the bush; but a very large woman ran out, and throwing the child on her back, instantly disappeared. I now called to the man to stop, when, to our astonishment, he answered in good English, “What do you want? Do you wish to kill me?” and then followed the woman. This circumstance convinced us that we were in the neighbourhood of some English settlement, and gave us great spirits, as we had now hopes of shortly reaching some place where our wants would be relieved. It will be afterwards seen that we were wrong, and we could never account for this Moreton islander’s being able to speak English, while the natives of Moreton Bay appeared never to have seen a white man before. I then desired Finnegan to go into the hut and fetch some fire, which

17 During this walk along the beach, they saw a large red canoe, and a log with a staple in it, washed up on the beach. This is mentioned and discussed in John Oxley’s field book for 30 November 1823. It is also mentioned towards the end of John Oxley’s “Report of an Expedition…” of 10 January 1824 although in this report no mention is made of the castaways. The canoe had come from the “Echo”, which had been wrecked on Wreck Reef.

18 Cape Moreton headland.

19 The present road between the two beaches is about 1 mile long.

20 It is almost certain that the native did not speak English. Pamphlet may have been delirious, or partly deaf; Finnegan had become “quite deaf” as early as 9 April. The Mitchell Library manuscript B1431 has, in parentheses, what was probably Uniacke’s comment, “Pamphlet was suffering from a degree of delirium”, and Barron Field repeated this idea in a footnote.
he did; after which we proceeded, intending to stop at the first fresh water we fell in with. This happened in the course of a mile: it was a shallow pool about six inches deep. Here we made a fire, and having mixed some flour and water, made cakes of it, and set them down to roast. While thus employed we saw some native dogs, which appeared to have followed us from the hut; and shortly afterwards I saw a man's head peeping over the bank behind us, and then two or three more. We beckoned them to approach, which, after some time, they did, when we offered them some cake, which they pretended to eat, but immediately spat it out again. Their number now amounted to about twelve; and they began to feel us about the breast and shoulders in a manner that greatly alarmed us: we therefore prepared to move again, as soon as we had finished our meal. They now became very urgent that we should return with them to the huts we had first seen; but we persisted in proceeding to the northward. They had nets on their backs, with which they made signs that they would catch fish for us; but when they found we were obstinate, some of them prepared to accompany us, and one or two of them took up our bags of flour to carry for us. We proceeded about a mile with them, when we came to another set of huts, into which our conductors invited us; and on our consenting, they appeared quite happy, dancing and singing around us. They then made a fire, near which I lay down to sleep with my bag under my head, while one of the natives remained, as if to take care of me, and keep up the fire. My companions went into one of the large huts, where every sort of attention was shown them, and passed the night there. In the morning, after having breakfasted on some of our cakes, we again set out, accompanied by our kind, friendly natives, who brought us down to the beach, and again seemed very anxious that we should return the way we came, but they did not offer to use any kind of force. We, however, determined to proceed to the northward, supposing

21 J. Backhouse, *A Narrative of a Visit to the Australian Colonies* (London: Hamilton, Adams and Co., 1843), pp. 376-77: “Whilst in Moreton Bay [in 1836], we were surprised, by hearing the Blacks call biscuits. Five Islands. This we learned, arose from some men, who, several years ago, were driven from the part of the Illawarra coast, called the Five Islands, having held up biscuits, to the Blacks, and said, Five Islands, in the hope, of learning from them, the direction of their lost home. The Blacks, however, mistook this, for the name of the biscuits, and hence have continued to call them by this name. The lost men remained among the Natives, for several years, and were kindly treated. At length, they were brought away, by a vessel that put in here, and subsequently, one of them [Pamphlet] was returned thither [to Moreton Bay], as a prisoner.”

22 Bingle at Pumicestone Channel had been “pawed” by the natives in 1822 (Bingle, *Natives of Moreton Bay in 1822*); Governor Brisbane had a similar experience in 1824 (Governor Brisbane and Oxley, November 1824, Note 168).

23 Actually this beach stretches westward from Cape Moreton.

24 17 April.
that that course would ultimately lead us to Port Jackson; and when they found we would not return, some of them, as before, accompanied us on our way. After proceeding about three miles, they led us into the bush, where we found more huts. Here again they wished us to remain; but after sitting with them about an hour, we proceeded much against their wish, accompanied by one of their number. We walked along the beach, and passed several more huts, but the inhabitants did not appear to take any notice of us. At the last of these huts our guide left us, pointing out another station at some distance, and making signs that, by proceeding, we should fall in with a canoe. He also took us to a rising ground, where he indicated a point of land at some distance, which (as the place where we were appeared to be an island) we imagined to be the mainland. We then proceeded till about three or four o'clock in the afternoon, when we found near the beach four or five large huts, apparently deserted, and there being a good run of water near them, we resolved to pass the night there. The next day, finding that the natives did not appear, we determined to remain till the following morning in order to refresh ourselves a little. We then again proceeded on our journey, and continued travelling along the beach for the following five days, without meeting any natives, or anything worth notice. Our feet being sore, we were not able to walk far at a time and we helped out our flour from time to time with cockles and other shell-fish, which we met with in our way. On the fifth day we arrived at a high sandy point, where we found our further progress stopped by a channel about three miles wide, through which the tide appeared to run very rapidly. We were now certain that we had been thrown on an island, and our thoughts were therefore directed towards the means of reaching the main land. At the back of the sand-hill, we found a small well of fresh water, which had been dug by the natives; near this we made a fire and passed the night. We observed fires on the opposite shore, and early the next morning we kindled a large one down on the beach, which being seen by the natives, one of them passed

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25 Possibly Comboyuro Point.
26 Redcliffe. See Notes 69 and 81.
27 It was Moreton Island.
28 Probably near Comboyuro Point; there is a lagoon near the beach.
29 18 April.
30 19 April.
31 19 - 23 April.
32 They walked at an average speed of 4 miles per day.
33 23 April.
34 South Passage.
35 Edwardson estimated the tide as 4½ knots (Edwardson in the "Snapper", June 1822).
36 24 April.
over in a large canoe. As he approached, however, we retired behind the hill; and when he had hauled up his canoe, he made directly for the fire. We then made our appearance, but no sooner did he observe our colour than he ran back to his boat, and jumping in, pushed rapidly off, shouting and roaring with all his might. In the meantime, another canoe was launched from the opposite side with two men, who met the first about half across the channel, and they then both paddled towards the place where we were sitting. When they had landed, we were unwilling to approach them, lest they should again be frightened, and therefore remained sitting quietly by our fire. The three men then approached cautiously towards us, and, having examined us at a distance, returned to their boats, and made signals with some pieces of bark to those on the opposite shore, when two more canoes pushed off, with five or six men in each; and, as soon as these had landed, the whole party, to the number of fourteen, approached us. They were perfectly naked, and had neither spears nor any other kind of weapon with them. They still appeared shy of coming near us, but at last one man came close to the fire, and on our making signs, two or three more followed his example, and in a short time the whole party had formed a circle round us. Parsons happened to have a pair of scissors which had belonged to Thompson, and their beards being very long, he commenced cutting them, which appeared to delight them greatly. They remained an hour with us; and on rising to go away, we got our bags on our backs, and prepared to accompany them. This, however, they did not seem inclined to permit, but ran down quickly to their boats. We then endeavoured to secure one of their canoes, but they were too quick for us, and jumping in, pushed them rapidly away. We now began to despair of being able to quit the island, and returned very unhappy to some deserted huts, which we had seen about three miles before we arrived at the point.

[CROSSING THE SOUTH PASSAGE, 25–27 APRIL 1823]

Here we passed the night, and next morning returned to the point, in hopes of being still able to persuade the natives to take us across the channel. On approaching it, our joy was excessive at seeing the large canoe, that had appeared first on the preceding day, lying on the beach without any person...

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37 T. Welsby, *Early Moreton Bay: Recollections* (Brisbane: Outridge, 1907), p. 48: "the Noonuckle blacks, the Amity tribe, could converse with the Noogie, the Moreton Island blacks, quite easily from shore to shore." Welsby assumed they could talk across the South Passage, but it seems likely that they signalled.

38 Probably only 1½ miles, as their estimates of distance at this time were usually twice the actual distance.

39 25 April.
near it. On looking round, however, we saw two natives, who were apparently proceeding towards the place where our boat had been lost, for we now found we had walked nearly round the island. They did not appear to notice us, but kept on their way, upon which we proceeded with all speed to secure the canoe. On examination, we feared that it would not carry us all three with our bags, &c.; so, having consulted awhile, I agreed to remain behind, and let Parsons and Finnegan cross over, when it was stipulated that one of them should return and fetch me. They accordingly pushed off, and I retreated to the top of the hill, from whence I was able to see them the whole way across. On the canoe’s approaching the shore, I could perceive a great number of natives walking out in the water to meet them, which made me very apprehensive that they were about to destroy them; and when they had landed, the whole crowd got round them and moved in towards the bush, which at last hid them from my sight. I remained looking out till evening, expecting to see the canoe every minute, but in vain. I therefore returned to the little well, where we had passed the first night, and having kindled a fire, spent a very wretched night, being greatly alarmed lest my companions should have met with some misfortune. In the morning, I returned to the beach and made a large fire, in hopes that, on seeing it, the canoe would return for me. However, I was again disappointed, nor was I able to perceive a single native on the shore the whole day. I now began to lament my hard fate, in being left alone in this desolate place, where, after the little flour I had was expended, I must expect to perish either by hunger or the hostility of the natives; and I returned to the well, fully convinced that I should never again see either of my unfortunate companions. The next morning, in walking along the shore, near the point, I saw a large cask, which had drifted ashore from some vessel. Conceiving it might contain some provisions or spirits, I set to work to get some of the hoops off; but when I had succeeded, I found to my disappointment, that it contained only six other casks, one inside the other. They appeared quite fresh, and had not been long in the water: they seemed to be intended to hold oil. While thus employed, I gave many an anxious look to the opposite shore. I was proceeding up the hill again, when I saw the canoe put off with two persons in it, whom, on its nearer approach, I ascertained to be Finnegan

40 Pamphlet was mistaken. They were wrecked near the northern end of the island, and had walked just over half-way around it.
41 The first night at the South Passage, i.e. 23 April.
42 26 April.
43 27 April.
44 The cask is mentioned towards the end of Oxley’s Report 29 November – 6 December 1823 but no mention is made there of Pamphlet. Oxley stated that the cask had come from the “Echo”, a whaler.
and one of the natives. On reaching the beach, the native took his nets on his shoulder, and marched off in the same direction as the two who had before left the canoe; but before he went, he made signs for me to go back with Finnegan. Finnegan now told me that nothing could exceed the kindness with which they had been treated by the natives, who had lodged them in a large hut by themselves, and given them as much fish as they could eat, but that they could not before persuade the natives to let the canoe come over for me; and it was only by accident he was now enabled to come with the native I had seen, who was going to visit his friends on the island. The tide was now running out of the channel with great rapidity, and I wished Finnegan either to pull along shore for some distance, or to wait till the tide slacked; but he obstinately persisted in pulling straight across without delay. I was obliged to comply, and we pushed off; but no sooner had we left the shore than, in spite of all our efforts, the current took us out to sea. We still continued paddling for about an hour and a half, by which time we had drifted out close to the breakers, which were very heavy all round us; and, as we had no hope of the canoe's living if she once got among them, we redoubled our efforts, but to no purpose: we were soon in the midst of them; but, contrary to our expectations, the little canoe rode it out much better than a larger boat would have done. We soon got clear of them, and were now in the open sea beyond them. The tide still continued very strong, and we did not relax our efforts to gain the opposite shore, where we saw the natives, and Parsons in the midst of them, running along and watching our progress. At last, after about five hours' hard paddling, the tide turned, and we reached the shore in safety, eight miles from the place where we had originally intended to land. We found Parsons and a number of natives waiting on the beach, and were received by them with many demonstrations of joy. They lifted the canoe into the bush, and presented us with several roasted fish, and then conducted us to their huts.

[STRADBROKE ISLAND, 27 APRIL – 3 JUNE 1823]

They placed us in a very large well-built hut by ourselves, and supplied us with fish, water, &c., very liberally. Here we remained for a week or ten days, during which time we were most hospitably treated by the natives. They would not, however, suffer us to approach the huts in which their women were, for the first five or six days; and at night five or six of the younger

45 Moreton Island. Pamphlet did not know that the opposite shore was also an island (Stradbroke Island).
46 They would not have rounded Point Lookout, which is 7 miles from Amity Point. They probably landed about 4 miles east of Amity Point. This means that Parsons walked 8 miles this day, and even that may be excessive.
men would sleep in front of our hut. But they afterwards became less vigilant, and we used to pass through their huts among the women as we pleased. Having now recovered our strength in some degree, and being much refreshed, after consulting together, Parsons and I resolved to continue our endeavours to reach Sydney; but we had some difficulty in persuading Finnegan to accompany us. He said that the blacks were so friendly that he wished to remain with them, sooner than encounter the difficulty and danger of attempting to return to any of our settlements. At length, however, he consented to go; and accordingly, early in the morning, about the tenth day, we set out in a westerly direction, in order to get round the large bay, of which the island that we had originally been thrown upon forms the eastern boundary. We had saved as much of our flour as possible, so that our stock still amounted to about forty pounds, the greater part of which Parsons carried. Finnegan carried the rest, and a stick of fire; while I bore an axe and a tin pot, which we had saved from the wreck. The natives had pointed out an inlet to us at the distance of twelve or fourteen miles, where, they informed us by signs, we should find a canoe, in which they directed us to cross to an island, that was just visible, towards the bottom of the bay. After we had proceeded about ten miles, the fire went out, at which Parsons, who was a very violent, passionate man, declared he would kill Finnegan, and struck him a severe blow with the handle of the axe, and would in all probability have murdered him had I not interfered. Finnegan now begged for mercy, and said he would make all haste back to a place where he had passed a native fire, about three or four miles back. Accordingly he departed; but after waiting at least five hours, on his not making his appearance, we resolved to return ourselves. We left our flour, &c., in the bush, and retraced our steps to the fire. It was nearly extinguished, but after some difficulty, I succeeded in making it burn. Here we stopped an hour, in hopes that Finnegan would appear; but on the approach of evening, we thought it best to return to the place where we had left our provisions. We therefore set forward, each carrying a stick of fire this time, lest one should fail us. However, just as we reached the place, to our mortification and sorrow, both sticks became extinguished, so that, our flour being the only food we had, and having no fire to dress it, we determined to take two or three pounds of it with us, and

47 About 7 May.
48 It was actually a southerly direction.
49 Moreton Bay.
50 They had started with about 75 lbs.
51 Probably at Myora, 2 miles north of Dunwich.
52 The distance was 6 miles.
53 Peel Island, near Dunwich.
54 Actually about 4 miles.
go back once more to the fire, which we had taken precaution of making up, before we left it. The night was far advanced when we reached it a second time, and having made a cake of our flour and eaten it, we lay down for the night. In the morning\(^{55}\) we baked the remainder of our flour; and, after remaining two or three hours, in expectation that Finnegan would still come, we again walked on to the place where we had left our provisions, each this time carrying two large sticks of fire. We justly concluded that Finnegan had returned to the natives, whom we had left the day before, and therefore took no further concern about him, but pushed on with what expedition we could towards the place where the natives had given us to understand we should find the canoe. About four o'clock p.m., we arrived at some huts in the immediate vicinity of the place they had pointed out, but were too much fatigued to look for the canoe that night; and having found water in a swamp\(^{56}\) hard by, and lighted a fire, we made a cake for supper, and slept in the huts. From this time forwards, we always took the precaution of lighting a fire at every two or three miles as we travelled, that we might not again experience the same inconvenience. Next morning,\(^{57}\) we proceeded to search for the canoe, and found it exactly in the place where the natives had given us to understand we should. We then took it down to the water, in order to ascertain if it would carry us both; but it had been so long exposed to the heat of the sun that it opened in several places, and would not float with one of us. This was a dreadful disappointment, as the beaches began to be covered with mangrove trees so thickly as to prevent our proceeding along them, and, having no shoes, we were unable to walk through the bush. Therefore, after having consulted a short time, we determined on going back to the blacks, especially as we expected to find Finnegan there. We accordingly took our flour, &c., and immediately set out on our return. By nightfall we had arrived within three or four miles of their huts; here we found a fire and fresh water, and remained all night. Next morning,\(^{58}\) the tide being high, the mangroves prevented us from walking on the beach. We were therefore obliged to remain till towards low water, when, just as we were about to start, we saw Finnegan, accompanied by two natives, approaching us. It appeared that these men had left their nets at the huts where we found the canoe, and were fearful lest we should take them. They were bringing Finnegan with them, that we might not hurt them, but as soon as they saw us, they made signs to him to return with us. This however we would not allow, as we were very much enraged at his leaving us, in the way he did,

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\(^{55}\) About 8 May.

\(^{56}\) A small stream enters the bay at Myora.

\(^{57}\) About 9 May.

\(^{58}\) About 10 May.
without fire, and were resolved to have nothing more to do with him. We therefore made him proceed with the natives to the canoe-huts, while we went on in the other direction, towards the huts, where we had lived with the natives. About half a mile before we reached them, we saw the natives fishing: they had been very successful, and on seeing us they immediately put a quantity of whitings on the fire, nor would they allow us to proceed till we had filled ourselves with them. They then conducted us to our old quarters, and having kindled a fire, they left us some fish, and went out again to catch more. We now set about making ourselves as comfortable as we could, when just at nightfall we were surprised by the return of Finnegan and the two blacks with their nets. They had travelled the distance in one day, which it took us three days to perform, and had forced him to keep up with them. He was dreadfully fatigued; but his companions, after leaving him, went out and procured fish and fern-root for him and themselves. We now became reconciled to him, and were all as friendly as ever, resting ourselves for the next three days in the hut, where the blacks regularly brought us fish and fern-root, which latter they called dingowa. We now consulted whether we had better take one of their canoes by night, or endeavour to make one ourselves; and having decided upon the latter, we made choice of a tree, and immediately fell to work to cut it down and form a canoe. We worked from sunrise to sunset for nearly three weeks, having no other tool but the hatchet; and during the whole time the natives brought us food, where we were at work, and likewise left fish in our hut daily. During the whole of this time, Finnegan refused to work with us, which the blacks observing, frequently took the axe out of our hands and offered it to him, making signs that he should use it, and, on his continuing to refuse, they no longer brought him food, though to us they continued a liberal supply. He was consequently obliged to procure fern-root, &c., for himself. At the expiration of three weeks, our canoe being complete, the natives would not allow us to launch it, but did it themselves; and when

59 Myora.
60 A total of 12 miles, being an average day's walk for the natives, but three times what Finnegan was used to.
61 About 11, 12, 13 May.
62 This was described by Oxley in his field book on 30 November 1823; he stated that it was called “bulwang” at Point Skirmish. In Petrie, op. cit., pp. 92, 173, and 318, it was called “bangwal” at Toorbul Point (just across the Channel from Point Skirmish), so it seems that Oxley got the spelling wrong. “Dingowa” was evidently the word used in the dialect of Stradbroke Island, and Uniacke, although recording it (Uniacke, Narrative, 29 November – 6 December 1823) at Point Skirmish, probably obtained it from Pamphlet. See also the text at Note 117. The plant is now known as Blechnum indicum.
63 About 2 June.
they saw it afloat, with Parsons and me in it, their joy and admiration knew no bounds: they leaped, danced, and roared, following us up and down the beach. Being now satisfied that it would answer our purpose, we landed, and the natives rolled the canoe up again on the beach, not allowing us to touch it. The remainder of the evening was spent in making preparations for our departure, Finnegan still refusing to go with us, notwithstanding our entreaties that he would. The natives having given us a quantity of fish, &c., Parsons and I set out the next afternoon\textsuperscript{64} with the flood-tide. We had not proceeded above a quarter of a mile, when the natives, perceiving that Finnegan did not accompany us, hastily launched a canoe, and two of them embarking, he was by the rest forced to follow, when they paddled quickly towards us; but we had gotten round a sandbank that lay off some distance from the shore. They therefore pulled to the bank and made Finnegan land on it, where they left him and went back to the huts. As he was unable to swim, he would have been drowned when the tide rose, if we had not pulled back for him, as we immediately did.

[CROSSING MORETON BAY, 3–5 JUNE 1823]

Being once more all together, we made the best of our way for the island before-mentioned, to which the blacks had advised us to steer, and about eleven o’clock at night we reached it\textsuperscript{65}. We immediately secured the canoe, and made a good fire, which was scarcely done when it began to rain, and continued to pour incessantly during the night. The next morning\textsuperscript{66}, the rain having cleared off, we proceeded to the opposite side of the island with the canoe, where we procured some fern-root, with which we pushed off for the other side of the bay. The tide being strong, we did not reach the shore till after dark, when we found six or seven huts and some fire\textsuperscript{67}. We could hear the natives, who appeared to have just left this place, making much noise, a little to the southward, where they were fishing, but they did not come near us that night. The next morning\textsuperscript{68} we went up to a rising ground at the back of the huts, from which we could command a good view of the country. From this place we saw another point far to the northward,\textsuperscript{69} but the distance appeared so great, and the shore appeared to recede so far,
that we were afraid to venture across in our canoe; we therefore returned to
the huts, and having drawn up our canoe on the beach, we set out to walk round the bay. The mangroves were so thick that we could not long keep the shore, but followed a native path which seemed to lead in the direction we wished to proceed in.

[THE BRISBANE RIVER AND REDCLIFFE, 7–30 JUNE 1823]

On the third day\(^{70}\) we arrived on the bank of a large river,\(^{71}\) at a place where it was evident the natives use to cross over; but it was too wide for us to attempt to swim, and we could not find a canoe; we therefore resolved to go up the river until we should find some means of crossing it. Accordingly we travelled on for nearly a month,\(^{72}\) being very much impeded by the number of salt creeks, which we were obliged to walk round, as neither of my companions were able to swim sufficiently well to attempt crossing them. At last\(^{73}\) we reached the bank of a creek,\(^{74}\) on the opposite side of which we saw two canoes;\(^{75}\) one of these I was resolved to procure. I accordingly swam across,\(^{76}\) but I found myself so weak (as we had now lived for a month on fern-root), that it was with great difficulty I reached the other side. I loosed the canoe, and brought it back to my companions. It was, however, so small that it would not carry more than two of us at a time. I therefore took Parsons over the main river first, and then returned for Finnegan; but we found the brush so thick, and the country so rough,\(^{77}\) that it was impossible for us, naked and shoeless as we were, to travel it. I was therefore obliged to take them back in the same manner, to the place we had left. We then commenced our return the way we had come,\(^{78}\) but we had not in returning any thing like the difficulty which we experienced in coming up, since, whenever we came to a river or creek, instead of travelling seven or eight

\(^{70}\) About 7 June.
\(^{71}\) The Brisbane River, at Lytton.
\(^{72}\) It is necessary to assume that this period was two weeks rather than a month, in order to account for their arrival at Redcliffe on 30 June. Alternatively, the time spent in building the canoe at Amity Point (said to be three weeks) might have been shorter than stated by Pamphlet.
\(^{73}\) About 23 June.
\(^{74}\) Oxley Creek.
\(^{75}\) Oxley's field book for 3 December 1823 refers to "the mouth of a small river, which we called Canoe River, being the spot where Parsons and his companions found a canoe in which they went down the river." Oxley's chart (Fig. 15) gives "Canoe Reach" as the name of this part of the Brisbane River.
\(^{76}\) That is, across Oxley Creek, the width being of the order of 25 yards. The present bridge at this place is called the Pamphlett Bridge.
\(^{77}\) Long Pocket.
\(^{78}\) Along the right bank.
Fig. 10. The Brisbane River and Moreton Bay, 1956. The castaways came ashore on Moreton Island, the large island near the top of the photograph. After visiting Stradbroke Island (top right) they crossed to the mainland and followed the Brisbane River on foot as far as Oxley Creek, which enters the river from the lower right of the photograph; they returned down the river by canoe. Infra-red photograph courtesy of *Courier-Mail* (Brisbane).
days in order to get round it, we were enabled to cross it in the canoe. We thus continued for two or three days, Parsons and Finnegan walking, and I paddling down in the canoe, till on the opposite side of the river we found another canoe; and being all now able to float down the river, we agreed to rest where we were a few days, in order to lay in a stock of fern-root. While thus employed, we fell in with a party of blacks, who were going to fish with their nets, and on our asking them, they gave us a good meal of fish; but the next day they seemed anxious that we should leave them; and upon our not doing so, as readily as they wished, they made an attempt to seize our canoes. We were fortunate enough, however, to get them out of their reach, and proceeded on our journey. In two days afterwards we reached the mouth of the river, where, on a sand-bank at the entrance, I was so lucky as to kill five large sting-rays, which afforded us some good meals. The river, as high up as we reached, was brackish, and a very strong tide ran in it: it was above a quarter of a mile wide where we turned back. We now left the smaller canoe, and my companions walked along the beach, while I, in the other canoe, pulled along the shore. In this manner we continued our course to the northward for three days, and on the evening of the third day reached the point which had been originally pointed out to us by the blacks on the island, where our boat was lost. This was the 101st day after we left Sydney, Parsons and I having kept a strict account thus far; but from this time forward we totally lost our reckoning. I had brought Parsons across the last bay in the canoe, and had promised to go back immediately for Finnegan; but he, having walked a little distance further along the shore, found a canoe, in which were twenty or thirty large fish. This he immediately seized, and we had scarcely landed, when we perceived him paddling towards us. On his approach, he called out to us to make a good fire, as he had plenty of fish; upon which we ran down to the shore, and as soon as he landed, having hauled up the canoe, we carried the fish to some empty huts which we found hard by. In the meantime, the natives who owned the canoe began to call out, and at length followed Finnegan across in another canoe to the number of about ten. By this time several of the natives of the side on which we were, being alarmed by the noise, had joined them, and they all proceeded towards the huts. We had now for several weeks lived almost entirely on dingowa, which being but a poor kind of food, together with the fatigue of travelling so far under a burning sun without

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79 This would have brought them to about Kangaroo Point or Bulimba on about 25 June.
80 About 27 June.
81 Clontarf Point on the Redcliffe Peninsula.
82 30 June.
83 Hay's Inlet.
clothes, had weakened and emaciated us very much, and we resolved to run every risk sooner than lose the fish we had thus obtained: we therefore placed them under some bark, and I took my axe and Finnegan a stick, being determined not to lose them without a struggle. However, when the natives approached, they seemed at once struck with our miserable condition; and instead of attempting to repossess themselves of the fish, some who had their nets with them instantly set to work to procure more for us; and one or two fetched us as much dingowa as they could carry. The next night they took us to their huts, where they entertained us in the same hospitable manner as the blacks, with whom we had before lived, had done.

[BRIEBE TO MAROOCYDORE, OCTOBER-NOVEMBER 1823]

(Continued by John Finnegan, Pamphlet being sick)

We had resided with these blacks about four or five days, when Pamphlet, having gone out fishing with them one day, came back and said it was useless to remain there any longer, as he had seen the head of Jervis's Bay at a distance of about fifteen miles, and, therefore, proposed to go to it the next day. To this Parsons agreed; but as I had every reason to fear violence from Parsons, who had once or twice attempted to kill me, I resolved to remain where I was for the present, till I had fairly gotten rid of him, and then to attempt to travel by myself. They accordingly set out the next morning, and I remained behind, with the chief of the tribe, who had been very kind to me ever since our arrival here. However, the next evening Parsons and Pamphlet, being unable to procure food, returned to the huts. Here we all remained for about a month; during which time we were distributed in different huts among the natives, the old chief always keeping me with him, while every one of the tribe contributed to our support, one bringing fish, another dingowa, and so on; so that we were as comfortable as we could expect to be in our situation. At the end of a month we again grew anxious to get home, if possible, and accordingly resolved to make one more effort. Having collected a great quantity of fish and dingowa, we set out one afternoon, and pursued our course northward along the beach for about ten miles:

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84 They were now on the Pumicestone Channel, near Point Skirmish (then the name for the southern end of Bribie Island). The time was late September. The gap in the narrative is discussed in the introduction to this chapter.
85 About 90 miles south of Sydney. He probably saw Caloundra.
86 About 1 November.
87 The east coast of Bribie Island.
88 This distance is probably fairly accurate.
here we intended to pass the night; but just as we had made our fire, four of the blacks, with whom we had been living, came up with us, and used every entreaty to make us return with them. However, we imagined that they only followed us in consequence of our having promised them the axe and some other things, which we had not given them; and that in all probability more of their tribe would arrive before morning; we therefore drove them away, and proceeded about a mile further, and there rested for the night. We resumed our journey very early next morning, and in the course of the day were overtaken by a black man and woman belonging to the tribe we had left. These people also tried to prevail on us to return, but without success; and after accompanying us about a mile, they struck into the bush and left us. Towards evening we came to a river,89 which appeared too considerable for us to attempt to cross; we therefore rested on the bank that night, and next morning went up it about a mile. Here we found a canoe, and brought it down to the place where we had slept, and in the afternoon at low-water we crossed the river in it, and rested on the other bank that night. The next morning we proceeded on our journey, and in the course of the day fell in with another smaller river,90 on the bank of which were a number of huts. Here we found an old black man, who was unable to move, both his legs and arms having been broken at some distant period, and never having been set. There were also three women, with some children, all eating fish, with which, on our arrival, they instantly supplied us. Here we stopped for three days, when, having observed a woman crossing the river at low water by walking, we did the same, and again proceeded on our journey. The same day we fell in with another river,91 up the bank of which we walked two days, and on the second evening met some natives, among whom we were surprised to see a man belonging to the tribe with whom we had tarried so long; he was one of the four who had followed us the day we left them. This man, when we first arrived among his tribe, was laid up with a spear-wound in the knee, and was cured by Pamphlet, by extracting part of the spear that had broken in the wound. He had in consequence become much attached to Pamphlet, and now again urgently entreated him to return with him. To this Pamphlet, whose feet had become extremely sore, at last consented. His friend was then on his way to a great meeting of natives, where he was to fight the man who had wounded him. Accordingly the next morning, Pamphlet and he set out together for the fight, while Parsons and I pursued our journey.

89 The Pumicestone Channel at Caloundra.
90 The Mooloolah River at Point Cartwright.
91 The Maroochy River at Maroochydore.
ACCOUNT OF A FIGHT WITNESSED BY THOMAS PAMPHLET92 [NOVEMBER 1823]

About the time of our first arrival93 at Pumice-stone River, the young native whom we called the Doctor, and who used to bore the noses and scarify the skins of the rest of the tribe, had been wounded in the knee with a spear, while out on a hunting expedition, by a native of another tribe, at a distance of fifty miles to the northward. As the spear had broken in the wound, there was a good deal of inflammation in his leg, when he applied to me to cure him. This I effected by extracting a large splinter from his knee, and in a short time he was quite recovered. As soon as his cure was effected and he was able once more to go out fishing and hunting, he sallied forth, accompanied by several of his tribe, in order to take satisfaction of the man who had wounded him; and having a great liking for me, on account of my having cured him, he insisted94 on my going with him.

The spot appointed for the combat was a small ring,95 about twenty-five feet in diameter, about three feet deep, and surrounded by a palisade of sticks. The crowd assembled to see the fight amounted to about 500 men, women and children; and the combatants, followed by those who were friendly to them respectively, approached the ring in single file, and drew up in a regular manner on opposite sides of the circle. The whole assembly were well armed, many of them having five or six spears each. The two combatants then entered the ring, and having laid down their spears in opposite rows, point to point, began walking backwards and forwards, talking loudly to each other and using violent gestures, as if to inflame their passions to a due height. The women had previously been driven away, and the most profound silence reigned in the rest of the assembly. After about ten minutes spent in this way, they commenced picking up their spears with their feet, keeping their eyes fixed on each other, so as to prevent either from taking advantage of the other's stooping. In this manner they proceeded till they had each three spears, which they stuck in the ground, ready for immediate use. At the moment when they commenced thus picking up their spears, a tremendous shout burst from the spectators, who immediately relapsed into their former silence. All now being ready, one or two of the friends of each

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92 This account is taken from Uniacke's "Narrative of Mr. John Oxley's Expedition" in Field, op. cit., pp. 27-86. The "Narrative of Thomas Pamphlet" is continued later.
93 About the end of September 1823.
94 On meeting Pamphlet at the Maroochy River.
95 In 1862, Tom Petrie came upon a "large gathering of blacks", near Petrie's Creek, a tributary of the Maroochy River. This may have been a traditional meeting place, and the ring in which the fight took place may have been a "kippara ring". See Petrie, op. cit., p. 192 and pp. 44-55.
party spoke across the ring for a few minutes; and as soon as they ceased, the Doctor threw his spear with all his force at the other, who, however, succeeded in warding it off with a kind of wooden shield called an **elemong**, into which, however, it penetrated three or four inches. The other then threw in his turn; but his spear was also warded off in the same manner. The third spear which the Doctor threw penetrated quite through the shoulder of his adversary, who instantly fell, when one or two of his friends, jumping into the ring, pulled out the spear, and returned it to its owner; and the tournament concluded with loud huzzas from all parties. They all then returned to huts, which had been erected for the occasion, and the next day they again met at the ring, in order to give the friends of the wounded man an opportunity to avenge his quarrel. But it appeared that no one wished to do so, as each had now wounded the other, and a reconciliation took place between the two tribes, which was announced by shouting, dancing, &c.; and a parcel of boys were selected from each party, and sent into the ring to wrestle: after which both tribes joined in a hunting expedition, which lasted a week; but my feet being sore, I was consigned to the care of the women.

[NOOSA, EBIE, AND RESCUE, NOVEMBER 1823]

[Continuing “Narrative of Thomas Pamphlet”, at this stage being narrated by Finnegan]

The next day we crossed the river,96 and continued travelling for two days longer, when, arriving at the bank of another river,97 a quarrel arose between Parsons and me, on which he opened his knife and swore he would murder me. I then ran into the bush, and he followed me: however, I succeeded in getting away from him, and travelled till evening with great expedition up the bank of the river. At night-fall I met a party of blacks crossing the river in three canoes, and endeavoured by signs to make them understand that I wished to cross too. This they would not allow,98 but made me turn back with a fishing black and his wife, who, after four days, brought me to the place from whence I had at first set out. Here I found Pamphlet, and was again received by the old chief with the greatest kindness, he seeming quite delighted with my return.

96 The Maroochy River.
97 The Noosa River, at Noosa.
98 Oxley’s field book for 30 November 1823, states: “Finigan, soon after quitting Parsons, fell in with some who had seen him in Moreton Bay, and they would not suffer him to proceed northerly as was his wish, intimating to him that he would meet with people who would illuse him.”
The day following Finnegan's return, the old chief being about to go with several of his tribe to a fight at some distance, took Finnegan along with him. He was very anxious for me also to accompany him, but on my making signs to him that my feet were still very sore, he permitted me to remain behind without further solicitation. I now daily accompanied the men of the tribe on their fishing excursions, and was always supplied by them in the most liberal manner. They would not even allow me to roast the fish or pound the dingowa, which they gave me, but always brought them ready dressed. One day, however, the old man in whose hut I lived, having caught several large fish, did not give me any, as was usual with him; and on my asking for some, he refused me rather gruffly. Upon this, fancying they might be getting tired of me, I resolved to leave them, and accordingly, taking my axe, I set out at once, in order to attempt, if possible, to rejoin Parsons. I had not, however, gone far, when I was followed by four of the young men, who made use of every persuasion in their power to entice me back, to which I at last consented, the more readily as each of them brought two spears, and I was not quite certain what use they would have put them to, had I persisted in my refusal. After this I lived with them in the same manner as before, expecting Finnegan's return every day; but having now lost our reckoning for some time, I cannot form any idea how long I remained, or what time Finnegan was away. At last, one evening as I was sitting by the fire and the blacks were roasting fish for me, I heard some natives shouting on the beach and calling me; upon which I rose and walked slowly towards them; but what was my astonishment and delight, when I saw a cutter under full sail standing up the bay, about three miles from where we stood! I instantly made towards her with all the speed I could, followed by a number of the natives; but before I had run half the distance, she came to an anchor within half a quarter of a mile of the shore. On coming abreast the vessel I hailed her, and was immediately answered; and shortly afterwards a boat pushed off from her from which landed Mr. Oxley, the Surveyor-General, Lieutenant Stirling of the Buffs, and the recorder of this narrative. I now learned, to my great surprise, that I was at least five hundred miles to the

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99 About 21 November.
100 Finnegan was away about nine days. Pamphlet originally told Oxley it was three-four weeks (Oxley, Field Books, 29 November 1823), and he told Uniacke it was two weeks (Uniacke, Narrative, 29 November - 6 December 1823), but he now admitted that he did not know.
101 29 November.
102 The "Mermaid".
103 The Third Regiment.
104 Manuscript B1431 has "Mr. J. Uniacke super cargo of H.M. cutter 'Mermaid'".
northward of Port Jackson, instead of being, as we always imagined, to the southward of Jervis’s Bay. I was taken on board the vessel that evening, where, after I was cleaned I was decently clothed and humanely treated; but my head and heart were so much affected by this unexpected turn of fortune, that I was unable to answer any questions that were put to me that night. The next morning, however, I became more collected; and in the course of the day my satisfaction was greatly increased by the return of Finnegan, who experienced the same kind treatment that I had previously done. I now found that upwards of eight months had elapsed since I left Sydney; consequently, I had spent nearly five of them with these hospitable natives of Moreton Bay. Their behaviour to me and my companions had been so invariably kind and generous, that, notwithstanding the delight I felt at the idea of once more returning to my home, I did not leave them without sincere regret.

Mr. Oxley and Mr. Stirling set out the following morning, taking Finnegan with them, in order to examine the river which we had been so long in attempting to cross; and on their return, in five or six days, the Mermaid cutter got under way, and we all set sail for Sydney.

ACCOUNT OF A FIGHT AMONG THE NATIVES OF MORETON BAY, WITNESSED BY JOHN FINNEGAN [NOVEMBER 1823]

The natives at Pumice-Stone River having a quarrel with another tribe, at the distance of five-and-twenty miles to the S.W., they were about to set off for the latter place in order to decide it; and as I was then living with the chief of the Pumice-stone River tribe, he insisted on taking me with him. We accordingly set out early one morning, travelling from ten to fifteen miles daily. Our party consisted of ten men, eight or nine women, and fourteen children, the King, his son, and myself. The men carried the nets, and the women were loaded with fern-root, &c.; all parties, men and women, being armed with spears. On the third day we halted, and all the men went out

105 30 November.
106 The Brisbane River.
107 Here ends the “Narrative of Thomas Pamphlet”. It was probably recorded on the “Mermaid” before and during the voyage to Sydney.
108 This account is taken from Uniacke’s “Narrative of Mr. John Oxley’s Expedition” in Field, op. cit., pp. 27–86. Another account is in Fraser’s journal for 27 July 1828.
109 Probably Redcliffe. Fraser’s version (Journal, 27 July 1828) mentions a beach nearby, and the present version mentions fishing off the shore. The fight was held a mile and a half from the place where they fished; the Redcliffe kippa-ring was indeed 1½ miles from the beach.
110 About 21 November.
111 This would be correct; see the introduction to this chapter.
fishing. After eating a hearty meal, they commenced painting and decorating themselves with feathers. The King himself covered me all over with charcoal and bees' wax; and, when we were all dressed, we again went forward, and in a short time arrived at a number of huts, which had been erected for the occasion. They were so numerous that I could hardly count them; and each tribe (for there were many tribes assembled to see the fight) appeared to have their huts distinct from the other. On our arriving within a small distance of the encampment, we all sat down; and as soon as we were perceived, the assembled multitude began to shout, and immediately my companions were visited by several of their friends, and all began to weep piteously. Shortly afterwards the chief of the tribe on whose ground we were came to us, and having conversed for some time with our chief, he pointed out a place on which we might build huts for ourselves. The women of our party then immediately commenced building, and in less than two hours had finished five or six commodious huts, in which we all rested that night. The next morning a large party, including our chief and several of his men, went out kangaroo hunting. They were not, however, very successful, having only caught one large kangaroo. They, however, gave me a great piece of the hind quarter, of which they made me eat very heartily; and here I will observe, that at all times, whether they had much or little, fish or kangaroo, or anything else, they always gave me as much as I could eat. The same evening at sunset, the whole party, carrying fire-sticks, went away about a mile and a half to where the battle took place the next day, the chief leaving me with his wife and two children in the hut. He however returned some time in the night, for I found him at my back when I woke in the morning. The next day, after breakfast, the ceremony of painting was gone through afresh, and we marched in regular line, our tribe having been joined by several strangers, all of whom seemed much rejoiced at my accompanying them. We shortly arrived at a level piece of ground, in which had been dug a circular pit, about forty feet in diameter. I was now left in care of the chief's wife at a short distance from this pit; but being anxious to view the fight, in spite of her endeavours, I went up towards it. She, however, followed me, calling out and weeping; upon which one of the men of our tribe came to me, and, taking my hand, led me up to the pit. I there saw a woman of my tribe, and one of another, fighting desperately with sticks. The battle did not, however, last long, as they appeared to be quite in earnest; and in five minutes their heads, arms, &c., being dreadfully cut and swelled, our woman was declared the conqueror, the other not being able any longer to oppose her. The victory was announced by a loud shout from all parties, and the amazonian combatants were immediately carried

112 Kippa-rings were roughly of this size. See Figs. 11 and 12.
away by their respective friends. The man who had brought me to the pit still continued to hold my hand, and I observed his whole body tremble like an aspen leaf. The chief’s wife now came again to me, and endeavoured by every means in her power to force me away; but finding I still refused, she went for her husband, who immediately came, and taking away my spear, forced me out of the crowd. He then called several other chiefs around me, and showed me to them. This caused great talking and laughing among them, from surprise at my colour and appearance. The King then addressed them at some length, apparently asking them not to hurt me, which they gave me to understand by signs that they would not. I was then delivered up to our chief’s wife once more, who led me back to the place where we were left before. I had, however, a good view of the pit, round which the whole crowd still remained. I now found that, while I had been engaged with the chiefs, another fight had taken place in the pit, for I presently saw a man carried out by his friends, who were of our tribe, bleeding profusely at the side from a spear-wound. He was brought down to where I was, and placed on two men’s knees, with some kangaroo-skins spread over him; the men, women, and children howling and lamenting, much in the manner of the lower Irish. They supplied him with water from time to time, but his wound was evidently mortal, and in less than an hour he expired. The chief’s wife then took me away a short distance from where he lay, and the whole party set to work immediately to skin him; but from the distance at which I stood, I could not perceive the manner in which they did it. In the meantime two more men had entered the ring to fight; and here it may not be amiss to observe, that previous to each fight the same ceremony is used that is described by Thomas Pamphlet in the combat which he witnessed. The third fight was now going on, while our party were engaged in skinning their deceased companion; when it appeared from a tremendous shout, that some unlooked-for event had happened in the pit. I afterwards learned that the spectators judged that foul play had taken place between the combatants. The crowd upon this drew away from the pit; and our party, accompanied by those tribes that were friendly to them, formed themselves in a line, while their adversaries did the same opposite to them. The battle then became general. Several from each side would advance, and having thrown their spears, again retire to the line, in the manner of light infantry. Others would get behind the trees, and there watch an opportunity to hurl their spears with greater effect. In this manner the fight continued upwards of two hours, during which time many retired from the line severely wounded, and another man of our party was killed. What number may have been killed on the other side I had no means of ascertaining. Our party now began to give way, which being observed by the women and children with whom I was, they made signs to me to accompany them;
Fig. 11. Bora ring (kippa-ring), drawn by Robert Hoddle during Oxley's expedition of 1824. The kippa-ring may well have been the Redcliffe one. The original sketch is in field books 2/8093 in the Archives Office of New South Wales. Only words which were legible were inked in by H. Selkirk of the Lands Department in 1920.
Fig. 12. Ceremonial trees, drawn by Robert Hoddle. These trees decorated with strips of bark were in the small ring which was connected by the sacred way to the larger ring, as shown in Figure 11. The original sketch is in field books 2/8093 in the Archives Office of New South Wales.
and with the exception of those who were employed in skinning the body, we made off. Not being able, however, to run as fast as the rest, I was soon in the midst of the opposite party, who, however, notwithstanding my fears, did not attempt to hurt me, but merely laughed and pointed at me as they passed by, showing the same marks of wonder as the chiefs had done in the morning. I then walked back to the huts which we had left that morning, but found nobody there. However, I sat down by the fire, and towards evening they began to return, a few at a time. Just before dark I saw a large crowd approach, who (it seems) were bringing the bodies of the two men who had been killed. They laid them down about twenty rods from the huts, and began a great lamentation over them. The first body was completely flayed, but they had not yet had leisure to skin the other. I attempted to approach, but was immediately prevented by all hands, and forced to return to the fire. Shortly afterwards our chief and his wife came back, and instantly commenced packing up their nets, &c., in order to depart. Two large fires were lighted where the bodies lay, in which, as I judged from the noise as well as the offensive smell, they were both consumed. Immediately after this our whole party decamped; and having travelled more than half a mile, we stopped for the night. Very early next morning we again started, and travelled all day with great expedition, without ever halting or eating anything. Among our party were four women and three men wounded, the latter very severely. They however contrived, though with difficulty, to keep up with us. I had observed, during this day's march, two men, one of whom belonged to our tribe, and another to a tribe which was friendly to us, each of whom carried something on his shoulder, but did not keep the same path with us, walking through the bush at a little distance abreast of us. Being curious to know what it was they carried, I attempted several times to approach them; but as soon as this was observed, I was invariably brought back by the others, who made signs to me not to go near them. We travelled that day about eight or ten miles, and toward evening arrived at the edge of a large swamp, where we halted, and huts were instantly erected by the women, who were afterwards obliged to go out and procure fern-root for the whole party, the men never providing any thing but fish or game. I lodged as usual with the chief, at a little distance from whose hut I observed the two men hang up their burthens, which I again attempted to approach, but was (as before) prevented. Here we remained two days, during which a large fire was kept constantly burning underneath the trees on which these mysterious burthens were hanging. On the evening of the second day, I once more attempted to find out of what they consisted, though I strongly

113 Usually any that died in good health were eaten; also those killed in a fight, and any warrior or chief irrespective of how he died. See Petrie, op. cit., pp. 33–34.
suspected they were the skins of the two men who had been killed. The old chief, on seeing me go near them, ran after me, calling loudly to me to return; but I persevered, and at last reached the place. I now saw that my conjecture was right: the two skins were stretched each on four spears, and drying over the fire. The skin of the head was divided into two parts, and hung down with the hair on it. The soles of the feet and palms of the hands were also hanging down, and the nails still attached firmly to the skin. Several of the men and women were sitting round the fire under the skins, and now invited me to sit down with them, which I did. They then gave me some kangaroo-skin to decorate my arms and head, and seemed to wish me to sing to them; but on my making signs that it was not proper to do so while the remains of our friends were not buried, they seemed surprised, and afterwards told me by signs that they were much pleased at my refusal. After sitting with them about half an hour, the chief’s wife came and brought me back to the hut. Shortly afterwards, all the men dressed themselves in kangaroo-skins, and one of them in an old rug jacket which I had, and with one or two of the women, held a consultation round the fire, each person having a fire-stick in his hand. After conversing about half an hour, two of the party separated from the rest, and having taken down the skins, set off at full speed through the bush; the rest followed, shouting and making much noise. After this I saw nothing more of the skins, nor do I know what became of them. In about three-quarters of an hour the party returned; and the man who had taken my old jacket gave it me back. The next morning we returned towards the Pumice-stone River by the same path which we had travelled to the fight, and the natives followed their usual occupations of fishing and hunting as if nothing had happened.

A CURIOUS CASE OF SHIPWRECK

The brig Amity has brought to Sydney a man of the name of Richard Parsons, who was shipwrecked in Moreton Bay, about two years ago. This man gives a very curious account of his misfortunes and adventures. It appears that he was originally a sawyer. He had entered into the Five Islands trade. By his earnings he had saved about 50 guineas; with which he purchased the half of a boat; three others joining him in the speculation. They intended to fetch timber to Sydney. With their first trip commenced their

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114 Finnegan had picked the jacket up on the beach on 16 April (Narrative of Thomas Pamphlet, 21 March – 15 April 1823). It was the only article of clothing saved from the wreck.

115 The skin was always carried by a woman relative for six months or so. See Petrie, op. cit., p. 34.

116 The Australian, 21 October 1824.
misfortunes. They were blown off the shore by a heavy gale of wind; and after [having] been driven about, after 20 days, during which one of the three died, at last reached Moreton Bay. When first they fell in with the natives, these were timid, and avoided them. They, however, succeeded in making an acquaintance with them, and in a short time got quite friendly. When they had lived among the natives in the neighbourhood of Moreton Bay, for three or four months, Parsons wished to explore his way to Sydney, along the coast, but his companions would not accompany him, as they thought themselves well off where they were. The natives gave them nets to catch fish, and showed them where to find and how to use the bungwa, as they call it—a very nutritious root, something like ferne, but larger; it is found in swamps. The natives also taught them what they could of their language. Parsons, at length, set out alone, and as he thought towards Sydney. Unluckily, however, he proceeded northward. He continued this course until he had travelled four or five hundred miles along the coast, and only began to suspect his error by the extreme heat which he felt, as he advanced. In his progress he fell in with various tribes of natives, who for the most part avoided him, at first seeing him. When he could not entice them to come near him, he would, if possible, get hold of one of their children, and caress it. This stratagem usually succeeded. They would then come and offer him fish and be very friendly. At all times he found the men very jealous of the women, who often were not allowed to present any thing; for the men would give it themselves to him. This feeling he describes as pervading the whole tribes he fell in with, in a greater or less degree. He was about three months in going, and about four or five months in returning. He suffered many hardships in going, and was frequently three or four nights without food; he fared better on his return, as he got more acquainted with the natives. He was fourteen months without any article of dress. His progress was much impeded by large rivers, which he usually swam across. When in want of fresh water, he commonly found it by travelling three or four miles to the westward. The rivers he crossed were all of salt water. The widest he fell in with is the River Brisbane. He found one much deeper and with more rapid current, more to the northward. The huts of the natives are much the same as those built by the natives in this settlement, but larger and stronger. The natives are a stouter and more athletic race of men than we have been accustomed to see here. He describes the land, wherever he has been, to be very sandy and poor; worse even than Broken Bay. He had seen no rain for twelve months.

117 See Note 62.
118 This explains the shortage of fresh water experienced by Oxley and Cunningham in September 1824, on the Brisbane River. See especially Oxley, Field Books, 23 September 1824.
found a great deal of pine and iron bark; she oak, swamp oak, and a kind of spotted gum. Some timber he found good, some very bad; both the land and timber are best near Brisbane River. There is some good timber on the large river he found to the northward of the other. Currijong\textsuperscript{119} is found in great abundance in the interior. He was on his travels when the first ship went to Moreton Bay. The two men that stayed behind him left the place on that occasion. Mr. Oxley left a memorandum in a bottle to give Parsons the information of a ship having been there. This bottle had been carried away to a distance of 50 or 60 miles, by the natives; but when he came back, it was brought to him.\textsuperscript{120} He was never in any danger from the natives except once. A female brought him some fish and he attempted a little familiarity with her, when on a sudden a great number of the natives started up, and in a menacing attitude called out to him to let her alone. Such was their uniform kindness to him, that they were sure to offer him the best fish they had caught. When about 60 miles off Moreton Bay, on his return, the tribe there would not allow him to quit them; and he was obliged, at last, to watch his opportunity and set off by moonlight. When the ship was about to sail they came on board to give him a fishing net,\textsuperscript{121} in order as they told him to get his living in the country he was going to. The only mode that he had of computing time was by watching the new moon, and then cutting a notch. These facts, especially such as relate to the disposition of the natives, we consider important, as they show that by avoiding harsh treatment in the first instance, many misunderstandings may be avoided between the whites and the blacks.

\textsuperscript{119} Hibiscus heterophyllus. See Uniacke, Narrative, 29 November – 6 December 1823; Oxley, Field Books, 3 December 1823; Cunningham, Journal, 17 September 1824.

\textsuperscript{120} Parsons, however, could not read. See Oxley, Field Books, 11 September 1824, Note 7.

\textsuperscript{121} A fishing net was the article most valued by the natives. See Flinders in the "Norfolk", 16 July 1799, Note 24; also Narrative of Thomas Pamphlet, 27 April – 3 June 1823.
John Oxley was instructed by Governor Brisbane to assess Port Curtis (at Gladstone), Moreton Bay, and Port Bowen as sites for convict settlements. He left Sydney in H.M. Cutter “Mermaid” on 23 October 1823, with John Uniacke among his assistants.

On 31 October they anchored at Cook Island, off Fingal Head, and the following day discovered a wreck on this island, and rowed about 4 miles from Fingal up the Tweed River. They reached Port Curtis on 6 November, and explored the Boyne River and the adjacent harbours until 21 November. Abandoning the idea of visiting Port Bowen, they entered Moreton Bay on 29 November, anchoring (as Oxley expressed it) “close to Point Skirmish at the entrance of Pumice Stone River”.

The castaways, Pamphlet and Finnegan, were picked up, and on 1 December Oxley set out in a boat to explore the Brisbane River, taking Finnegan as a guide. Through an error by Finnegan they rowed up the North Pine River to within a mile or two of Petrie. The following day they entered the Brisbane River and charted its course as far as Goodna, returning to the ship on 5 December.

During this excursion they went ashore at the following places: north bank of the North Pine River (climbed a small hill); Shorncliffe (camped); Pinkenba; Hamilton (climbed Toorak Hill); Bowen Terrace near the Story Bridge (lunched); Emmanuel College or King’s College, St. Lucia (camped); Tennyson power house; Birkin Road, Moggill; Prior’s Pocket (lunched); Goodna Hospital (walked a few miles south-east); Mt. Ommaney (camped, climbed); Queensport or Gibson Island; Fisherman Islands (camped); Woody Point. At each place Oxley examined the soil and the timber, and at some places he collected specimens of rock and wood.

Meanwhile, Uniacke remained at Pumicestone Channel, and another party in a boat explored the islands at the southern end of the bay and continued as far as Southport, proving that (in Oxley’s words) “the land of Point Lookout [Stradbroke Island] is an island”.

On 6 December they all departed for Sydney. As a result of Oxley’s recommendations, it was decided to establish a settlement at Moreton Bay.
BIOGRAPHICAL DETAILS

John Oxley first visited New South Wales in 1802, at the age of nineteen, when he was a naval officer. He settled permanently in Sydney in 1812, on his being appointed Surveyor-General of Lands in New South Wales. He explored the Lachlan River in 1817, and discovered the Liverpool Plains in 1818. During the next few years he was active in establishing the convict settlement at Port Macquarie, and also made various overland journeys of exploration. His visit to Moreton Bay in 1823 paved the way for the Moreton Bay Settlement, which he helped to establish at Redcliffe in 1824. He had been in ill health for several years, and died at his country home, Kirkham, Camden, in 1828, at the age of forty-five.

John Fitzgerald Uniacke was Superintendent of Distilleries in New South Wales. His special role in the 1823 expedition was the identification and collection of rocks and minerals. He was also something of an expert on rare birds, and flora and fauna in general. He took a great interest in the aborigines and their way of life. Later, he became Sheriff and Provost Master of New South Wales, but died of a fever in Sydney in 1825, at the age of twenty-six or twenty-seven.

SOURCES

This chapter consists of three extracts from the writings of Uniacke and Oxley.

The first is from John Uniacke’s “Narrative of Mr. Oxley’s Expedition to survey Port Curtis and Moreton Bay”; this has been taken from Barron Field’s book.  

The second is an extract from Oxley’s field books, which are in the Archives Office of New South Wales, 2/8093 (formerly Mitchell Library, C257–262). The text of this extract has previously been published in a version edited chiefly by H. Wright, to whom acknowledgment is due; but the present version removes some of the obscurities.

The third is an extract from John Oxley’s “Report of an Expedition to survey Port Curtis, Moreton Bay, and Port Bowen”. This report was submitted to Governor Brisbane, dated 10 January 1824. A manuscript, said to be original, in the papers of Sir Thomas Brisbane in the Rex Nan Kivell Collection, is reproduced by courtesy of the National Library of Australia (NK 6787). Another manuscript is in Governor Brisbane’s despatches, Mitchell Library A1194; it is less accurate, and as its errors are repeated in Barron Field’s version, it seems certain that Field obtained his version from that source. Examples of the errors alluded to are: (1) the height of the hill climbed by Oxley on terminating the examination of the river is given as 250 feet, and (2) “Break Sea Spit” in the original became “Break-sea Spit” in A1194 and Barron Field.

THE MAGNETIC VARIATION IN 1823

In order to relate Oxley's compass bearings to modern maps, it is necessary to allow for the variation of magnetic north from true north. The variation differs from place to place, but can be considered approximately the same throughout the Moreton Bay District; at a given place the variation drifts by a few minutes of angle per year. Flinders measured the variation at Moreton Bay in 1799, and found it to be 10° east of true north. Cunningham at Ipswich in 1828 found it to be 9.75° E. Since 1840, it is believed to have drifted between 8° and 10°40'.

A sufficiently accurate estimate of the variation at Brisbane in 1823 can be obtained from certain of Oxley's compass bearings that can be related to modern maps. Oxley's bearings taken on 4 December from Mt. Ommaney to Flinders Peak, Mt. Goolman, and Mt. Blaine are all 10° smaller than the true bearings; the variation was therefore 10° east of true north.

This estimate is accurate to within 10' of angle, provided that there was no systematic error due to an incorrect zero setting of the compass scale; such an error would probably be less than 1°. If a zero error did exist, the adjustment needed to relate Oxley's bearings to modern maps would still be 10°, but this would include both the magnetic variation and the zero-error correction.

OXLEY'S IDENTIFICATION OF MOUNTAINS

When he entered the Brisbane River in 1823, Oxley was expecting to see two high mountains, Mt. Warning (3793 feet) and Flinders Peak (2229 feet, then unnamed).

Mt. Warning had been a landmark for mariners since its discovery by Cook. Oxley and Uniacke had a good view of it from near the mouth of the Tweed River on 1 November 1823; Uniacke wrote: "The scenery here exceeded anything I had previously seen in Australia – extending for miles along a deep rich valley, clothed with magnificent trees, the beautiful uniformity of which was only interrupted by the turns and windings of the river, which here and there appeared like small lakes, while in the background, Mount Warning (the highest land in New South Wales) reared its barren and singularly shaped peak, forming a striking contrast with the richness of the intermediate country." Although it is sometimes stated that Oxley travelled up the Tweed as far as Murwillumbah, it is clear from both Uniacke's narrative and Oxley's field books that they "proceeded about four miles" upstream from Fingal, and that they were away from the ship for only half a day.

It was natural that Oxley should expect to see Mt. Warning from the Brisbane River. However, if he had measured his latitude he would have realized that Mt. Warning was about 65 miles to the south. In any case, the mountains of the McPherson Range shielded it from view.

The other mountain Oxley expected to see was the one marked "High Peak" on Flinders' chart. Oxley in 1823 referred to it as "the High Peak of Captain Flinders", or the "Peak of Flinders". It came to be known as Flinders Peak during 1824. At first, Oxley believed it to be north of the
Brisbane River, and on observing Mt. Samson (2262 feet), he wondered whether it were the Peak of Flinders (field book, 2 December Station 2nd).

The first large mountain Oxley saw towards the south was in the vicinity of Flinders Peak (field book, 3 December, at Goodna); he assumed this to be Mt. Warning. At Mt. Ommaney, he obtained a clear view of Flinders Peak (field book, 4 December), and assumed this to be Mt. Warning. He wrote: "Mt. Warning rose like a huge atlas over the surrounding country." By the time he wrote his report, he realized that this peak was probably the "Peak of Flinders"; he then correctly substituted this name for "Mt. Warning" in his field book. However, in his report, he erroneously identified Flinders Peak with the mountain seen from Goodna.

The location of Mt. Warning from the Moreton Bay District remained a mystery for several years. On 22 September 1824, at Mt. Crosby, Oxley briefly identified Wilson's Peak with Mt. Warning, but soon altered his field book when he realized his error. Again at Mt. Crosby, on 24 September 1824, with Cunningham present, Oxley made an inspired guess as to the bearing of Mt. Warning; he chose the right direction, but the mountain he was looking at was Mt. Merino (3775 feet), which, owing to the curvature of the earth, shielded Mt. Warning completely from view. Logan erroneously identified Mt. Barney with Mt. Warning until, in 1828, with Cunningham and Fraser on the slopes of Mt. Barney, he saw Mt. Warning 35 miles to the east, beyond the Tweed Range.

THE BRISBANE PINE

Brisbane owes its foundation to Oxley's enthusiasm for its river and its indigenous pine tree, Araucaria cunninghamii, usually known as the hoop pine. The tree was first observed by Oxley on 1 December 1823, on the banks of the Pine River near Petrie; he referred to it then as a cypress, but it should not be confused with what Oxley called Cupressus australis, the Bribie Island pine.

Oxley's field book mentions the "cypress" being observed at Petrie Bight, West End, St. Lucia, Dutton Park, and Tennyson. Landing at Tennyson he discovered that it was not a cypress but a "new species of pine, from 100 to 140 feet high". In his report he suggested that these "magnificent" trees would be suitable for the topmasts of large ships.

The observations of Oxley and Cunningham in September 1824 will be summarized here. On 18 September 1824, somewhere on the left bank between Mt. Ommaney and Goodna, Cunningham went ashore and examined the tree, and suspected that it was of the genus Araucaria. Species of the Araucaria were known in Chile, Brazil, and Norfolk Island; the latter had been imported to Sydney. On 21 September, Oxley and Cunningham entered a forest on Pine Mountain, and Cunningham found on the ground a branch of the pine with several young cones on it, and thereby satisfied himself that the tree was an Araucaria. (The cone of the hoop pine is very similar to that of the Norfolk Island pine.) Cunningham wrote, "It was totally impossible not to halt a few moments to admire this noble tree, which had all the habits of ramification of the Araucaria Brasiliensis." According to Oxley's field book, Cunningham "gave to this stately tree the name of the Brisbane pine,
as being first discovered on the banks of the river of the same name". Cunningham’s sketch of the river (Fig. 22) has in the margin the words “Araucaria Brisbanii”. On 23 September another pine-clad hill a few miles upstream was called Mt. Araucaria. On 26 September, they landed at the place where they had botanized on 18th, and collected small logs of the pine, as well as young cones of which Cunningham drew a sketch “to show that this tree is specifically distinct from Araucaria excelsa or Norfolk Pine”. Cunningham added: “The difference in habit in the Pine of this River consists in its uppermost branches being generally so disposed as to form by their unequal lengths a flat or even surface at the summit.” On 29 September, having returned to Redcliffe, Oxley and Cunningham set out for the Pine River to collect “some of the pine spars”.

When Governor Brisbane visited the Brisbane River in November 1824, he was greatly impressed by the trees on its banks, and later sent some pine logs to England for assessment.

The first export of Brisbane Town consisted of pine logs in 1825 (Chapter 8, final paragraph of Lockyer’s journal).

Near Spicer’s Peak, Cunningham “recognized the pine (araucaria) which I had formerly observed in greater numbers in the dark brushes of the Brisbane River”.

In his journal of 1828, Charles Fraser referred to this tree as the Moreton Bay pine.

Cunningham wrote to Charles Telfair: “The pine, a third species of Araucaria, towers over all other plants; it exceeds 100 feet in height, and is fully 4½ feet to 5 feet in diameter. It is so truly cylindrical in the barrel that it preserves such width from its base up to 50 feet, when it begins to branch off and gradually to taper upwards. It furnishes spars for masts, and its planks are in general use.”

WHO DISCOVERED THE BRISBANE RIVER?

Ever since the discovery of the Brisbane River, opinion has been divided as to whether the credit belongs to Oxley or to the castaways Finnegan, Pamphlet, and Parsons. It is suggested here that the credit belongs to Oxley, although the decision is made on different grounds from those assumed in Oxley’s time. Oxley claimed the credit on the grounds that he was the leader of a properly constituted expedition; while that argument was acceptable to most, it never convinced everybody, and in the more democratic period that followed, it was almost entirely rejected. It is suggested here that the appropriate criterion for our own time is not class or rank, but competence. By this standard, Oxley deserves the credit for discovering the Brisbane River.

Let us briefly recall the events of 1823. The castaways, believing themselves to be south of Sydney, wandered along the shores of Moreton Bay, happened upon the mouth of the Brisbane River in June 1823, and followed it upstream as far as Oxley Creek. Oxley rescued Finnegan and Pamphlet at Pumicestone

4 10 June 1827.
5 16 September 1828. A longer extract from this letter is given in Chapter 12, where its source is indicated.
Channel in November 1823, and they told him about the river. Oxley took Finnegan as his guide, but when Finnegan failed to locate the river, Oxley relied on his own judgment and located it himself, charting its course as far as Goodna.

It is, of course, possible that Oxley would not have located the river without the information that the castaways gave him. But it was the accepted practice for explorers to use information obtained from their servants or the natives, without diminishing their own right to being credited with discoveries, and the castaways were considered to be in the same class as servants. For example, while Oxley was exploring the Brisbane River in 1823, another boat from his expedition discovered the Southport bar; Oxley officially reported this discovery without mentioning who was personally involved. Again, Cunningham in 1827 sent two servants to examine Spicer's Gap, and reported their observations without mentioning (at least in one draft) that he had not been personally present.

Although this was the accepted practice in Oxley's time, he has since been criticized for suppressing the facts about the castaways. This criticism was not justified. It is true that he did not mention them in his report to Governor Brisbane, but he also submitted a journal containing all details of his expedition; Barron Field's version of Oxley's report identifies this journal with Uniacke's "Narrative of Mr. Oxley's Expedition", which gives prominence to the castaways and mentions that Finnegan accompanied Oxley to the Brisbane River.

The earliest challenge to Oxley's claim probably came from Finnegan himself, who convinced Lockyer of his counter-claim. The controversy is of little interest today, as it was bound up with matters of rank and class, but it may be worth noting that Finnegan gave little credit to the natives, without whom he could not have survived. It is more relevant today to choose between Oxley and the castaways on the grounds of competence. Oxley and his assistant Stirling produced an accurate map of the river, in correct relationship to existing charts. In contrast, the castaways had no idea where they were, and could not even find the river a second time. Finnegan, in particular, was the least competent; he was often a hindrance, and travelled very reluctantly with the other two.

NARRATIVE OF MR. OXLEY'S EXPEDITION TO SURVEY PORT CURTIS AND MORETON BAY

At six o'clock p.m. we came to an anchor in Pumice-stone River, Moreton Bay, within 150 yards of the shore, in the very place where Captain Flinders had anchored twenty-two years before, on discovering the harbour, which, I believe, has not been since visited by Europeans. Scarcely was the anchor

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6 By John Uniacke. This extract begins half-way through the narrative.
7 Saturday, 29 November 1823.
8 Bingle and Edwardson each visited the bay in 1822.
let go, when we perceived a number of natives at the distance of about a mile, advancing rapidly towards the vessel; and on looking at them with the glass from the mast-head, I observed one who appeared much larger than the rest and of a lighter colour, being a light copper, while all the others were black. This I pointed out to Mr. Stirling, so that we were all on the look-out when they approached; and to our surprise and satisfaction, when opposite the vessel, the man hailed us in English. The boat was immediately launched, and Messrs. Oxley, Stirling and I went ashore in her. While approaching the beach the natives showed many signs of joy, dancing and embracing the white man, who was nearly as wild as they. He was perfectly naked, and covered all over with white and red paint, which the natives make use of. His name, it appeared, was Thomas Pamphlet. He had left Sydney on the 21st March last, in an open boat, to bring cedar from the Five Islands, about fifty miles to the S. of Port Jackson. There were three others with him, but the boat being driven out to sea by a gale of wind, they had suffered inconceivable hardships, being twenty-one days without water, during which time one of them died of thirst; and they had at length been wrecked on Moreton Island, which forms one side of Moreton Bay, in the upper part of which we were now lying. He was so bewildered with joy that we could make very little out of his story that night; so having distributed a few knives, handkerchiefs, &c., among the friendly blacks, we returned on board, taking him with us. He now informed us that his two surviving companions, Richard Parsons and John Finnegan, after having travelled in company with him to the place where we found him, had, about six weeks before, resolved to prosecute their way towards Sydney; that he had accompanied them about fifty miles, but his feet becoming so sore that he was unable to travel further, he had resolved to return to the blacks, with whom we found him, and who had before treated him with great kindness; that a few days after they parted, Parsons and Finnegan having quarrelled, the latter also returned, and had since remained with him, but had been

9 Lieutenant Robert Stirling of the Buffs (the Third Regiment) was Oxley’s chief assistant. He drew the first map of the Brisbane River, which was submitted with Oxley’s report to the Governor in 1824 (Fig. 15).
10 Uniacke later mentions that red paint was used on the mainland, and charcoal on Bribie Island; yet Pamphlet was found at Bribie Island and had been there for at least ten days.
11 Illawarra.
12 John Finnegan, Richard Parsons, and John Thompson.
13 Thompson.
14 Probably about a month before: see introduction to Chapter 5.
15 Probably to the Maroochy River. He attended a fight before returning.
16 Actually, Finnegan remained only one day, then left with the chief to attend a fight (Fight Witnessed by Finnegan, November 1823).
absent the last fortnight\textsuperscript{17} with the chief of the tribe on a hunting expedition; and that Parsons had not been heard of since his departure.\textsuperscript{18} Mr. Oxley, on hearing that Finnegan was gone towards the south end of the bay, resolved to seek him on Monday morning, and hoped by keeping along the shore, and occasionally firing a musket, to be able to find him also. But on Sunday\textsuperscript{19} afternoon, at low water, a man was observed walking out on a sand-bank from the opposite shore\textsuperscript{20} towards us, and holding in his hand a long stick with a skin on it; upon which I took the whale-boat and pulled towards him, when it proved to be Finnegan. Both he and Pamphlet concurring in a story they told us of a large river,\textsuperscript{21} which they had crossed, falling into the south end of the bay, Messrs. Oxley and Stirling started next morning\textsuperscript{22} in the whale-boat, taking Finnegan with them, and four days’ provisions, in order to explore it. I remained behind to shoot rare birds; and this gave me an opportunity of becoming acquainted with the natives, who are both in their dispositions and manners far superior\textsuperscript{23} to those in the neighbourhood of Sydney, and indeed to any that I had yet seen.

The principal station of the tribe, with whom we found these poor men, was about two miles higher up the Pumice-stone River (so called by Captain Flinders, from the immense quantities of that substance found on its banks) than where the vessel lay; but as they depend principally on fish for their support, they have several huts, at a distance of three or four miles from each other, to which they migrate from time to time as the fish become scarce. Their huts\textsuperscript{24} are built of long slender wattles, both ends of which are stuck into the ground, so as to form an arch about three feet and a half or four feet high. These are strongly interwoven with rude wicker-work, and the whole is covered with tea-tree \textit{(melaleuca armillaris)} bark, in such a manner as to be quite impervious to the rain; thus forming a spacious and commodious hut, capable of containing from ten to twelve people. In their journeys the women are obliged to carry heavy burthens, consisting of whatever rude utensils they may possess, together with a large quantity of fern-root, which forms a part of their daily food, and not infrequently two or three children besides. The men carry nothing but a spear, and perhaps a fire-stick; and their only employment consists in catching fish; this they do very expertly with a kind

\textsuperscript{17} Probably nine days, according to Finnegan (Fight Witnessed by Finnegan, November 1823).
\textsuperscript{18} Parsons was rescued by Oxley on 11 September 1824.
\textsuperscript{19} 30 November.
\textsuperscript{20} Toorbul Point, on the mainland.
\textsuperscript{21} The Brisbane River.
\textsuperscript{22} Monday, 1 December. They returned late on 5 December.
\textsuperscript{23} Flinders also had formed this opinion. (His journal, 30 July 1799.)
\textsuperscript{24} Flinders had described the huts in 1799. See Flinders in the “Norfolk”, 16 July 1799, at Note 28.
of hoop-net, which they use in the following manner: They go out in equal parties of four, six, or eight, each man having two nets. They then walk along the beach till they perceive the fish near the shore, which (from constant practice) they are enabled to do at a depth of four or five feet. As soon as this takes place, a little boy, who accompanies each party, creeps towards the water on his hands and knees; the party then divide, forming two lines, one on each side of the boy, at a distance of two or three yards, and as soon as the fish are sufficiently near, the boy throws among them a handful of sand, so as to distract their attention, when the men instantly rush into the water, forming a semi-circle round the fish, each man standing between his two nets, which he then draws close together. In this manner they are seldom unsuccessful, and frequently catch more than they can consume. As they never travel without fire, the moment the fish are out of the water, they commence roasting and eating them, which they do without cleaning or any other preparation; and when they have satisfied themselves, should any remain, they carry them home for their women and children, who have been employed during the day in procuring fern-root, which they call dingowa, and a part of which they give the men in exchange for fish. When Pamphlet arrived among them, they had no more idea that water could be made hot than that it could be made solid; and on his heating some in a tin pot which he had saved when wrecked, the whole tribe gathered round them and watched the pot till it began to boil, when they all took to their heels, shouting and screaming; nor could they be persuaded to return till they saw him pour the water out and clean the pot, when they slowly ventured back, and carefully covered the place where the water was spilt with sand. During the whole of our countrymen's stay among them, they were never reconciled to this operation of boiling.

The women weave a strong neat kind of net with rushes; with one or two of these each native is furnished to carry fish, dingowa, or any thing else they may pick up. The nets used for fishing are made by the men from the bark of the kurrajong (hibiscus heterophyllus), a shrub which is very common in the swamps. It is difficult at first sight to distinguish them from nets made of hemp. They have also nets of a much larger size, which they use in taking the kangaroo.25

Both sexes go perfectly naked; nor are the females at all abashed at appearing in that state before a stranger. They do not seem to have any ornaments, though they were much gratified with strips of red cloth and bunting, with which we decorated their heads; and some of the scarlet tail

25 Kangaroo nets were made with mesh of 2 or 3 inches and stretched between trees. Kangaroos were chased towards the nets, where they were clubbed or speared. (C. C. Petrie, Tom Petrie's Reminiscences of Early Queensland [Brisbane: Watson, Ferguson & Co., 1904], p. 84.)
feathers of a black cockatoo, which I gave them, had nearly produced a quarrel among them. Several articles of clothing were also given them, but they were invariably taken off and hidden as soon as they arrived at their camp; nor did we see ever any article again after they once became possessed of it.

Each individual of this tribe above the age of six years had the cartilage of the nose perforated, and many of them (especially the children) wore large pieces of stick or bone thrust through it, in such a manner as completely to stop the nostrils. This operation is always performed by the same person, whose office is hereditary, and confers some privileges, such as receiving fish, &c., from the others. It was held in this tribe by a fine intelligent young man, who was called the Doctor by our men. His father held a similar situation in another tribe on the south side of the river.

These tribes are distinguished from each other by the different colours they use in painting their bodies. Those on the north side blacken themselves all over with charcoal and bees' wax, which, with wild honey, they procure in abundance; and those on the south side paint themselves with a sort of red jaspar, which they burn and reduce to a powder. Other tribes make use of a white pigment, with which (having previously blackened themselves) they daub various parts of their body. Their chief appeared to possess an unlimited authority over them; he was a tall, middle-aged man, with an intelligent countenance. He had two wives, which (though it sometimes occurs) does not seem to be common among them. However, only one of them lived with him as a wife; the other was employed, while he ate or slept, in going among the other huts and collecting from their inhabitants fish, fern-root, &c. — a tribute which was daily paid to him without murmuring, although the rest of the tribe in consequence occasionally fell short themselves. The chief possesses nets both for fish and kangaroo, but seldom uses them except for his amusement. Neither does his head wife ever go out to gather fern-root with the rest of the women. The same practice of scarifying themselves with sharp shells prevails here, as at Sydney; but most of these Indians were cut more deeply, and all with great regularity. The

26 Pamphlet and the Doctor were friends (Fight Witnessed by Pamphlet, November 1823).
27 The mainland, south of Pumicestone Channel (thought to be a river).
28 At Bribie Island.
29 Toorbul Point, Redcliffe, and Petrie.
30 Red rock is plentiful on the mainland, but Bribie Island is composed entirely of sand.
31 Bingle, Finnegan, and Pamphlet described the chief as old (Bingle, Natives of Moreton Bay in 1822; Narrative of Thomas Pamphlet, Bribie to Maroochydore, October – November 1823; Noosa, Bribie, and Rescue, November 1823).
32 The natives were often called Indians. For example Indian Head, on Fraser
women here, as at Sydney, all lose the first two joints of the little finger of the left hand; but the men do not extract a front tooth on their approach to puberty, as is invariably the case in the vicinity of Port Jackson. The amputation of the finger is performed by the same person who bores the noses.  

Pamphlet and Finnegan, while among the Indians, were regularly painted twice a day, and were frequently importuned to allow themselves to be further ornamented by scarifying the body and boring the nose; but on their signifying that they did not wish it, the natives always desisted; nor was any violence used against them during their whole residence.

On only one occasion during our stay did the Indians show the least inclination towards pilfering, although they were constantly begging for everything they saw. Our men had been employed on shore all day cutting timber, and several natives had been with them in the afternoon. Upon returning in the evening, it was found that somebody had stolen the best falling axe we had: this, as we originally had but two, we could ill spare; and on Mr. Penson’s informing me of the circumstance, I resolved to recover it if possible. I accordingly took the jolly boat, and, with Mr. Penson and Bowen, pulled up to their encampment. On landing, several of them came out to meet us, and to them I endeavoured to make known our loss by signs. They soon seemed to understand me, and signified that they would accompany me to the place where it was hidden, which several of them accordingly prepared to do. However, I observed that they dropped back one by one, so that by the time I had advanced half a mile, there were only one old man and one young man left with me; one of these I was determined to secure till the axe was restored. I had some difficulty in making them keep up with me, as they were continually framing pretences to get into the bush; but I at length succeeded in bringing them opposite the vessel. Here the old man made signs that he and I should stop till the young man brought the axe, and we accordingly halted, while the other was soon out of sight in the wood. I then happened to take my eye a moment off my companion, when he darted into the bush with amazing celerity, and was out of sight in an instant. We

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Island, was so named by Cook because some natives assembled there to watch the “Endeavour” go past.

33 According to Petrie, op. cit., p. 57: The amputation was performed by the mother, or some old woman, by binding hair around the finger until it swelled up and died, then allowing the ants to eat the flesh, so that the bone came off easily. It was practised only on the coast, and was a sign that they were coast women.

34 Charles Penson was master of the “Mermaid”.

35 Oxley had taken the whale-boat.

36 Earlier in this narrative, Uniacke refers to “a native black by the name of Bowen whom we had brought from Sydney”.

37 Two miles up the channel from the “Mermaid”.

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now supposed that our friendly intercourse with them was at an end, and
that we should not again see the axe; but at eight o'clock next morning\(^{38}\) we
found a number of them on the beach, abreast of the vessel, shouting and
elevating the axe, which, on my going on shore, was delivered to me by the
old man who had shown such speed the evening before. So this incident,
instead of interrupting our good understanding, rendered our mutual con­
fidence more strong; for several of the natives ventured on board that day
for the first time, whereas they had always before refused to do so with
signs of fear. From this time forward not a single day passed, on which we
had not ten or twelve of them on board at a time. They seemed very curious,
inquiring the use of every thing they saw, but it was longer before we could
persuade them to eat anything with us. However, when they once began, it
was by no means an easy matter to satisfy them. Our cats and goats struck
them with particular astonishment. We could not prevail on them to approach
the latter, of whose horns they seemed to have a great awe. They were,
however, continually caressing the cats, and holding them up for the admira­
tion of their companions on shore.

I could not ascertain that these people had any idea whatever of religion.
They do not stand in awe of either good or evil spirits; nor did the Englishmen
we found with them ever observe anything like religious ceremony or prayer
among them, during all the time of their residence.

The women are far more fortunate than those in the neighbourhood of
Sydney, where they are abused in the most cruel way by the men;\(^{39}\) and where
the marriage ceremony consists of seizing the bride and beating her till she
is senseless. Pamphlet assured me that, during his residence among these
natives (nearly seven months), he never saw a woman struck or ill-treated
except by one of her own sex. Indeed, save among the women, he never saw
a quarrel in that or any other tribe he was with. The women that I saw
were far superior in personal beauty to the men, or indeed to any natives of
this country whom I have yet seen. Many of them are tall, straight, and
well formed; and there were two, in particular, whose shape and features
were such as no white woman need have been ashamed of.

This tribe amounted in number to about thirty men, sixteen or seventeen
women, and about twenty children. Their quarrels with neighbouring tribes
are frequent, and often end fatally. As some of them were witnessed by
Pamphlet and his companion, it may not be uninteresting to insert here the
description which they gave me of two, at which they were present, and
which I took down at the moment. That which Finnegan describes may be
considered as the most faithful, as he witnessed it only two\(^{40}\) days before we

\(^{38}\) Probably Tuesday, 2 September.
\(^{39}\) Flinders mentioned this in his journal for 30 July 1799 (Flinders in the “Norfolk”).
\(^{40}\) According to Finnegan’s account, it was four days before.
found him, and the particulars were then strongly impressed on his mind. I give it nearly in his own words:—

The fight which Pamphlet described as having been witnessed by him was not fortunately so sanguinary; and as the termination was very different from that above described, I shall insert it here.

Messrs. Oxley and Stirling had named Thursday, the 4th December, for their return to the vessel; but after waiting dinner till past seven o’clock, we gave them over for that night; and were employed on the following day in completing our wood and water, so as to be ready for sea the next morning. On Friday evening, at sun-set, I went ashore and made a large fire, in order to serve as a beacon for the boat, which, however, not having arrived at ten o’clock, I went to bed, somewhat uneasy, lest some accident should have happened; however, after I had been in bed about an hour, Mr. Penson came down to let me know that he had heard and seen a gun fire. On this I rose, and just before midnight the boat came alongside, having rowed with very little intermission since five o’clock in the morning. They were very much fatigued, particularly Messrs Oxley and Stirling, who had not been well before they left the vessel, and now appeared quite exhausted, from constant exposure to a hot sun for twelve or fifteen hours daily in an open boat. Our hardships were rendered less tolerable from our having been so shamefully robbed by our servants, in consequence of which these gentlemen had no wine or spirits to take with them.

Mr. Oxley told us that after losing the first day in the examination of a large creek, which Finnegan mistook for the river, they had on the following day entered the river itself, by an entrance three miles wide, and had proceeded above fifty miles from the mouth. The water was fresh about eighteen miles

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41 This account has been transferred to the previous chapter (Fight Witnessed by Finnegan, November 1823).
42 This account has been transferred to the previous chapter (Fight Witnessed by Pamphlet, November 1823).
43 They had camped at the mouth of the Brisbane River, near Fisherman Island, and spent the whole of Friday “in sounding the entrance and traversing the country in the vicinity of Red Cliff Point.” (Oxley, Report, 29 November – 6 December 1823).
44 They had suffered from lack of fresh water at Port Curtis (Oxley’s field book, 29 November 1823 at Note 58). By the time they reached Cook Island (7 December) Oxley and others were suffering from scurvy, and at Port Macquarie (8 December) Oxley could scarcely move on account of a swelling in the legs (Uniacke, Narrative, sequel to the extract given here).
45 Actually about 40 miles, to Goodna.
up,\textsuperscript{46} even at high water, and where they left off, the tide still rose four feet and a half. This magnificent river, the further examination of which they were obliged with reluctance to postpone to a more favourable opportunity, was, at the termination of their progress, above half a mile wide, and eight fathoms deep; and from an eminence near it they obtained a view of its course, meandering for nearly thirty miles through a rich flat country, clothed with large timber, among which was an unknown species of pine\textsuperscript{47} in considerable abundance, which from its size and the apparently excellent quality of the wood, will probably prove a valuable acquisition to the colony, it being well calculated for ships' spars. The soil on both banks was a rich black loam, and in every part the wild indigo\textsuperscript{48} was growing in abundance.

Having been thus successful beyond our expectations in the main object of our expedition, and the cutter being ready for sea, we got under way in the morning of Saturday, 6th December, with the last quarter of flood tide.

EXTRACT FROM OXLEY'S FIELD BOOKS

\textbf{SATURDAY} Off the Glass House, at 12. Sun's meridian altitude, 84° 19' 00". North Glass House\textsuperscript{49} west 25 south, Cape Moreton south 56 east.\textsuperscript{50}

\textbf{29TH 1823} A shoal extending 3 or 4 miles from the land, the opposite eastern extreme south by west distant 2\textsuperscript{1} or 3 miles, distance off shore 3 miles.

From noon, sailed five and a-quarter miles south by east half east. Shoal water three fathoms.

North Glass House, south 83° west; Cape Moreton, south 64° east. Deepened almost directly to six fathoms and within half a mile shoaled again to three fathoms. These shoals appear to extend right across from shore to shore with alternate channels of deeper water from four to six fathoms. The first shoal breaks at low water about two and three-quarter miles from the west shore. After passing through this shoal water for about one and three-quarter miles, at 3.25 p.m. we deepened our water, having passed these shoals, which form a kind of bar across to the centre or the north portion of the bay.

The North Glass House, south 87° west; Point Skirmish, about south 8° east.

We rounded Point Skirmish about 5 o'clock and observed a number of natives running along the beach towards the vessel. The foremost one appeared

\textsuperscript{46} Near the Story Bridge.
\textsuperscript{47} Hoop pine.
\textsuperscript{48} Indigofera australis, a shrub 2 – 4 feet high, with red, showy flowers.
\textsuperscript{49} Probably refers to Beerwah.
\textsuperscript{50} This position was 5 miles east of Caloundra.
very much lighter in colour than the rest. We took him for a half-caste, but were to the last degree astonished when he came abreast the vessel (which had just anchored) to hear him hail us in good English. We immediately went on shore and were received by the poor man with a breathless joy, that almost deprived him of utterance.

He said his name was Thomas Pamphlett, that he left Sydney on 21st March in company with three other men, Richard Parsons, John Finigan and another whose name he does not remember,51 being a stranger to him when he sailed. That intending to go to the Five Islands52 for cedar, they were caught by a small gale of wind shortly after quitting the Heads,53 and were blown out of sight of land. That some days after, when the gale abated, they made the land again, and thought they had been blown to the southward, near Jervis Bay. That under this impression they kept to the north 21 days without water, having only four gallons when they sailed. The man whose name he does not know died for want of it. Had plenty of provisions but had neither fire nor the means of procuring any. Ran the boat on shore on the outside of a large island (proved to be Moreton Island) where she was dashed to pieces. Walked round the island, fell in with natives who were universally kind to them and assisted them. There they wandered for many weeks round the shore of Moreton Bay (Glass House Bay) in entire ignorance where they were. Went up a river54 which they found to be fresh at some distance from the mouth. Descended in a canoe and found their way to Point Skirmish, receiving occasional assistance from the natives. That three or four months ago,55 still believing themselves to the south of Sydney, they set forward to the north. That himself and Finigan, being footsore, soon returned to Point Skirmish. That Parsons went on; he does not know where he now is, but thinks he is not many days' journey from this place. The natives were certainly kind to him. Finigan went upon a hunting excursion about three or four weeks ago,56 with the Chief of the tribe of Point Skirmish, and is now on the opposite side of the Bay,57

Natives were round us in considerable numbers and seemed most friendly. Pamphlett assured us they would do no harm, and had treated him with great kindness. He afterwards gave many curious and interesting particulars respecting them, &c.

51 John Thompson.
52 Illawarra.
53 Sydney Heads.
54 The Brisbane River.
55 Actually about one month ago (Finnegan, Pamphlett, and Parsons, 1823).
56 According to Finnegan, nine days ago (Finnegan, Pamphlett, and Parsons, 1823; Fight Witnessed by Finnegan, November 1823).
57 Redcliffe.
Found plenty of good, fresh water in deep swamps close to the beach, a great treasure to us who had suffered severely from bad water.\(^{58}\)

Plenty of the *Cupressus australis*\(^{59}\) growing to a large size. A native burial place close by. Endeavoured to make clear to the natives, through Bowen (our Sydney native, who understood something of what they said), and Pamphlet, our desire to see the other two white men.

Presented them with knives, etc., with which they seem much pleased. Returned on board taking Pamphlet with us. He had been out fishing and been very successful.

**SUNDAY**

Fresh winds from the southward and eastward. Sent all the water casks on shore, and preparing to examine the western shores of the Bay in the morrow.

I went on shore and examined the margin of the coast round Point Skirmish.\(^{60}\) Found plenty of cypress of large and useful dimensions and a good ornamental species of eucalyptus. The other trees were nearly similar in species to those in the vicinity of Port Macquarie, but were small and stunted. The soil, a poor, loose sand.

Obtained some of the root from the swamps, called by the natives bulwang,\(^{61}\) and used by them as bread. It is a species of fern, with a large tap-root for about two feet, which then, sending forth shoots, runs horizontally to a great distance from the parent stem. (Beaten and roasted, very palatable).

About 3 o'clock, we had the satisfaction to see a white man wading into the water from the point opposite,\(^{62}\) and on sending the boat for him, he proved to be John Finigan, whose actions, words and countenance showed how deeply he was overpowered by his sudden and unlooked deliverance.

His account of the wreck of the boat and their subsequent adventures perfectly coincided with the statement we had previously received from Pamphlet, and was somewhat clearer as to dates. His manner throughout was truly diverting, yet was perfectly original in his remarks and detail. His resignation under his sufferings and privations did high credit to the native simplicity of disposition which seemed a marked feature in his character. He spoke highly of his friend the *King*, and agreed with Pamphlet on praising the kind and humane treatment which they had received from the untutored beings who inhabit these shores. He quitted his companion Parsons three

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58 Fresh water was scarce at Port Curtis.
59 Bribie Island pine.
60 The whole southern end of Bribie Island.
61 Probably should be “bangwal”. See Narrative of Thomas Pamphlet, 27 April – 3 June 1823, Note 62.
62 Toorbul Point.
days after Pamphlet, being afraid from his wild language and threats that he would do him some bodily harm, as they were both reduced to the last extremity of hunger, not having seen any of their friendly natives for some days.

Finigan, soon after quitting Parsons, fell in with some who had seen him in Moreton Bay, and they would not suffer him to proceed northerly as was his wish, intimating to him that he would meet with people who would illuse him.

From his account, and the day's journey they were to the north of Point Skirmish, it appears that he parted with Parsons on the banks of the south arm of Wide Bay – in a brush near which he saw some cedar trees growing, the water salt.

On the east coast of Moreton Island they saw a New Zealand canoe of large size, painted red, also a log of cedar with a staple in it. It is a singular circumstance that from the description given of the canoe it was recognised by a seaman on board as one that the Echo, south whaler, had procured in the Bay of Islands, New Zealand, when he was there. The canoe being not only remarkable by its colour, but also its size and long, projecting head.

The Echo was wrecked about two years ago on Wreck Reef. Thus it would appear that some judgment may be formed as to the set of currents on this part of the coast. Out at sea, they appear to set strong to the southward, in shore to the north, and this corresponds with my own experience on this point and with that of Captain Flinders.

The men in the boat were deceived by these currents. Leaving Sydney at a period of the year when it is known the southerly currents prevail strongest, they at once conceived they must have been set in that direction, whereas not being in the stream of that current, they were set to the north, and they were only convinced to the contrary by their falling in with us. Finigan, however, declared he thought it very strange that if they were to the south, the weather should prove so extremely hot, and that instead of getting colder, as he afterwards knew it ought to do, as the winter season was advancing, it was rapidly getting warmer every day they sailed to the north, in which direction they imagined Sydney to be. Time, they had nothing to do with. What was it to men so situated? They had long forborne to keep any account. They, however, remembered the day of the month they left Sydney, and up to a period of 101 days. Finigan asked the day of the

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63 Probably means "the number of days for which they journeyed to...
64 Actually not as far north as Wide Bay; probably they parted at the mouth of the Noosa River.
65 21 April 1820.
66 About 220 miles north-east of Sandy Cape. (The ships "Porpoise" and "Cato" had been wrecked there in 1803.) One boatload of survivors from the "Echo" was rescued off Moreton Island, and the canoe may have been brought south by them, and cast adrift when they were rescued.
week and being informed it was Sunday, uttered a shout, and, I am sure,
a heartfelt prayer of thanks to his Beneficent Creator for his deliverance.67

MONDAY

DECEMBER

1ST

Calm, with rain, until 10 o’clock, then clear with winds from eastward.

At 7, left the vessel68 to examine the west shore of the Bay, and at 12 landed
on a low mangrove island at the entrance of a considerable river,69 carrying
from the main part of the Bay to the inlet in which it lays, two and a-half
fathoms, stiff mud.

Station 1st. – Redcliff Point,70 north 62° east, 2 [miles] in line with point
of island, 10 chains; on the point to the south-east,71 north 150°, one and
a-half mile. Inner point opposite, north 164° half mile, narrowing to one-
quarter, the channel on the island side off the point, of which runs a sand
spit about 30 chains to the eastward. Tree up the river on west bank, north
251°, one and a-half [miles].

Station 2. – Short of last station 30 chains, north 175° 50 chains. Full of
low mangrove islands and shoals, width about one-quarter mile. The river
to end of this station very narrow, six or seven chains, but deep, five fathoms.

Station 3. – On Larboard shore, north 287° 60 chains, cutting a low man­
grove point on opposite shore. Shores on both sides low, six to eight feet
water at low water; north 306° 40 low and swampy. North 325° 30; north
297° 30. Finding the stream had its source in swamps and not from the
mountains, did not pursue it further. Where we left off, the water was brackish,
and there were a great many very fine cypresses.72 Ascended a small hill73

67 John Oxley was a devout Christian, tending, like many of his time, towards
deesim. His house, “Kirkham”, at Camden, was the scene of church services
conducted by the Reverend Samuel Marsden. His brother Henry had (in 1810)
become a Roman Catholic, and was ordained, but later returned to the Church
of England. Writing to Henry on 15 November 1810, John said “Your letter... informs me of the change of your religion, a subject of all others most solemn.
I am not one of those who believe no one can be saved beyond the pale of their
own faith, far from it, mine is the religion of nature and of reason.” Quoted in
E.C. Rowland, “The Life and Work of Lieutenant John Oxley, R.N.”, Royal

68 With Stirling and Finnegan.

69 The Pine River, which Finnegan mistook for the Brisbane River, according to
Uniacke’s report. Oxley called it Deception River in his field book for 29
September 1824, evidently because Finnegan had deceived him. It was partly
for this reason that Oxley did not give Finnegan the credit for having discovered
the Brisbane River.

70 Woody Point.

71 Brighton.

72 This was Oxley’s first mention of the hoop pine, which he originally thought to
be a cypress, as the dark green of its foliage is similar to that of the Bribie Island
pine (cypress). He obtained some logs of the hoop pine on this river on 29
September 1824 (Oxley, Field Books), evidently remembering that he had seen
the trees there in 1823.

73 About 1 or 2 miles east of Petrie, on Petrie Pocket Road.
Fig. 15. The Brisbane River as explored by Oxley in 1823. Oxley called the wide reach running east-west upstream from the mouth Sea Reach. The chart was drawn by Lieutenant Stirling to accompany Oxley’s report to Governor Brisbane in January 1824. From chart NA 10 in the Survey Office, Brisbane.
on right, of good soil. Saw the stream had a weir across a little higher up. Much good timber of the eucalyptus species, with she-oak (casuarina) and dog-wood. The natives are very numerous on the shores of this inlet, and came down in great numbers, trying all methods in their power to induce us to land, waving green boughs, holding up their necklaces, etc. Several waded off to the boat, to whom we gave biscuit, which they ate.

After pulling out of the inlet, we landed at sun-set on a point. Stony, good land, about three miles to the south-east of the entrance in to the inlet we had examined, and round which is a shoal inlet. Plenty of fresh water and grass.

TUESDAY 2ND DECEMBER

Calm and fine. At 6 we again embarked and pulled along the shores of the harbour. At 8, we entered the mouth of a very large river, having three and four fathoms. The islands in the main Bay apparently closing up the mouth of the river, which, between those islands and the main land, is about two miles wide. Proceeded up the river, and at the end of the first reach, having four fathoms, close to the starboard shore, landed to take bearings.

Station 1st., Point A. – Opposite, a low mangrove point jutting out from the higher mainland, north 175°, half mile. Extremes of an island opposite, from north 188° to 215°, distant half and three-quarter mile, a passage round it between it and the main [land]. An island up the river being intended next station, North 224°, one and a-half mile. Line of starboard shore, north 231°.

Station 2nd., on the Larboard Shore. – A sand-stone, rocky bluff, grass tree, spotted gum, dog-wood and barren. Point D, north 331° 40 chains. Reach up, to a tree on the starboard shore, north 277°, two and three-quarter

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74 Shorncliffe.
75 Cabbage Tree Creek.
76 The Brisbane River.
77 The Fisherman Islands, which Oxley on 5 December 1823 referred to as Inner and North Concealment Islands (Field Books).
78 Station 1st was on a point of land at Pinkenba. It was probably designated as “Point A” on the chart Oxley submitted with his journal. The point has since been obscured by a wall along the river bank.
79 The eastern side of the present mouth of Bulimba Creek, east of Gibson Island.
80 Gibson Island.
81 Oxley explored this passage on 4 December 1823. The western end of this passage has now been filled in to connect Gibson Island to the mainland.
82 Parker Island at Meeandah, now obscured by a wall and connected to the mainland.
83 The former channel behind Parker Island.
84 Station 2nd was at the upstream end of the Brisbane Abattoir.
85 Point D was near the present Coxen Point at Eagle Farm.
Fig. 16. The Brisbane River according to modern surveys, showing Oxley's routes in 1823 and 1824. Oxley's numbered stations, as referred to in his 1823 field book, are indicated, and lettered stations from his 1824 field book. Campsites, marked with a cross, are dated. Reclamation near the mouth of the river has obscured many landmarks mentioned by Oxley. Map drawn by author, 1970.
miles. Just open of the point\textsuperscript{86} on larboard shore. Line of shore, north 265° for three-quarter mile, ridge of stony forest land to this station. The larboard shore has been a tolerable high ridge of forest land,\textsuperscript{87} the starboard shore low and swampy. The river above widens in an elbow to full three-quarter wide, a good three fathoms channel, high peak (Flinders)\textsuperscript{88} north 291\textsuperscript{1\frac{1}{2}}°.

Station 3rd.,\textsuperscript{89} on Rocky Point on Starboard Shore. – A small stream to larboard.\textsuperscript{90} Next station north 156\textsuperscript{2}, two miles, point on southward shore forming a D. North 160°, on [line] with the summit of a high mount\textsuperscript{91} on larboard shore. The soundings to this station from three fathoms in the wide part to ten fathoms in the narrows. The river very beautiful, specs. of rock, Coy. and timber good,\textsuperscript{92} opposite point\textsuperscript{93} low.

Station 4,\textsuperscript{94} on Larboard Shore. – A tree on larboard shore. Next station, north 238° 80 chains. The opposite side low brush land.\textsuperscript{95} This side high, stony land. The water brackish. The depth of water to this station from six to 11 fathoms.

Station 5,\textsuperscript{96} on Larboard Shore – Open forest land, soil sandy, covered with grass, ironbark trees good. Next station on starboard shore under a high ridge, north 330° one and a-quarter mile. The bank of the river this side ends on a forest point.\textsuperscript{97} Opposite shore, low brush.

Station 6,\textsuperscript{98} on Starboard Shore. – Landed on a high, rocky bluff, opposite shore low and open forest, covered with grass. Soundings to this station from five to 11 fathoms. Medium breadth of river between one-fifth and one-sixth of a marine mile. Up to this point, we have found navigable for ships of any size, the water nearly fresh. North 230° 20 chains to a tree on bend of river this side. We dined\textsuperscript{99} at this station and ascended the bank in hopes of recognising some object on the coast, but the timber and brush prevented us. We, however, discovered that we were not in the vicinity of any high land.

\textsuperscript{86} I.e. “just visible past the point”.
\textsuperscript{87} Queensport.
\textsuperscript{88} Not the “High Peak” of Flinders’ chart, but Mt. Samson (2262 feet).
\textsuperscript{89} On Kingsford Smith Drive at Hunt Street, Hamilton. According to Oxley’s report, he climbed Toorak Hill and saw the entrance of the Bay from there.
\textsuperscript{90} Probably Breakfast Creek, but it is to starboard.
\textsuperscript{91} Mt. Gravatt (636 feet).
\textsuperscript{92} I.e. “collected specimens of rock; the country and timber are good”.
\textsuperscript{93} Bulimba.
\textsuperscript{94} Near Wendell Street, Hawthorne.
\textsuperscript{95} New Farm.
\textsuperscript{96} Near Wellington Road, Mowbray Park, East Brisbane.
\textsuperscript{97} Kangaroo Point.
\textsuperscript{98} Just downstream from the Story Bridge, at Collin Parade and Bowen Terrace.
\textsuperscript{99} This meal was taken at about noon.
Station 7.\textsuperscript{100} – Ten fathoms to this station. Larboard shore\textsuperscript{101} rather low. Next station, north 169° 60 chains. On this side the land low and brushy with a few cypress.\textsuperscript{102} The station, a bold perpendicular rock.\textsuperscript{103}

Station 8.\textsuperscript{104} – At foot of high, rocky bank, opposite side, low and brushy. Next station, north 262½° 40 chains, to which open forest land. Soundings to this station from four to 10 fathoms.

Station 9.\textsuperscript{105} – To this station seven to 10 fathoms. Opposite side\textsuperscript{106} low land gradually rising to the next station. On this side the land descends to a low point,\textsuperscript{107} one mile. Next station North 317°, one and a-quarter mile to tree on opposite shore.

Station 10.\textsuperscript{108} – From this station to the next on the same shore, the river forms a magnificent crescent\textsuperscript{109} of two and a-half miles of forest land.\textsuperscript{110} The larboard shore,\textsuperscript{111} a thick brush with some cypress.\textsuperscript{112} Soundings from three and a-half to 11 fathoms. Next station, north 219° two miles. Marks of the tide rising above the point of tide from four to five feet.

Station 11,\textsuperscript{113} on Starboard Side. – Which still continues low, open forest, good grass and iron-bark trees; opposite side,\textsuperscript{114} rich, low brush. Next station on this shore, north 173° 40 chains.

Station 12,\textsuperscript{115} – At this station, the low land on starboard shore commences, having cypress\textsuperscript{116} intermingled with the brush. The next station on larboard shore, north 85° one and a-half miles to a high, rocky bank, being the commencement of the high land on that side. Soundings from the last station, seven to 11 fathoms. River narrows to ten chains.

\textsuperscript{100} Just below the Customs House at Petrie Bight, City.
\textsuperscript{101} Kangaroo Point.
\textsuperscript{102} Hoop pine.
\textsuperscript{103} Station 7.
\textsuperscript{104} At Walmsley Street and River Terrace, Woolloongabba.
\textsuperscript{105} Between Tribune Street and Sidon Street, South Brisbane.
\textsuperscript{106} The Domain.
\textsuperscript{107} At Montague Road, South Brisbane.
\textsuperscript{108} Just downstream from the William Jolly Bridge, at North Quay.
\textsuperscript{109} Milton Reach. In Oxley's map of his 1823 discoveries (Fig. 15) this reach is called “Long Reach”, but on 27 September 1824, his field book described it as “Crescent Reach”.
\textsuperscript{110} Milton and Auchenflower.
\textsuperscript{111} West End.
\textsuperscript{112} Hoop pine.
\textsuperscript{113} Regatta Hotel, at Coronation Drive and Sylvan Road, Toowong. Oxley saw natives here, and referred to this in his field book for 27 September 1824, when he had an encounter with them.
\textsuperscript{114} Hill End.
\textsuperscript{115} Where Sandford Street, St. Lucia, turns south.
\textsuperscript{116} Hoop pine.
Station 13.¹¹⁷ – High, rocky land, Larboard side low thick brush. Soundings from four to 11 fathoms. Next station on this shore, north 135° three-quarter mile, being the termination of forest land, and commencement of brush.

Station 14.¹¹⁸ – To brush on this shore. Four to 10 fathoms to this station. Next station, north 236° one mile, brush on both shores with cypresses.¹¹⁹ At half-past six landed at the termination of the brush on starboard shore on a piece of forest land.¹²⁰ River quite fresh, low water. The tide has a rise of at least five feet and up to this point, a distance of 20 miles, the river is navigable for vessels of any burthen; (a rock midway in river).¹²¹

WEDNESDAY

Calm and sultry. We passed a miserable night, mosquitoes and sandflies almost devoured us. At half-past five, resumed the examination of the river. Landed on high bank starboard shore.

Station 1st.¹²² – North 178° three-quarter mile to a brush same side, opposite all brush land. Five to ten fathoms to this station. Low water 20 minutes to 7 o’clock.

Station 2nd.¹²⁴ – Brush lands. Height above the water about 15 to 20 feet, opposite side brush land. Next station on larboard shore, north 85° one mile. River quarter mile wide and very noble reaches, shores muddy. A large lagoon at this station.

Station 3.¹²⁵ – At a brush on larboard shore. Soundings to this station from five to eight fathoms. Next station on larboard shore to a brush, north 183° three-quarter mile.

Station 4.¹²⁶ – To this station soundings five and six fathoms. River about 30 chains wide, water very muddy. Rich brush land on both sides. Next station on larboard shore north 261° one mile. Much cypress¹²⁷ on larboard shore. Landed and examined the brush. It abounds with noble timber; specimens of two new species we procured: one, a piece of noble dimensions, the other a black, heavy wood of great size. The soil uncommonly rich, from

¹¹⁷ At Derby Street, Highgate Hill. The manuscript appears to read, “High rocky land, opposite side Larboard - thick brush”, but that does not make sense, so the Wright version has been adopted here.

¹¹⁸ Between Fenton Street and Princess Street, Dutton Park.

¹¹⁹ Hoop pine.

¹²⁰ At either Emmanuel College or King’s College, St. Lucia. He stopped here for the night, not continuing to his projected Station 15.

¹²¹ Six Mile Rocks.

¹²² At the western end of The Esplanade, St. Lucia.

¹²³ Yeronga.

¹²⁴ On the north side of Long Pocket.

¹²⁵ Between Astolat Street and Yeronga Street, Yeronga.

¹²⁶ Just downstream from Tennyson power house.

¹²⁷ Hoop pine.
10, 15 to 30 feet above the river. No floods. We also discovered that the
tree which we had hitherto taken for cypress is this new description of
pine, from 100 to 140 feet high.

Station 5. – At the mouth of a small river, which we called Canoe River, being the spot where Parsons and his companions found a canoe in which they went down the river. To the next station, forest land rising back two miles to a lofty ridge. North 308° two miles.

Station 6. – At foot of high bank. To Canoe River, navigable for large ships, afterwards, owing to the great breadth of the river, the water shoaled to two fathoms at low water, but towards this station deepened again to five and six fathoms; opposite side brush. Next station north 246° 40 chains. Saw three natives, evidently strangers to white people.

Station 7. – To this station soundings five to seven fathoms. Next station on starboard shore, north 182½° one and a-half mile, moderate high land.

Station 8. – Soundings five and seven fathoms, forest land. Next station on larboard shore north 143½° one mile.

Station 9. – Rich land on both sides, four to six fathoms. Next station on starboard shore north 189° three-quarter mile.

Station 10. – Five to seven fathoms. Next station rocky bank on larboard shore, north 139° 50 chains. This side rich brush.

Station 11. – Four to eight fathoms. High bank this side between it and next station which is high and rocky. On same side is a brush, pine, etc. North 243° 40 chains.

Station 12. – To this station four to six fathoms. Starboard shore, low brush. This side high and rocky, thin brush to next station. North 313° one mile. Passed 313° and went to a station on starboard shore crossing a reef of rocks, having two fathoms on them, then deepened to five fathoms, the tide rushing over them like a bore.

128 Hoop pine, Araucaria cunninghamii.
129 Oxley Creek.
130 The reach of the Brisbane River here is still called Canoe Reach.
131 Oxley had Finnegan with him at this time, and Finnegan must have pointed out the spot to him. However, Oxley mentioned only Parsons by name; possibly Oxley was still annoyed with Finnegan for leading him up the Pine River.
132 The Taylor Range, including Mt. Coottha.
133 Near Clarence Street, Indooroopilly.
134 Kinloch Street, Indooroopilly.
135 Near Roedean Street, Indooroopilly.
136 Near Ferry Street, Sherwood.
137 At Lone Pine Sanctuary, Fig Tree Pocket.
138 Near Consort Street, Corinda.
139 Cement Company Wharf, Oxley.
140 Fig Tree Pocket.
141 Intended station on larboard shore.
142 Seventeen Mile Rocks.
Station 13.\textsuperscript{143} – On starboard shore. Next station on starboard shore, north 293° one and half mile, three to six fathoms.

Station 14.\textsuperscript{144} – Forest land on starboard shore, brush on larboard. Next station north 256° one and three-quarter mile.

Station 15.\textsuperscript{145} – To this station three to nine fathoms. Reaches fine and broad. Next station to base of sloping, clear hills on larboard shore, north 179° one mile.

Station 16.\textsuperscript{146} – Three to nine fathoms to this station. Fine clear hill, then commences low. Opposite side fine, rich, forest land. Small apple tree (\textit{angophora}). Next station north 254° to base of rocky hill on starboard shore two and a-quarter miles. Natives.

Station 17. – To larboard shore. Soundings to this station three to eight fathoms; fine forest land on both sides. Timber, chiefly eucalyptus and apple tree. Next station on larboard shore, north 153\textdegree\ 1/4° one mile.

Station 18. – To this station, soundings from three to seven fathoms. Good forest flat on both sides, hills low. Next station on starboard shore, north 242° one mile.

Station 19.\textsuperscript{147} – On starboard shore. Soundings three to nine fathoms; high, flat bank of rich land. Next station, north 125° one mile. Ascended the bank. The country very open and generally to be called quite level, the inequality being very slight, no high land in any quarter. The soil a rich, sandy loam; gum and apple trees.

Station 20.\textsuperscript{148} – Soundings various from three to eight fathoms. A shoal in middle of river. On this side begins low brush land, opposite side gentle rising of open land to a small brush. Next station, north 215° one and a-quarter mile.

Station 21.\textsuperscript{149} – Five to seven fathoms. River narrows, brush on both sides, the larboard shore the lowest. At end of the next station, the land rises, and is to that station higher brush land. Flood tide still continues, and hills, none of moderate elevation visible, nor anything resembling rapids or denoting a mountainous source; no sign whatever of flood. [Next station] north 152° one and a-quarter mile.

\textsuperscript{143} Near Seventeen Mile Rocks.

\textsuperscript{144} At Centenary Bridge, Kenmore. This reach was named “Mermaid Reach” on Oxley’s map, after the cutter on which Oxley had come from Sydney. The reach still bears this name.

\textsuperscript{145} Near the mouth of Moggill Creek.

\textsuperscript{146} At the base of Mt. Ommaney, which Oxley named the Green Hill in his field book for 3 December 1823. See text at Note 164.

\textsuperscript{147} At Birkin Road, Moggill.

\textsuperscript{148} Near the mouth of Wolston Creek, Darra.

\textsuperscript{149} At Ellerby Road, Moggill.
Station 22.\textsuperscript{150} – High flat of rich land on this starboard side. Opposite side low and brushy, rising to a low hill. Next station, north 124° three-quarter mile. Great abundance of kurrajong\textsuperscript{151} and various climbing plants in full flower under. The river scenery very beautiful. Passed an island.\textsuperscript{152} All on the right a level country, iron-bark trees. Country good.

Station 23.\textsuperscript{153} – High, hilly bank to the end of next station on larboard side, then begins brush. Opposite shore,\textsuperscript{154} low flat of rich land with very large gum trees near the water side. Soundings from two fathoms to three and a-half. Breadth of river uniform.

North 166° three-quarter mile.\textsuperscript{155} Landed on the starboard shore, a rich flat.\textsuperscript{156} The flood tide being down above an hour (high water half-past one), and the men extremely fatigued with rowing eight hours under a burning sun. Soundings three to seven fathoms and an indication of a rise at times above the line of the river of about seven feet. The force of the ebb and current not equal to the flood. Every appearance indicates that the river may continue navigable to as great a distance as we have hitherto come. It is remarkable that the tide here should nearly equal in height the Bay tide.

After taking refreshments, landed on the larboard shore and ascended a small hill.\textsuperscript{157} poor land, good timber.

Bend of river up – north 262° one and a-half mile, then turns southerly.\textsuperscript{158} A distant mountain which I take to be in the vicinity of Mt. Warning,\textsuperscript{159} if not the mount itself, north 178°, distant 25 or 30 miles. Round from this point to the north-west, I should consider the country to decline in elevation rather than otherwise. It appeared, in fact, an immense extended plain of which no great portion was visible, the point of view being little elevated.

\textsuperscript{150} On Prior’s Pocket, opposite the middle of Cockatoo Island.
\textsuperscript{151} Hibiscus heterophyllus. See Uniacke, Narrative, 29 November – 6 December 1823; Oxley, Field Books, 3 December 1823; Cunningham, Journal, 17 September 1824.
\textsuperscript{152} Cockatoo Island, which Oxley referred to as Termination Island in his field book for 26 September 1824.
\textsuperscript{153} Near Wolston Park Hospital, Goodna.
\textsuperscript{154} Prior’s Pocket, which Oxley referred to as Termination Plains in Fig. 15 and in his field book for 18 September 1824.
\textsuperscript{155} Station 24, on the larboard shore, is referred to again on 19 September 1824 (Field Books, Note 22).
\textsuperscript{156} South-eastern end of Prior’s Pocket.
\textsuperscript{157} In the grounds of Wolston Park Hospital; called Termination Hill in Fig. 15 and in Oxley’s report, 29 November – 6 December, at Note 194.
\textsuperscript{158} Actually it turns northerly.
\textsuperscript{159} In his report (29 November – 6 December 1823, near Note 197), Oxley revised his opinion and suggested that this mountain may be the “High Peak” of Flinders; however Flinders Peak bears 193° at 15 miles, and at 178° the horizon is only 8 miles distant.
above the country around. The hill might be about 120 feet above the water.\textsuperscript{160} The only hills of six or eight hundred feet in height were those we had passed to the northward. This appearance of the country, the slowness of the current and depth of water induce me to conclude that the river will be found navigable for vessels of burden to a very considerable distance, probably, at the least, 50 miles.

I cannot help entertaining a strong belief that this is no river having its source in mountain streams. I see none to give them. On the contrary, my opinion is strongly in favour of its deriving its source in an interior lake. Whichever turns out to be the case, it is by far the largest river in New South Wales and promises to be of the utmost importance to the colony from the very fertile country it passes through, affording the means of water communication with the sea to a vast extent of country, the greater portion of which is capable of producing the richest productions of the tropics.

Examined the country to the south-east,\textsuperscript{161} a gently undulating forest country of good soil and timber, declining in low valleys towards the south, the peak\textsuperscript{162} of a mountain being the only elevated land in the direction from north-east to south. I had not contemplated such a discovery, and was therefore totally unprovided with the present means of ascertaining how much further the river was navigable. We were about 70 miles from the vessel and our provisions were only calculated for the present day. The entrance of the river was also to be sounded and its positions fixed, as also a large island (near the entrance which from a cursory view, I was induced to think might prove eligible as a primary place of settlement) required to be examined.\textsuperscript{163}

I therefore determined to return down the river as far as the Green Hill,\textsuperscript{164} and afterwards to proceed to determine such points as are mentioned above, the great object of a large navigable river, having its source in the interior, being ascertained.

Other points seemed of minor consequence, besides, its extent of course westerly could be ascertained very readily at a period when more time could be devoted to an object of such importance.\textsuperscript{165}

\begin{footnotesize}
\begin{enumerate}
\item The hill is 160 feet above sea level.
\item In his report (29 November – 6 December 1823, near Note 199), Oxley states that he went a few miles to the south-east.
\item In his report (29 November – 6 December 1823, near Note 199), he identifies this with the mountain there taken to be the “High Peak” of Flinders.
\item Gibson Island.
\item Mt. Ommaney. According to the report (29 November – 6 December 1823, near Note 200) they camped there.
\item On his return to Moreton Bay in September 1824, Oxley’s first desire was to continue his exploration of the Brisbane River.
\end{enumerate}
\end{footnotesize}
THURSDAY

4TH DECEMBER

Peak of Flinders, \(193^\circ\).

Apparent course of river, 258° or 246°.

Distance, 25 miles.

Murdoch’s Peak, \(200^\circ\).

Another lower peak, \(196^\circ\).

Of these bearings Mt. Warning\(^{167}\) rose like a huge atlas over the surrounding country, the range of which it is the nucleus gradually losing itself to the west.

From south to north-west we scarcely saw a hill, and we could have seen any within 50 or 60 miles.

Descended the river. Examined the right bank near the end of Sea Reach.\(^{171}\) Fresh water and tolerable land, passed through between the island\(^{172}\) having two fathoms at low water shortly deep to three and a-half. This channel, though narrow, seems the best. Other channels may be found however, as the river is very wide.

It was dark when we got to the entrance of the river. We could not land on any part of the mainland for mangroves and mud banks. We were forced to take up our residence on a mangrove island, covered by the tide at spring tides.\(^{173}\) We had scarce pitched the tents on this bank before we had a very heavy storm of wind and rain, with thunder and lightning, which lasted about two hours, wetting us and added to the comforts of innumerable hosts of mosquitoes.

FRIDAY

DECEMBER

Calm and clear. Took the following bearings to determine the entrance of the river.

5TH Point A up, 217\(\frac{1}{2}\)^\(\circ\).\(^{174}\)

Extreme of the point of mainland\(^{175}\) opposite starboard channel\(^{176}\) from 15 to 20 chains wide, shoal one mile from point to point: 212\(\frac{1}{2}\)^\(\circ\) to 87°.

\(^{166}\) According to the report (29 November – 6 December 1823, near Note 200) the following bearings were taken from the top of Mt. Ommaney.

\(^{167}\) Originally this read “Mt. Warning”, but the mountain was indeed Flinders Peak, and Oxley corrected his field book later.


\(^{169}\) Mt. Blaine, 1498 feet.

\(^{170}\) Actually Flinders Peak.

\(^{171}\) See also Oxley’s report (near Note 189), and his field book for 16 September 1824. The name also appeared on Barron Field’s version of Fig. 15. It is now known as Hamilton Reach and Quarries Reach.

\(^{172}\) Gibson Island.

\(^{173}\) A spit extending south-west from Fisherman Island (the larger of the Fisherman Islands).

\(^{174}\) The same as “Point A”, Station 1st, 2 December 1823.

\(^{175}\) Actually not mainland, but Whyte Island.

\(^{176}\) The Boat Passage, between Whyte Island and Fisherman Island.
Fig. 17. H.M. Cutter "Mermaid", from a watercolour by P. Stanhope Hobday (1879–1951), in the library of the Royal Historical Society of Queensland, Newstead House, Brisbane.

South extreme of Inner Concealment Island, 177 two and a-quarter miles: 87°.
North extreme of Inner Concealment Island, one and a-half miles; This small island 178 connected with it by dry sand shoal: 33°. 179
North extreme of North Concealment Island, 180 distant about two and three-quarter miles: 22°.
Point Uniack, 181 being the west point two miles of entrance and east point of a low mangrove island close to sand spit: 182 3°. West extreme of [that island], three-quarter mile long; 356°.
West point of low mangrove island, 278° one mile. 183

177 Fisherman Island.
178 The campsite.
179 This was the direction of the shoal towards Fisherman Island.
180 The northernmost of the Fisherman Islands.
181 Luggage Point.
182 The meaning of the foregoing is: "Point Uniack, distant two miles, is both the west side of the entrance to the river, and also the east point of a low mangrove island with a sand spit extending from the point". The island is shown in Oxley's chart (Fig. 15).
183 This island, shown in Oxley's chart, was directly across the river from the campsite.
REPORT OF AN EXPEDITION TO SURVEY PORT CURTIS, MORETON BAY, AND PORT BOWEN

I therefore returned to the Southward and, entering Moreton Bay on the 29th November, anchored the cutter close to Point Skirmish at the entrance of Pumice Stone River.

Pumice Stone River had been so thoroughly examined and well described by Captain Flinders, that conceiving it would answer no useful purpose to go over the same ground, and aware that the West Shore of Moreton Bay had been but cursorily examined, I determined to trace it entirely round in the hope to find in such an extensive Inlet some opening which would render an apparently fine surrounding country of more utility and value than it would otherwise be, if the accounts of the scarcity of fresh water in this Bay were correct.

Our first day’s Survey terminated a little above Red Cliff Point. The Shores were in general low and covered with Mangroves, off which extend considerable Mud Flats dry at low water; but to this remark the Shores in the vicinity of Red Cliff Point are an exception. The channel is here deep within a short distance of the Shore, and boats can land at any time of tide. The Country is open forest land of inferior quality; a few miles to the west the country again becomes low and is apparently wet, but it soon rises into open forest hills of good appearance. There was no want of permanent fresh water, but not in Streams, and in one Inlet, marked “B” navigable for Boats, is abundance of good timber of the Eucalyptus Species, and also great quantities of pine.

Early on the Second day (Decr. 2nd), in pursuing our examination, we had the Satisfaction to find the tide sweeping us up a considerable Inlet, opening between the first Mangrove Island and the Mainland. The muddiness and taste of the water, together with the abundance of fresh water Mollusca, assured us we were entering a large River, and a few hours ended our anxiety on that point by the water becoming perfectly fresh, while no diminution had taken place in the Size of the River, after passing what I have called “Sea Reach.”

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184 By John Oxley; the extract given here begins about half-way through the report, dated 10 January 1824.
185 Oxley landed there on 5 December 1823, after exploring the Brisbane River (Report, 29 November – 6 December 1823).
186 The Pine River.
187 On the chart accompanying the report, but not shown on Fig. 15.
188 Hoop pine.
189 After being misled by Finnegan on the previous day, Oxley must have wondered if there really was a large river such as the castaways had described.
Our progress up the river was necessarily retarded by the Necessity we were under of making a running Survey during our passage. At Sunset we had proceeded about 20 miles by the River; the Scenery was peculiarly beautiful; the country on the Banks alternately hilly and level, but not flooded; the Soil of the finest description of Brushwood land, on which grew Timber of great magnitude, and of various Species, some of which were unknown to us, among others a magnificent Species of Pine was in great abundance. The Timber on the hills was also good, and to the S.E. a little distance from the River were several brushes or forests of the Cupressus Australis of very large size.

Up to this Point, the River was navigable for vessels not drawing more than 16 feet water; the Tide rose about five feet, being the same as at the entrance. The next day, the examination was resumed and with increased satisfaction we proceeded about 30 miles further, no diminution having taken place either in the breadth or depth of the River, except in one place, for the extent of about 30 yards, a ridge of detached rocks extending across, having no more than 12 feet on them at high water. From this point to Termination Hill, the River continued of nearly uniform size, the country on either side of a Very Superior description and equally well adapted for cultivation or grazing, the timber abundant and fit for all the purposes of domestic use or exportation. The Pine trees, if they should prove of good quality, were of a Scantling Sufficient for the topmasts of large Ships, some measured upwards of 30 inches in diameter, and from 50 to 80 feet without a branch.

The Boat's Crew were so exhausted by their continued exertions under a vertical sun, that I was reluctantly compelled to relinquish my intention of proceeding to the termination of Tidewater at this time. At this place, the tide rose about 4 feet 6 inches, the force of the Ebb tide and current united being little greater than the Flood tide, a proof of its flowing through a very level country. Having concluded upon terminating at this Point the examination of the River (being 70 miles from the Vessel and our Stock of provisions expended, not having anticipated such a discovery), I landed on the South Shore for the purpose of examining the surrounding Country. On ascending a low hill rising about 25 feet above the level of the River, we saw a distant

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190 Hoop pine.
191 Bribie Island pine.
192 The end of the first day's journey up the river, i.e. St. Lucia.
193 Seventeen Mile Rocks.
194 At Wolston Park Hospital, Goodna.
195 Size.
196 In the field book, he has 120 feet; the hill is actually 160 feet above sea level. 25 feet is possibly an error for 125 feet. A1194 and Barron Field both have 250 feet, evidently an attempt to correct an obvious mistake.
Mountain (which I conjectured to be the High Peak of Captain Flinders) bearing S. 1½ E., dis’t from 25 to 30 miles. Round from this point; to the N.W. the Country declined considerably in elevation, and had much the appearance of an immense extended Plains, of low and undulating hills and Vales, well but not heavily wooded, the only elevations of magnitude were some Hills 700 or 800 feet high, which we had passed to the Northward. The appearance and formation of the Country, the slowness of the Current even at Ebb tide and depth of water, induce me to conclude that the River will be found navigable for vessels of Burden to a much greater distance, probably not less than 50 miles. There was no appearance of the River being even occasionally flooded, no mark being found more than 7 feet above the level which is little more than would be caused by the Flood Tide at High Water forcing back any unusual accumulation of waters in Rainy Seasons.

A consideration of all the Circumstances connected with the Appearance of the River justify me in entertaining a Strong belief that the Sources of this River will not be found in a mountainous country, most probably from some large collection of Interior Waters, the reservoir of those Streams crossed by me during an expedition of discovery in 1818, and which had a northerly Course; whatever may be its origin, it is by far the largest fresh water River on the Eastern Coast of New South Wales, and promises to be of the utmost importance to the Colony, as, besides affording a water Communication with the Southern Countries bordering upon Liverpool Plains, it waters a vast extent of Country, a great portion of which appeared to me Capable of Supporting the Cultivation of the richest production of the Tropics. I afterwards proceeded a few miles to the S.E. from the River through a gently broken Country of good Soil, declining in elevation towards the South, the High Peak before mentioned being the only remarkable eminence from N.E., to South.

As the position of the entrance of the River was still to be fixed and the channel examined, I lost no time returning down the River with the Ebb Tide, and I stopped for the Night at the base of Green Hills, the highest of which was ascended the next morning and the view from it more extensive than I anticipated. The high coast range, of which Mt. Warning is the nucleus, appeared gradually to lose itself westward and with the exception

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197 This mountain cannot be identified; see Oxley, Field Books, 3 December 1823, Note 159.
198 The Taylor Range rises to 939 feet. On Oxley’s map (Fig. 15) this range is called the Glenmorrison Range.
199 In 1818 Oxley had discovered the Castlereagh River, and the tributaries of the Namoi River at Liverpool Plains; these flow northwards.
200 Oxley began to look for Mt. Warning in the McPherson Range, and imagined it to be the highest mountain visible in that direction.
of the Peak before mentioned, and which appears to be the termination of the North extreme of the Mt. Warning Range, there was scarcely an elevation above the ordinary level of the Country to be seen; if any such range of Hills had place within 50 or 60 miles, it could not have escaped observation.

So much time was spent in the examination of the Country about Sea Reach that it was quite dark when we got to the entrance of the River, which, out of respect to His Excellency the Governor under whose orders this Bay was examined, was now honoured with the name of Brisbane River. The whole of the next day was spent in Sounding the entrance and traversing the Country in the vicinity of Red Cliff Point; and we did not reach the Vessel until late in the night of the 5th Decr., amply gratified in the discovery of this important River, as we sanguinely anticipated the most beneficial consequences as likely to result to the Colony by the formation of a Settlement on its Banks.

I feel it impossible to enter into a nautical description of so extensive an Inlet as Moreton Bay. The draft given of it by Capt. Flinders is, so far as it comprehends the Tract passed over by him, extremely correct; it does not profess to be a Survey of the whole Bay, and there are so many Sand banks separated by deep water channels of various depths and magnitudes that it would require many months to make a complete Marine Survey of it, and which after all would prove of little Service unless the different channels were buoyed. I do not think, however, that there would be any great difficulty in taking a Ship, whose draft of water does not exceed 18 feet, as high as Red Cliff Point. Above this point to the entrance into Brisbane River, the Channels would require to be well ascertained before Ships of large burthen could proceed. There is, however, no great danger, as the Shoals are of soft mud and the water quite smooth. A narrow Bank of land appeared to me to extend across from Cape Moreton at the entrance of the Bay to the Mainland. On this Bank, I did not find more than 3 fms. at low water; but, as the distance across is full 12 miles, many deeper channels may have escaped my observation.

Pumice Stone River affords good anchorage for vessels not drawing more than 12 feet water, and the best Channel to enter by will be found close to the main land. There is plenty of fresh water in the Vicinity of Point Skirmish close to the beach; and although the Soil is poor and Sandy, the Country is covered with good timber. Among other Species the Cupressus Australis is the most abundant. It may be procured of considerable size, readily shipped, and appears well adapted to most of the purposes connected with building.

Should it be deemed expedient to establish a Settlement in Moreton Bay, the Country in the vicinity of Red Cliff Point offers the best Site for an
Establishment in the first instance;\textsuperscript{201} it is centrical in the Bay, and there is no difficulty in effecting a landing at all times of Tide, though the Soil immediately on the Sea Shore is but indifferent. A communication can easily be opened with the Interior; it is about 10 miles to the north of the Entrance into Brisbane River, and must be passed by all Vessels intending to enter it. Red Cliff Point must, however, be viewed as being better adapted for a Military Post and Depot for Stores than as the Site of a Principal Settlement; the Brisbane River presents so many superior situations that, although a Post here may be indispensable, I think a permanent Settlement would be most advantageously formed on the West Side of the River at the termination of Sea Reach.\textsuperscript{202} The River here is not fresh, but there is plenty of fresh water. The Country is open, and no obstacles exist from Swamps or hills to prevent a ready Communication with the Interior either by the River itself or at a distance from it. From a hill \textsuperscript{203} near this last Station the entrance of the Bay can be seen; and by clearing away a few trees, a communication by Signal may be held with Red Cliff Point. The ground is dry, the Soil good, and it receives the full force of the Sea breeze.

The Bay abounds with fish of all descriptions common to this part of the Coast. The Natives, in the intercourse we had with them, appeared to possess a most friendly disposition. They are very numerous, and are to a certain extent Superior in their domestic habits to the Savages inhabiting the more Southern coasts. For a more detailed description of these people, I beg to refer you to my Journal.\textsuperscript{204}

There are Several Islands in the upper part of Moreton Bay, to the Southward of the Entrance into the Brisbane River, two of which are formed of good dry Soil with water on them;\textsuperscript{205} The others are mere mangrove

\textsuperscript{201} This was carried out in 1824 (Field Books, 13 September 1824).

\textsuperscript{202} The place Oxley recommended was near the mouth of Breakfast Creek. Field's version adds, "The water is deep close to the shore, and vessels of considerable burthen could load or unload close to the bank." See Governor Brisbane and Oxley, November 1824, Note 172.

\textsuperscript{203} Toorak Hill (200 feet) at Hamilton.

\textsuperscript{204} Barron Field \textit{(op. cit., p. 22)} interpolates: "I beg to refer you to the information obtained by Mr. Uniacke during my absence from the vessel, and which is appended to the accompanying Journal." Oxley's journal, which has sometimes been regarded as a lost document, should therefore be identified with Uniacke's "Narrative of Mr. Oxley's Expedition". The information about the natives, which Oxley said was "appended" to the Journal, was apparently inserted into the main body of the Journal by Barron Field when he edited it to become the "Narrative of Mr. Oxley's Expedition".

\textsuperscript{205} Probably St. Helena and Coochie Mudlo. Oxley did not explore these himself, so is relying here on information gathered by another boat party, led perhaps by the mate of the "Mermaid", who had been similarly active at Port Curtis.
Swamps. We had little opportunity of making any nautical additions to the Charts of Captain Flinders. We however discovered that the land of Point Lookout is an Island, and that Moreton Bay extends as far South as Lat. 28 S., where it communicates with the Sea by a Shoal Channel through a Sandy beach navigable for Boats. We had also the Satisfaction to ascertain that the waters having their Source in the high lands of Mt. Warning, formed a considerable Stream, the entrance into which is close to Point Danger; Across which there is a Bar having 12 feet on it at half tide, there may be probably 14 feet at high water. I had not time to proceed up this River beyond a few miles; Sufficiently far, however, to perceive that the River had its source to the Westward of Mt. Warning. The Country on the Banks appeared to be good and abounded with useful timber. I consider the Knowledge of this River useful in establishing the point that the Brisbane River does not receive its waters from the lofty ranges of the Sea coast, and as the course of that River had been already traced beyond the N.W. extreme of the Coast ranges, it appeared still more probable that it derived its supply from some part of the S.W. Interior.

From the observations of others, joined to my own limited experience of the winds and weather on this Coast, I think that considerable difficulty will be experienced by vessels bound to the northward from the months of October to February. To the North of Break Sea Spit, the N.E. Wind (varying occasionally to the S.E.) prevails during those months, blowing in Strong Gales; to the Southward of Break Sea Spit the Winds are more variable, being much influenced by the direction of the Coast which to that Point trends nearly North and South. The currents to the South of Break Sea Spit, at a distance of 15 or 20 miles from the Shore, Set Strong to the South; near the Shore there is little current, and I have then found it occasionally setting to the North. In order to make a good passage to the Northward during the Summer Season, I would recommend Vessels to keep the land close on board. There are no hidden dangers, and besides being out

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206 The boat exploring the bay went as far south as the Southport bar. Oxley later forgot that "the land of Point Lookout is an island", and on 9 October 1824 he referred to Amity Point on Stradbroke Island as the mainland (C246 in the Mitchell Library); yet Cunningham's journal for October 1824 states: "On the former visit of Mr. Oxley in December last, this opening [the south end of the Bay] was examined in a partial manner, when it was discovered to open out again to seaward, about 20 miles to the northward of Pt. Danger of Captain Cook, thereby making the land of Pt. Lookout of insulated character". (SZ 9 in the Archives Office of New South Wales.) The name of Stradbroke Island was bestowed by Governor Darling on 16 July 1827, in honour of the visit of Captain J.H. Rous, son of the Earl of Stradbroke.

207 The Tweed River.

208 According to Uniacke, 4 miles.
of the Strength of the Current, considerable advantage is obtained by being within the influence of the Land Winds, which commonly blow off it during the night. During the Winter and Spring months the winds will be found variable, but blowing more frequently from the West and N.W. than any other quarter. As an example of the general tendency and Set of the Currents, the following facts may be adduced. A log of Cedar with a Staple in it was found on the Sea Shore of Moreton Island, which must have floated either from Newcastle or Port Macquarie; and on the same Island a cask and part of a New Zealand Canoe were recognised as having belonged to the *Echo* Whaler, which ship was cast away on Wreck Reef about three years ago. Those Articles must have come from an opposite direction to the log of Cedar. On my return from Moreton Bay, keeping at a distance of 12 or 14 miles from the Coast, the Vessel was set 58 miles to the South in 22 hours, and a current of nearly equal strength accelerated our return from Port Macquarie to Sydney. The existence of a strong Southerly current at this Season of the year, and the situation of its greatest strength with respect to the Coast, are points tolerably well known to the Masters of Vessels sailing out of this Port.

I have the honor to transmit herewith a daily Journal of my proceedings, together with a corrected map of Moreton Bay, including Brisbane River, and also some alterations in the Coast line about Point Danger; the alterations and additions are coloured Red; detached drafts of the Inlets in the Vicinity of Port Curtis also accompany this Report.

From Lieut. Stirling of the Buffs, who accompanied me by direction of His Excellency, I derived the greatest assistance, and it is principally owing to his skill in the rapid and accurate delineation of the surface of the portions of Country we examined, that we were enabled to complete the Service described in this Report, in so short a space of time.
As a result of Oxley's favourable report on his expedition of 1823 to Moreton Bay, Governor Brisbane decided to establish a settlement there. Under a Commandant, Lieutenant Henry Miller of the 40th Regiment, an advance party of fourteen soldiers and about thirty convicts left Sydney in the Government brig "Amity" on 1 September 1824. In command of the ship was John Oxley, who was responsible for selecting a site for the settlement, and for charting the environment. In Oxley's party were Allan Cunningham, the King's Botanist, and Robert Hoddle, the surveyor.

Immediately on arrival at Moreton Bay, Oxley located the castaway Richard Parsons at Bribie Island. He selected a site for a settlement at Redcliffe and began to map the Redcliffe Peninsula, but soon delegated to Hoddle this task, and also the work of sounding and mapping the South Passage.

On 17 September Oxley, Cunningham, and Lieutenant Butler set out in two boats to explore the Brisbane River above the point reached in 1823. During the journey up the river, they camped on successive nights at Breakfast Creek (hence the name of the creek), near Mt. Ommaney, and opposite Fairy Bower (3 miles downstream from College's Crossing). About a mile upstream from College's Crossing they established a base camp from 20 to 25 September, and during this period the following excursions were made on foot:

1. Oxley, Cunningham, and Butler walked to Pine Mountain, where Cunningham identified the hoop pine as a species of *Araucaria*.

2. Oxley and Butler climbed Mt. Crosby (Oxley's Belle Vue Mountain), and took the bearings of Flinders Peak, Mt. Barney, Wilson's Peak, Mt. Edwards, Mt. Walker, and Mt. England.

3. Oxley and Cunningham climbed Mt. Crosby, walked upstream to Sapling Pocket, climbed a nearby hill (Oxley's Mt. Araucaria) from which they observed the Marburg Range, and bivouaced at Sapling Pocket. Next day they returned to their base camp via Mt. Crosby.

On 25 September they began to return down the river in the boats, camping during this journey at the mouth of the Bremer River, near Cockatoo Island, and at Toowong, reaching the brig at Redcliffe late on 28 September.

They remained in the Redcliffe area until 5 October, and after visiting Peel Island, Dunwich, and Amity Point, they left for Sydney on 10 October, the "Amity" being the first ship to use the South Passage.
BIOGRAFICAL DETAILS

Allan Cunningham had been assistant to the manager of the Royal Botanical Gardens at Kew in England. In 1816 he arrived in Sydney with the position of His Majesty's Botanical Collector, at the age of twenty-five. He was a member of Oxley's 1817 expedition to the Lachlan, and travelled with Captain P. P. King on his surveys of the Australian coast.

Although primarily a botanist, he became equally proficient as an explorer. He led an expedition from Bathurst to Liverpool Plains in 1823, and expeditions in south Queensland in 1827, 1828, and 1829. During that 1828 expedition he discovered the gap that bears his name, and in 1829 he mapped the Brisbane River to its source.

He returned to Kew in 1831, but became Colonial Botanist of New South Wales in 1837, and died in Sydney in 1839, at the age of forty-eight.

SOURCES

The first document in this chapter is taken from Oxley's field books, the original manuscripts of which are in the Mitchell Library, C246; and the Archives Office of New South Wales, 2/8093 (formerly Mitchell Library, C257–262). The text, which has been taken only from C246, has previously been published in a version edited by H. Wright,1 to whom acknowledgment is due; however the present edition removes the remaining obscurities.

The second document is an extract from Cunningham's private journal; the original manuscript is in the Archives Office of New South Wales, SZ9 (formerly Mitchell Library, A1746). This has not been previously published, although a part of it was prepared for publication by the late R. C. Hamilton of Warwick, whose work facilitated the present editing. The journal was compiled by Cunningham from his field books, which are in the Archives Office of New South Wales, SZ15–33, and of these, SZ20 (formerly Mitchell Library, C735) has a more accurate account than the journal, revealing that one day's events (27 September) have been omitted from the journal.

Further quotations from Cunningham's writings, given as footnotes to this chapter, are taken from (1) a letter to the Reverend J. D. Lang, 20 October 1824 (Mitchell Library, A2226), and (2) a letter to Charles Telfair, quoted by Ida Lee Marriott.2

The chapter concludes with an account of Governor Brisbane's visit to Moreton Bay, escorted by Oxley, in November 1824. It is taken from the Sydney Gazette, Thursday, 9 December 1824.

THE CHOICE OF THE SITE OF BRISBANE

The first settlement on the Brisbane River, established in the autumn of 1825, was along William Street. Who chose this site, and when, has been long debated.

Oxley has usually been credited with the choice of the site of Brisbane Town. However it now seems that while he recommended several places as sites, he did not choose the site finally adopted.

1 Historical Society of Queensland Journal, II (October 1925), 137–57.
“Many superior situations” on the river had appealed to Oxley, and the process by which he narrowed his choice can be traced in his field books of 1823 and 1824, and his report on the 1823 expedition.

His initial choice was Gibson Island (3 December 1823), which he proceeded to examine at some length (4 December). Although he found the water good and the land tolerable, he was evidently not entirely happy with this choice, and in his report to Governor Brisbane he recommended instead a site in the vicinity of Breakfast Creek and Toorak Hill. However, when camping there in 1824 (16 September), in a time of severe drought, he failed to find any fresh water. He later found some water (28 September) at “a chain of ponds watering a fine valley”, and described the place as “by no means an ineligible station for a first settlement up the river”. T. C. Truman has convincingly argued that the place referred to was Frew Park, Milton. The incident has sometimes been construed as the discovery of the site of Brisbane.

Oxley and Governor Brisbane visited the Brisbane River in November 1824, and decided upon the Breakfast Creek site as the place for the settlement.

The settlement was moved to the Brisbane River between March and July 1825; not to the site chosen by Oxley and the Governor, but to William Street. The responsibility for this choice probably lay with the Commandant, Lieutenant Henry Miller, assisted by John Gray, the pilot at Port Jackson, who had been sent to Moreton Bay to move the settlement.

In September 1825, Lockyer visited Brisbane Town, and on his return to Sydney recommended that the town be again moved. Captain Bishop, who was Commandant from August 1825 to March 1826, replied in defence of the William Street site: “The ground is well elevated, dry and contiguous to the fresh water, and Sir Thomas Brisbane and Mr. Oxley, when they visited this place, pointed this spot out as the most eligible situation for the settlement.” However Bishop was probably mistaken; the site of Brisbane Town had been chosen by Henry Miller.

THE MAGNETIC VARIATION IN 1824

As mentioned in the previous chapter, it is necessary to know the magnetic variation in order to relate Oxley’s compass bearings to modern maps. For 1823 it was estimated to have been close to 10° east of true north.

For 1824, the variation was again estimated by comparing certain of Oxley’s compass bearings with modern maps. In particular, the most readily identifiable of his bearings are those from Mt. Crosby towards Mt. Edwards, Mt. Walker, and Flinders Peak. As a result, the variation was found to have been about 10.5° E.

This change in the variation between 1823 and 1824 is unexpectedly large; perhaps the “change” was really in the zero setting of the compass that Oxley used.

3 T.C. Truman, Courier-Mail (Brisbane), 6 May 1950.
4 Sydney Gazette, 9 December 1824. The article is given in full at the end of this chapter.
SATURDAY The wind blowing fresh from the south, with a flood tide, weighed from SEPTEMBER under Cape Moreton, and stood along the extensive shoal that runs off from the N.W. point of Moreton Island. The sea broke very heavily on this spit, and we frequently had breakers in five fathoms. I think it extends farther to the N.W. than is laid down in the sketch by Captain Flinders. After rounding this reef we worked to windward between it and the main in a very excellent channel with a smooth sea, though outside the spit there was a very heavy swell from the east. At noon, falling calm with the ebb tide, we anchored in six and a-half fathoms, distance off the Main about a mile, and observed the latitude, 27° 00' 37" south.

After dinner the whale boat was lowered down, and I proceeded in her for our old station in Pumice Stone River for the purpose of seeing if the bottle which was left near the wooding place in my former voyage had been removed. It had been left for the purpose of informing Mr. Parsons, the remaining man of the unfortunate boat’s crew wrecked here in 1823 (March), that a vessel had been here during his absence, and that his two companions had quitted the coast. I confess I was by no means sanguine that this man survived, it will be recollected he had quitted his companions and proceeded singly towards the north, labouring under the delusion that he was to the south of Sydney. He had taken a northward direction near 12 months ago, and, considering the nature of the population and the privations he must necessarily suffer from want of food, etc., the chances were that he no longer existed. It was therefore with feelings of the most pleasing description that among the group on the beach on landing the first man was recognised as our long lost countryman, and close by him the venerable old man so often mentioned as the kind protector of Pamphlet, and Parsons appeared in very good condition, being a stout, powerful man. At first he expressed himself very imperfectly in his native language from long disuse. He was too much agitated and overcome by his deliverance to give very clear answers to the numerous questions put to him. I defer to moments of calmer recollection

6 Actually 11 September 1824.
7 See Parsons’ story at the end of Chapter 5. Cunningham (SZ9) wrote: “On his return to this Bay, [Parsons] was shown by the natives the bottle that had meanwhile been left for him. From its enclosed letter he could derive no information, inasmuch as he was unable to read; and as he was also almost entirely ignorant of the language of the natives, he could gather no clear or certain information of what description of vessel had in his interval of absence arrived, that he felt satisfied had snatched his comrades from these forbidding shores... On the arrival of the Amity at this time, he had anxiously waited a month for the occasion of return to Port Jackson.”
8 Actually they were wrecked in April 1823.
detailing the narration of his adventures after he quitted his companions on his northern trip. When Parsons was about to get into the boat the old man, his kind protector, evinced the strongest marks of attachment towards him; and could not be persuaded he would ever see him again. After we left the beach he followed us for some time alone, and waved many an adieu. There might be perhaps from 30 to 40 natives collected at the wooding place. I recognised many I had seen in December last, and the recognition was mutual; they appeared as friendly and harmless as before experienced; in truth, their treatment of the shipwrecked seamen affords the best proof that their hearts at least are not very savage. Owing to a strong flood tide, it was nearly 11 o’clock before we returned on board. During the night the weather calm and clear.

**SUNDAY**

Light winds from the west and south-west; at 8, weighed with the flood tide, and worked to the southward in a good and wide channel, the deepest water 13 fathoms, and shoaling gradually to the sandbanks bounding the channel. Sent the sailing barge into Pumice Stone River for water.9 At noon, being calm, anchored in six fathoms, sandy bottom. Sent the whaleboat to sound the channel we were in. At half-past one the boat returned; found we were in the best channel; the boat sounded several times across the sand shoal laying between us and Moreton Island; the least water in crossing, 18 feet. Crossed in other places having not less than three fathoms; this, however, was at high water. The sand shoal is very narrow; on the eastern side the water deepens to nine fathoms. At noon, observed the lat. 27° 5’ 15”.

At half-past one, the wind springing up from the east, weighed and made sail. The ebb tide making strong against us, we were set into the bend of the sand shoal to the westward of us; we passed over the tail of this shoal in two fathoms, the breadth of the shoal being about the one-eighth of a mile, the sand laying in narrow ridges about the length of the vessel in breadth; on these ridges the water was two fathoms, and then deepened to three fathoms to the next ridge. We passed over four or five of these ridges before we got into the proper channel again, when the water deepened to five fathoms. Observing a sand shoal to the south-east of us, anchored and sent the boat to sound it. The boat returned, finding on the shoalest part about six feet, but it soon terminated, leaving us a clear and good four fathoms channel between it and the deep bight10 formed by Redcliff Point, and the entrance with Pumice Stone River, weighed and made sail for the anchorage off Redcliff Point11 carrying from four to six fathoms. At five, anchored in a good situation in four and-half fathoms, about half-mile from the land.

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9 Cunningham went ashore at Bribie to collect botanical specimens.
10 Deception Bay.
11 See Figure 18.
MONDAY This day was spent in examining the islands towards the head of the Bay, none of which were found worthy of notice, being merely mangrove swamps, the outer parts overflowed at high water. The centre parts more elevated, barren and without water; the dry portions of none of the islands exceeded 50 or 60 acres. The plants upon these islands were almost entirely tropical, and not hitherto found without that parallel, neither were any of them known to exist in the more southern lat. of New South Wales. I had directed a party to explore the main opposite to the vessel during my absence, more particularly to examine the water I had found in my former voyage. The report was every way favourable, and confirmed the opinion I had previously formed. With the concurrence and approbation of Lieut. Miller, commanding the intended establishment, I fixed upon a site for the settlement close to Redcliff Point, possessing permanent good water close at hand, good soil in its immediate vicinity fit for most agricultural purposes, well adapted for grazing, with a sufficiency of useful timber for present purposes. Mr. Miller appeared highly pleased with the situation, and with the favourable prospects of successfully establishing himself and people which the appearance of the country held out to him.

TUESDAY Fine, pleasant weather. Walked over the ground of the intended new settlement; fixed upon the most eligible places for the different public buildings, having reference to contiguity to water and the convenience of landing stores and provisions. The land most eligible for cultivation is on the north side of the creek, and to the north of the settlement. The natives visited the place when the stores were landing in considerable numbers, but gave no annoyance.

WEDNESDAY Fine, pleasant weather. Employed in sketching the coast in the vicinity of the settlement, and in preparing the boats for a continuation of the survey of the River Brisbane.

12 According to Cunningham (SZ9), Oxley first went ashore at Redcliffe, but failed to find water there.
13 Cunningham, who accompanied Oxley to these islands, made this observation.
14 Oxley had landed at Redcliffe on 5 December 1823 (Oxley, Report, 29 November-6 December 1823).
15 Near the centre of the present Redcliffe; see Fig. 18.
16 Cunningham's letter to the Reverend J.D. Lang, 20 October 1824: “Landed, and having found water in holes, proceeded to stake off the Town, the position of the Government House, the site of the stores . . . recommended the spot for a garden, and finally showed the soldiers the way not to lose themselves in going from the beach to the freshwater holes being 400 yards distance, which they assuredly would have done, if we believe their own ideas of bushranging — we charitably marked the trees on both sides for them!!”
17 Maps of Redcliffe and parts of the Bay were completed by Robert Hoddle,
Fig. 18. Map of Redcliffe in 1824, by Robert Hoddle. North is at top. About 3 miles of the peninsula coastline is shown. Shoals along the coast are marked with crosses. The spot marked with an anchor and "Obs." is the anchorage of 12 September. The anchorage of 15 September is shown, and that to which the ship moved following the storm of 27 September. "Settlement" is now the business heart of Redcliffe; the creek running from Tea Tree Swamp is Humpybong Creek. "Woody Point" appears to have been inserted by a later hand. The original is MT 59 in the Survey Office, Brisbane.
THURSDAY    Fine, pleasant weather. Left the brig, accompanied by Lieut. Butler and Mr. Cunningham, with two boats, to complete the survey of the river. At four arrived at the head of Sea Reach, when we stopped for the night. We had scarce pitched the tent when we were visited by a party of the natives, the seniors of which were very troublesome, endeavouring to steal everything they could lay their fingers on; at dark we were relieved from their company.

FRIDAY    The same party of natives visited us again this morning as we were embarking. I had put my hat, barometer, and surveying instruments on a rock close to the boat, and surrounded by the people who were getting the baggage into the boat, when two of the natives were discovered making off with the above articles. They were pursued, but, as they gained on us, Mr. Butler fired at the man who had the instruments, which caused him to drop them, being, I suspect, struck by some of the shot. The other fellow got clear off with my hat. We pursued our course up the river, which we did not find fresh so low down as in the former voyage. The botany of the brushes, etc., was entirely tropical. I found nothing to alter in my former report. We suffered considerably from thirst, not finding any fresh water. We stopped for the night at Green Hills, where the water, though drinkable, was still brackish. Measured the breadth of the river and found it 350 yards.

SATURDAY    We had the ebb tide against us the whole of the early part of the day. The botany of the brushes was examined, and many curious plants found, but all tropical. A species of Flindersia was found (a large tree), but it was not ascertained if it was different from the one already described by Brown. At two o’clock we halted at Termination Plains, being the limit of the former voyage. In the course of our progress we shot some black swans and a duck; saw no natives. In the evening we had a slight thunderstorm, with a light, refreshing rain.

SUNDAY    A fine, pleasant morning. At 10 I recommenced the survey of the river from the point where the former one ended. First station: A, on larboard mentioned in this field book on 28 September 1824 (Oxley, Field Books, Note 80). The maps are in the Brisbane Survey Office, MT 58-60; part of MT 59 is reproduced in Fig. 18.

18 Just downstream from Breakfast Creek. It had been recommended as a site for a settlement by Oxley in his report on the 1823 expedition.

19 Mt. Ommaney.

20 See Cunningham, Journal, 18 September 1824 at Note 106, and 26 September 1824 at Note 149.

21 Prior’s Pocket, opposite Goodna.
side, back to tree formerly taken to tree on Ld. bank. The land on which we encamped last night nearly an island; the soil light and good, apple tree (Angophora) and blue gum. Station B. to C. N. 323° 90 chains, in line with a hill on std. shore, distant from it, perhaps, four or five miles; both shores flat, forest land, apple tree. The former station laid down 10 chains too long. This last reach the river widened to about 15 chains, and was shoal the whole length up, having no more than from eight to 10 feet, in some places only six. At D. on larboard shore, N. 315°, one mile, to E on starboard shore cutting the point on this side, both sides low. This reach the soundings varied from eight feet to seven fathoms towards the starboard shore and latter part of it. The starboard shore towards the end of the sta. is lofty and rocky, the ridges covered with ironbark trees; the opposite side low and brushy immediately on the shore. A little back the land rises into an open apple tree flat. From E. to F., N. 221° 40. The soundings along this bend of the river varied from four fathoms to 10 feet. The river at end widened considerably, and the country on the larboard shore to the next station fine open forest. Towards the end, the bank rises a little, but is very open. From F. to G., N 189° 120 chains. To this station the soundings from eight feet to seven fathoms; but I consider there is on the larboard shore a good channel of eight feet at low water. At the end the river narrowed a little, and the soundings increased to seven fathoms. From station G to H, N 277° 30 chains; a creek to the left. This bend narrows the river to about eight chains. A deep channel, four and five fathoms, at end. The bank on left commences low, the opposite side ascending to a forest bank of gentle elevation. H to J., 60 chains, N. 350, 60, a ridge of hills of moderate elevation laying about S.S.W. and N.N.E. in line with this station, their base about two miles and three-quarters back from the end of it. The first rapid was crossed near the commencement of this station, having four feet over it; it was about 150 yards long. The breadth of the river about 280 yards. At the end of this station another four foot rapid and a considerable creek or stream on the L. opposite. The country around very fine; the range of hills before mentioned crossed the present course of the river at a right angle. Forest flats on both sides, no appearance of floods.

22 Station 24 of the 1823 survey. See Fig. 16 for the location of these stations.
23 In the D'Aguilar Range, 1200 feet.
24 Station D was opposite Station C.
25 This probably should be 305°.
26 Moggill.
27 Six Mile Creek.
28 At the present Moggill Ferry.
29 The Bremer River; see 25 September 1824 (Oxley, Field Books). Probably named after Captian (later Rear Admiral Sir) James John Gordon Bremer (1786–1850).
and the tide appears to rise about 18 inches. From J to K, N. 338° 60, passing between a low, sandy Isle and the starboard shores, the other side shoal. The land on the left, a fine open forest flat, also on the right. Tide rises about two feet; average depth in the channel, which is close to the starboard side, about five feet; the river about 20 chains wide. K to L, N. 332° 100 chains; average depth, seven feet; width of river, about 12 to 15 chains. The larboard shore a steep forest bank, surmounted by ironbark trees, apparently not good, but grassy, resting on a base of sandstone; opposite side a fine flat of land, very lightly timbered. L to M, north 90 chains; the opposite shore from the end of this station rises along the course of the river into higher forest land than before, and at the end of the next station is a small, steep clear hill, perhaps about 150 feet high; the opposite point on the left to this hill, the shore brushy, but almost directly becomes a flat of forest land; the soil of these flats light, but good. Average Sdgs. six to eight feet. M to N, N. 14° 35 chains. From station N to O, N. 341° 45 chains, small islets. at N. Obtained specimens of the rocky base of the hill, a small brush turning the side of hill to the R. The country rises on that side into bold forest hills of considerable elevation. The river appears still to have a rise of about two feet of tide. At the end of this station we passed the shoalest rapid we had yet met, having only three feet pebbly bottom. A chain or two beyond the station, rocks in the river; no appearance of floods. O to P, N. 321° 60 chains. On the right to the end of this sta. a very lofty rocky bank, at end a brush having much pine growing in it, the brush extending up the sides, and on the summit of the hill. P to Q. N. 271° 50. Starboard shore lofty, with a thick brush on the sides, much pine; opposite shore, low forest; same rise of tide as before. Q to R, N. 237° 35 chains. Left bank low, the right lofty, hilly bank very steep; river about five chains wide two and a-half fathoms. R to S, N. 177° 20. Left bank low, with pebbles indicating at some very distant period that it had been overflowed. Starboard shore continues hilly, but declining. S to T, N. 100° 60. The starboard bank an elevated flat of rich land, declining to a point which had evidently, by its sandy shore and pebbly surface, been at some period washed by an inundation; a flood would be too weak an expression to use for a collection of water rising to the height (full 50 feet), which the appearance of the shore here renders probable; the width of the river must then be about half-a-mile. The left bank rose into an elevated ridge of grassy land, stony, and closely studded with trees, chiefly gum and ironbark. We halted on the pebble bank for the night about

30 The D'Aguilar Range.
31 At the mouth of Kholo Creek.
32 Station T is on the larboard shore, about half a mile north of Fairy Bower.
33 Larboard is meant; the eastern bank.
half-past four, and while our dinner was preparing, Mr. C., Mr. B. and myself
ascended the high grassy ridge on the opposite side,34 and from it we had a
very extended view to the S.W., in which quarter two remarkable points,
bearing respectively, N. 205°35 and N. 210°36 of a lofty and (wooded peak,
afterwards called Belle Vue Mt., N. 280°)37 magnificent range of mountains
were seen; this range was distant between 60 and 70 miles, and the country,
though probably broken into lower ranges, did not present any remarkable
feature above the general surface, it appeared a wooded level. It seemed
probable that the river or some branch of it flowed from between the points
whose bearings were taken.38 The result of the day’s observations effectually
destroyed the perhaps too ardent and flattering hopes I had indulged that this
large river would prove the outlet for the waters of the great Western interior;
in proportion to the strength of my expectations was my feeling of disappoint­
ment, and I again experienced the fallacy of trusting to appearances, which,
in countries where the rules governing the operations of Nature are more
certainly reduced to known laws, would fully have warranted the opinion
I had formed, connected as that opinion was and is with the conviction I
cannot but still continue impressed with, that the waters of the Western
interior cannot be entirely dissipated by evaporation.

MONDAY The fogs and dews intensely heavy, but are soon dissipated by the strength
of the morning sun. At nine, resumed the examination of the river. Station
Larboard shore declining from the ridge to a flat of rich land; tide flowing.
C to D, N. 255° 60. The larboard shore declines to a flat, and the starboard
shore rises into grassy ridges of open forest land; sand shoals and islands in
the river. D to E, N. 234° 25 chains. At the end of this station the starboard
side declines from the grassy ridges to a flat. The whole of the last reach the
river was shoal and wide, having now about two feet water, and at high water
perhaps 15 inches more. E to F, N. 217° 40 chains. A long sandy point from
larboard shore; the river shoal, the flats continue alternately free from in­
undation. At end of this station,40 the opposite side rises into forest ridges,

34 Larboard.
35 Spicer’s Peak, 4009 feet.
36 Mt. Cordeaux, 3725 feet.
37 The words in brackets were inserted later, probably during the downstream
journey; Belle Vue Mt. is now Mt. Crosby, 600 feet.
38 Cunningham’s Gap was therefore distinctly seen; this is the first recorded
sighting of the gap, and Cunningham on this occasion seems to have taken less
interest in it than Oxley did. Tributaries of the Brisbane do indeed originate close
to Cunningham’s Gap, but do not flow through the gap.
39 Station A was the same as yesterday’s Station T.
40 Station F was about 1½ miles downstream from College’s Crossing.
while a flat commences on the starboard. Passed on the left hand a remarkable point of trees jutting out from the sand, in time of flood an Isld.; a little above a bold rock of a species of quartz protruded into the water. F to G, N. 198° 20 chains; G to H, N. 249½° 12; H to I, N. 269° 20; river very shoal, tide flowing. I to K, N. 235° 12; rapids, tide ceases to flow. Boat navigation ends; pulled the boats with some little difficulty over the rapid. K to L, N. 278° 60. The larboard shore steep and hilly, the opposite side good flat. The whole of this reach and the next a shoal rapid, the river about quarter of a mile wide, the channel of the water narrow as well as shoal, the water percolating through the gravelly shoals which engross the greater part of the width. Landed on the larboard shore, and ascended the high ridge forming the bank of that river; walked to its western extreme; the view was not very extensive in any direction. To the west was a very lofty ridge of hills, covered to their summits with pine, and the river apparently wound round its base; the country was broken with forest hills, some of considerable elevation, and on the whole it had a very pleasing and picturesque aspect. The high range seen yesterday was not visible. L to M, N. 265° 60. All shoal; it was half-past four before the boats cleared the rapids. M to N, N. 278° 50 chains. We encamped for the night near the end of this station on a gravelly point on the starboard shore. The opposite bank of the river rose nearly perpendicular from the water to the height of 150 feet, presenting a rocky front composed of coarse pudding stone, dipping to the E by N about 15°. Many large detached rocks on the margin of the water were a species of granite sandstone.

TUESDAY

A fine, clear morning. As a narrow channel of the river a little above our encampment was blocked by several large trees laying across, I determined to endeavour to clear it before we loaded the boats. The river here between the banks was full quarter of a mile wide; the channel through which the water flowed not more than 30 yards; the remaining waters of the stream, entering the pebble shoals, flowed under them, and again emptied themselves into the deep reaches which invariably lay between the rapids. While the people were employed in clearing the channel, Messrs. C., B. and myself resolved to examine the river and see what other difficulties might be opposed to our further progress in the boats. Station N to O, N. 36° 90. At the end

41 Cunningham also mentioned this rock (Cunningham, Journal, 20 September 1824) and Lockyer noticed it on 12 September 1825 (Lockyer, Journal).
42 Station L was at College’s Crossing.
43 Pine Mountain, 766 feet.
44 They camped on the north bank, almost opposite the present Boy Scouts’ Camp, and remained until 25 September. See Fig. 22.
45 Lockyer cut a path through trees here on 12 September 1825 (Lockyer, Journal).
46 Station O was a mile south of Mt. Crosby.
of this station the starboard shore a perpendicular rock of pudding stone, about 70 feet high, strata nearly horizontal. O to P, N. 247° 100. Walked along the steep bank of the river on the left-hand side; the opposite side flat, rising into forest hills, the highest peak of which is above the base of O. At the end of this station a peak, hitherto taken for Flinders Peak, N. 166°, distant about 20 miles, presenting a bold, rocky, front to the westward. Centre of the south end of a pine ridge, to which our course is directed, N. 259° distant about 4 miles. P to Q, river bends up N. 295° 80, at the extreme of which a sandy point commences this side. At two miles, crossed the river in direction of the bearing of Pine Ridge. Crossed a barren, stony tract for about 1½ mile more, and came to the edge of the river at the base of Pine Ridge, the river bearing of the reach N. 5° and N. 185°, about two miles. Having crossed the river, we penetrated through a very thick brush abounding with stately and magnificent pines, which towered far above the other timber of the hill, among which was the Flindersia. Mr. C. procured a couple of young cones, which satisfactorily demonstrated that the tree which had excited so much admiration was an entirely new species of the genus *Araucaria*, being the first discovered in New South Wales, and decidedly the growth of the interior, and not a coast tree. We measured one, the first we came to, the circumference of which was 10 feet. Many others were of greater magnitude, which was carried up perfectly straight without a branch to a height of from 50 to 100 feet, the whole height in the full-grown trees being at least 150 feet. To this stately tree Mr. C. gave the name of the Brisbane pine, as being first discovered on the banks of the river of the same name. Mr. C. in this noble forest discovered many new and valuable plants, among them a Calystema or Pancratium, the bulbs of which were procured. My hopes of finding this an interior river, which I had considered so effectually destroyed in consequence of the appearance of the river on the 19th, were this day destined to be again awakened, and my sanguine expectations unexpectedly confirmed, so far at least as conclusive arguments can be drawn, from the discovery of a fish hitherto known only to exist in the waters of the western interior. On our route towards the Pine Ridge we fell in with an old native, who had been fishing. When we had crossed the river he sat down.

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47 Oxley is not correct in stating that Station O was at the foot of Mt. Crosby. He did not actually visit Station O but, when half-way towards it, travelled cross-country to Station P (see Cunningham’s account). From P he took a bearing towards Mt. Crosby, where he thought O was.

48 Station P was on a low hill about a mile west of the Mt. Crosby weir, close to the south bank.

49 Pine Mountain.

50 The manuscript has here “Memo. native and Bathurst fish”.

51 *Araucaria cunninghamii*, the hoop pine.
Fig. 19. Hoop pine (*Araucaria cunninghamii*) in natural state. This specimen, 145 feet in height, is typical of those which Cunningham observed towering over all other trees of the forest, and illustrates the corymbose top which distinguishes the species. Photograph courtesy of Department of Forestry, Brisbane.
by Mr. Cunningham, who, seeing the tail of a fish protruding from the mouth of his bag, began to examine the contents, and before he could disengage the fish exclaimed, "This is a Bathurst cod fish." On the fish being placed fairly before us, not a doubt could possibly exist of their exact identity in every particular. This species of fish was intimately known both to Mr. Cunningham and myself, and we also knew that it did not exist in any Eastern waters. The fish measured 1 foot 9\(\frac{1}{2}\) inches in length, and was 5\(\frac{1}{2}\) inches broad. The dorsal fins had 11 rays, the anal fin three rays; towards the breast the pectoral fins were placed before the ventral fins having each four rays; the ventral fins were many-rayed and rounded, the caudal, or tail fin, the same; four tiers of gills. With those that had once seen the fish of the Western waters no doubts could remain; no other fish ever seen in any of the other fresh waters of the colony having the smallest resemblance to them. Since we had been among the rapids, several fish of very large size, some measuring more than four feet long have been seen by us all in the deep pools under the steep banks. These we called the fresh-water shark,\(^{52}\) having only an imperfect view of them through the dark shade of the waters. The larger-sized fish of the Bathurst fish do in outward form and at a distance somewhat resemble shark. The Pine Hill being clothed with an almost impervious vegetation to its very summit, of course our hopes of an extended prospect were disappointed, and we returned to the tent highly gratified and exhilarated by the day's occurrences and acquisitions, though quite exhausted by the heat of the sun and the length and difficulty of our journey.

**WEDNESDAY**  The weather continues very warm and sultry. I gave up the idea of taking the boats any further up the river, which indeed could not be effected in the present very low and depressed state of the stream without immense difficulty. The whole country bears the marks of extreme drought, and I should judge it must have been many months since rain had fallen – at least, of any consequence. Leaving the tent, accompanied by Mr. Butler, I ascended a lofty conical hill\(^{53}\) about four miles north from the tent,\(^{54}\) having a rocky summit, from which I expected an extensive prospect. My expectations were not disappointed. A more magnificent view it has not often fallen to my lot to behold. The whole country to the south was before me, bounded by the noble range\(^{55}\) which extends about W.N.W. from the Coast Range of Mount

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\(^{52}\) See Cunningham, 25 September 1824 (Journal).

\(^{53}\) Mt. Crosby, 600 feet.

\(^{54}\) The words "about four miles north from the tent" were inserted (presumably by Oxley) above a caret here; probably at a later date, for the actual distance is 2 miles, and Oxley did not usually exaggerate distances to quite that extent. Cunningham estimated this distance as 2 miles (Journal, 23 September 1824).

\(^{55}\) The Dividing Range.
Warning, a lofty peak in which reared its head high above the surrounding mountains in the extreme southern distance, bearing N. 191°, distant 50 or 60 miles, possibly more, from whence, gradually becoming less broken and elevated, was apparently lost in the lower and nearer ridges of forest hills, bearing nearly W. by S., and distant 25 or 30 miles, a broken hilly country, covered with pine forests intervening. From west 22° south round to west 56° north, I saw no remarkable or distant mountains, the country being hilly and broken. My situation was quite sufficiently elevated to have seen any ranges or points of ranges, had they existed, at all comparable with the grand Western range of Mount Warning. The hills in this quarter might be generally considered as very thinly timbered, with the exception of some very extensive pine forests, to the S.W. by W. and W. by N. The most attentive consideration of the formation of the country, the direction and termination of the principal ranges all tended to strengthen my long-formed opinion that this river communicates with the waters of the Western interior, though certainly by no navigable channel. A very remarkable hill, conical, with a flat top, covered with pines, bore N. 210°, about 30 miles, I named Mount Forbes, and another under the Great Western Range, distant about 45 miles, and bearing N. 196°, I named Mt. Bannister. Flinders Peak bore N. 169°, about 20 miles.

The Southern range of mountains before mentioned appeared to have a stream of water washing its northern base, as a chain of fires of the natives could be distinctly traced nearly 40 miles to the east, and it may probably be ultimately found to be the Tweed River, which discharges itself under Mt. Warning into the sea. A conical, thinly wooded hill bore N. 307, and was the only remarkable object in that quarter and might be about 15 miles distant, the country between very broken. A distant peak in the Mount

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56 This range includes Mt. Barney and Wilson's Peak, but not Mt. Warning. Oxley also referred to it as the Great Southern Range, as distinct from the Dividing Range, which he called the "Grand Western Range of Mt. Warning". Neither range is connected with Mt. Warning. See Note 58.
57 Wilson's Peak, 4035 feet.
58 Originally Oxley had written, "... of Mount Warning, which reared its lofty head in the extreme southern distance bearing N191°, distance 85 or 90 miles, from whence..." He temporarily mistook Wilson's Peak for Mt. Warning; this explains his names for the ranges (Note 56).
59 The Dividing Range.
62 Probably Mt. England, 1007 feet; called Mt. Butler in Fig. 20.
63 The West Peak of Mt. Barney, 4469 feet. This is the earliest recorded sighting of Mt. Barney.
Warning Range on the coast, bore north 178°. The rocks composing the summit of this hill, which was named Belle Vue Hill, were of quartz and jasper, the latter predominant.

**THURSDAY** Fine and clear. At 7.40 the barometer at the tent stood at 29.673; having no thermometer, the temperature was estimated at about 65°. At the summit of Belle Vue Mt., barometer 29.155. Having made preparations for an absence of five days, Mr. Cunningham and myself set forward to the westward, intending to reach the conical hill which bore N. 307° from Belle Vue, and from which we hoped to have an extensive Western prospect. Our course was on the north side of the river, which was seldom distant above two miles, and lay through a broken and very hilly country; we travelled along the ridges when possible, which caused us to make a very circuitous route to the point we had in view. At 2 o'clock we halted on the south bank of the river under a lofty peak on the opposite side, south side of which was nearly perpendicular, but clothed with pines and other timber to its summit, which was only thinly studded with gum and ironbark trees. We had come in a direct course west not more than about eight miles, but the difficulties and fatigue of travelling through a broken country and under a burning sun can only be properly appreciated by those who have been compelled to march on foot through a tropical country in the middle of the day. After we had refreshed ourselves we crossed the river and ascended the hill, at the summit of which we arrived in time to witness the last descending rays of the sun into the western interior. The great Southern Range was fully developed, and we had the satisfaction to perceive its gradual dip to the lower western country. Between N. and N. nothing intervened but a ridge of pine hills laying north and south, declining from a slightly elevated centre to either extreme point, over the south point of which the Southern Range was lost in the abyss, while over its northern point was seen the rising of the northern chain of mountains, gradually increasing in altitude as it extended Northward. The country on its eastern side being low, with two or three hummocks rising from the apparent level. The river was seen to wind round the northern end of the pine ridge of hills, flowing...

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64 Mt. Crosby.
65 At Sapling Pocket, 3 miles north of Pine Mountain.
66 One of the hills opposite Sapling Pocket, about 450 feet high, called by Oxley “Mt. Araucaria”, and variously named in Cunningham’s charts (Figs. 22 and 52).
67 Oxley left a gap after each “N”, intending to fill in the bearings.
68 The Marburg Range. See Fig. 20.
69 Mt. Stradbroke, 1150 feet.
70 The Dividing Range.
71 The Brisbane Valley.
Fig. 20. The country to the west of Mt. Araucaria, drawn by Allan Cunningham. The original sketch is in a letter of 20 October 1824, to the Reverend J. D. Lang, which is A2226 in the Mitchell Library. The “Western Ridge of Pines” represents the Marburg Range. Other wording in the sketch includes (from top right): S. end of northern Range; Mt. Butler; Open grassy flats; River seen winding from the N & Westd bending west on the other side of the Pine Ridge (above); Hilly undulated Forest Country; Westn Statn at sunset [Mt. Araucaria]; Lat. 27° 30" S, Long. 152° 30" E; Pine Ridges; Lofty Pine Ranges. The campsite, marked by a sketch (Cunningham’s “Hut of Boughs”, 24 September 1824), was on a gravel bank to the right of “Pine Ridges”.

Fig. 21. The Marburg Range as seen from Mt. Araucaria. Photograph by author.
directly from the west, in which quarter there was no elevation whatever, and I felt a decided conviction in my mind that there was no natural barrier intervening between the point on which we stood and the western interior, and that consequently the stream of this river was the channel to convey those western waters to the sea. The whole country bore the appearance of excessive drought, and, judging from its appearance, I should say little or no rain had fallen within the last twelve months. All the northern and southern watercourses, having their sources in the lofty hills in those quarters were dry, and the growth of grass and shrubs in those parts of the bed of the river (between its outer banks, were near a quarter mile wide), now dry proved that years had intervened since the accumulated waters of the interior had rolled down its channel to the sea, causing those numerous sandbanks and shoals which render the navigation of Moreton Bay so tedious and difficult. I do not think that the bed of the river where we halted was more than six feet above the level of tide water, and I have no doubt whatever that, in ordinary seasons, the river is easily navigable for boats many miles above the point which terminated our investigation. It is known that a very severe drought has affected the southern parts of New South Wales during the past year, and appearances justify the conjecture that a similar season has prevailed here, and that the low state of the western waters rising therefrom is the cause of the present depressed level of the river. A comparative series of observations made at Bathurst and in the vicinity of this river, carefully noting its rise and fall, would tend much to elucidate what may still appear to be obscure and doubtful in the question of connection between the Brisbane and the western waters.

We saw great numbers of the fish common only to Bathurst and the waters in its vicinity, but we were not so fortunate as to take any; its absolute identity, therefore, rests on the minute examination of the one found in the possession of the native on the 21st. Great forests of noble pine were observed to the S.W., and their useful applicability to naval and other purposes was contemplated with pleasure. The sides of the hills free from Pine were thinly studded with wood and well covered with grass, the summits stony and bad; the levels and valleys good and fit for cultivation. The soil of the hills on which the pine grows, though stony, is very rich and fertile, being covered with a multitude of new and beautiful trees and plants. The country did not seem ill-peopled, fires being seen in every quarter from the eastern ranges of Mount Warning to the distant west.

Kangaroos were numerous, and there would be no want of food for a

72 The river ultimately flows from the north, but Oxley and Cunningham could not see that.
native population in a country whose waters nourished the nutritious fish of the Western rivers.

The following bearings of remarkable points in the country in connection with the general survey of the river being taken, we descended the hill, which we named (Mount Araucaria), and returned to our temporary wigwam or guniah for the night.

FRIDAY

The weather continues very hot and sultry; the dews of the night almost equal small rain, and no doubt cause that appearance of freshness in the vegetation which a long-continued drought would in this climate otherwise entirely destroy. In the early part of the morning Mr. C. employed himself in examining the productions of the pine brushes, and procured many new plants, of genera hitherto believed to exist only within the tropics. We returned to the boats by a somewhat different, but better, route, through a country well clothed with grass, and adapted for grazing, more particularly sheep. The day was remarkably clear, and on reascending Belle Vue Mt. on our return, we had a distinct view of the Coast Range, Mt. Warning\(^73\) bearing N. 144°, distant about 55 miles.

Fatigue and extreme heat had almost exhausted us, and a good night’s repose was a welcome relief.

SATURDAY

Clear and sultry. Proceeded down the river, and stopped at 5 o’clock on the left bank opposite Bremer River, for the night. This place will be desirable and convenient for an establishment whenever the settlement is so far extended as to render it an object to procure the pine in large quantities, the river being navigable for very large craft and quite fresh. The country on both sides the river fit for cultivation. The tide rises about three feet. Passed a family of natives, who, on seeing us, ran into the country, leaving their “valuables” behind them. They had been feeding on long worms, which are found in wood that has been long in a state of decay under water. If we had nothing to add to their store, we left everything as we found it.

SUNDAY

Hot, sultry. We continued our course down the river. Obtained several fine plants and specimens of wood. Halted for the night on the L. bank of the river, below Termination Island.\(^74\) During the evening we had a severe storm of thunder, lightning, and rain.

\(^73\) Oxley now saw the McPherson Range, and realized his error in identifying Wilson’s Peak with Mt. Warning. However he could not have seen Mt. Warning, as it was hidden behind Mt. Merino. He evidently took the bearing towards what seemed to be the highest point of the McPherson Range. Coincidentally, it happens to be almost the correct bearing for Mt. Warning.

\(^74\) Cockatoo Island, near Goodna.
Sultry as usual, proceeded down the river. It may be remarked here that when I first visited it in December, 1823, the water was found fresh about sixteen miles lower down than we at present experienced it. The tide having been against us the greater part of the day, we did not get lower down the river than Crescent Reach, where we intended stopping for the night, as I expected to find fresh water. We saw at the commencement of the reach on the left bank a very large assemblage of natives in the same spot we saw them last year. It was evidently a favourite place with them, most probably on account of water being convenient, as among the company was a full proportion of women and children. We landed about half-mile below this encampment on the same side of the river, there being a small creek between us, which I hoped would prevent them visiting us, as I had no desire to hold communication with them, having had full proof of their desire to possess everything they see and making off with what they can secure without the ceremony of asking leave. Whilst the tent was pitching and the things getting out of the boats, Mr. B. and myself went in search of water, while Mr. C. superintended getting the things on shore. We had not been long about, and were returning unsuccessful to the tent, which was by this time pitched, when we found that a large party of the natives had found their way to it. They had been very troublesome, and Mr. C. had some difficulty in preventing them taking what they chose, particularly one man, who was recognised as the one who stole my hat on the morning of the 17th. He was a fine, athletic man, as indeed they all were. On my seeing him, I made signs that I knew him, and was angry with him, and that he must bring back the hat. He seemed well to understand my meaning, but only laughed and jumped about. At length, seeing we would not suffer him to come near the tent, he made signs as if he and another would go and bring the hat, and went off, leaving five or six about us on a hill a little above the tent. He shortly returned, but as I might have expected, without the hat. On the contrary, he had brought with him a number of other natives, making now in the whole about 14—about the strongest and best-made muscular men I have seen in any country. We determined that this fellow should not come near us, and Mr. Cunningham endeavoured to explain to a fine, stout young man the reason, which he seemed well enough to understand. Mr. Butler was holding some of the others in conversation, when the savage before mentioned, who had for some time appeared working himself into a transport of passion, as is usual before they attempt anything violent, seized a piece of wood and hurled it at me. Fortunately, some dead branches on the ground intervening, it fell short, being thrown in the same manner as is the boomerang. The

75 Toowong, Auchenflower, and Milton.
76 Probably at Moorlands Park, Toowong.
other natives had before begun to fall back, and Mr. Butler, having seen him throw the stick, and observing him about to renew the attack on Mr. C. with a stone, fired at him, and struck him on the left arm and side. He immediately made off, running towards the creek, the others slowly going off different ways, but in no manner interfering to assist their companion. We observed him drop on the edge of the creek, about 200 yards from us. After a little time, observing no one come to assist him, though the greater part of them were within a few yards of him, we went to him, and found him laying on his side, being apparently severely though not dangerously wounded with the small shot with which the barrel was loaded. He bled, but very little, and I was not sorry that he had suffered for his boldness. The other natives seemed to consider him as having sought his fate, for on our making signs that they should come and take him away they immediately crossed the creek, and, first motioning for us to withdraw a little, two of them approached him and, first blowing on his face several times, they shouted as for more assistance, which, being immediately afforded by the others, he was taken to their camp on their shoulders. The camp was not distant more than 500 yards from us, but out of sight. We soon discovered his arrival there by the most dismal howlings and wailings I ever heard set up by the women and children, and this noise was continued with little intermission through the night, and the men occasionally joined in loud but measured shouts. We thought at different times we heard dancing, as if a corroboree had been held round him, but the cries of women and children in seeming distress prevailed, and from the singular noises that continued we conjectured that various ceremonies were performing, and that the wounded man was probably of some consideration among them, as indeed his numerous curious tattooed and raised marks, together with his whole conduct and deportment, had before seemed to indicate.

It had been repeatedly necessary before firing to point the piece at one or other, more particularly at the wounded man, in order to deter them from plunder; they, however, seemed to think very little of it, which I attribute to their having seen Mr. Butler fire at a duck in the river, which he unluckily missed, as also that the man who had been fired at on the 17th, whilst making off with the instruments had been so very slightly wounded as to give them a contemptible opinion of our means of defence against their depredations, and though I deeply regretted the necessity that had now occasioned our firing, yet I was glad that the shot had taken effect on the right person, and the serious pain he must doubtless suffer would operate in some degree as a warning and proof that we were not utterly defenceless. I also hoped it might have its good effects among the tribes in the vicinity of the new settlement, as, though the distance is considerable, probably 25 or 30 miles, yet events of this nature are sure to be communicated from tribe to tribe, and
the knowledge of the powerful effect of our weapons operate in deterring them from attempting the little petty thefts which their ardent desire to possess whatever they behold would otherwise doubtless tempt them to commit.

**Tuesday**

A calm, still night. The howlings at the camp of the natives ceased an hour or two before sunrise, and were resumed with redoubled violence on the rising of that luminary, and shortly after almost entirely ceased. We had intended to visit their camp, but considering that we might disturb them, and certainly fright away their women and children, the intention was given up, and we proceeded down the river, landing about three-quarters of a mile from our sleeping place, to look for water, which we found in abundance and of excellent quality, being at this season a chain of ponds watering a fine valley. The soil good, with timber and a few Pines, by no means an ineligible station for a first settlement up the river. At 4 o’clock, after a fatiguing row, we gained the entrance of the river, and stopped an hour to dine before we proceeded to the vessel. I took several bearings from the north point of the river to determine its position, and returned to the vessel about 10 o’clock the same night, after an absence of 13 days, spent in most interesting and, I hope, useful investigations. The examination of the lower part of the Bay had been executed and a good channel sounded. The vessel, having been moored on the bank of sand to close to Redcliff Point for the convenience of unloading, had drifted in a strong gale from the S.E., having broken one of the flukes of the best-bower. The vessel was moved further out and again moored, the anchor laying in a bottom of stiff mud. No vessel should anchor for any considerable time in less than five fathoms off the Point, as the holding ground within the three fm. bank is bad, being hard sand. Small vessels of light draft may lay close to the shore, but when unloaded, should haul out into deeper water, as the extreme openness and want of shelter cause a very heavy sea to rise in a short time; it subsides, however, as suddenly as it rises. The winds causing the greatest sea are from north round by the east to S.S.E., the land laying at such a distance between those points as to afford little or no shelter. The master had proceeded in the barge, accompanied by Mr. Hoddle.

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78 Probably at Frew Park, Milton. See Truman, *op. cit.*

79 The best-bower was an anchor carried at the starboard bow of a vessel; the small-bower was on the port side. The flukes were the triangular holding-plates at the ends of the arms of an anchor.

80 Robert Hoddle, the surveyor who later laid out the streets of Melbourne.
to sound the south entrance\(^{81}\) into the Bay, as I had previously directed. The settlement was getting on but slowly.

**WEDNESDAY**  Warm, sultry W. Preparing boats and tools in order to procure some of the pine spars from Deception River.\(^{82}\) At noon obsd. the sun’s meridian altitude, 64° 56' 10''.

**EXTRACT FROM CUNNINGHAM’S JOURNAL**

**16TH**  Having made the necessary preparations for an absence of two weeks from the anchorage\(^{83}\) in the examination of the River Brisbane, we quitted our vessel\(^{84}\) in two boats, the exploring party being composed of Mr. Oxley as Director of our Expedition, Lieutenant Butler of the 40th Reg., myself and 9 boatmen and servants.

From the anchorage we proceeded South Easterly with the flood tide in our favour, and about noon passed the points of entrance of the River having, in making the entrance, which may be estimated at a breadth of two miles, tailed on a spit of sand projecting from a mangrovy point on the northern side of the mouth of this stream.\(^{85}\) Low mangrove islands occupy portions of the channel upwards, which although circumscribed in breadth thereby, has depths which we found to increase from 2 to 4 fathoms, the channel itself in parts free from these depressed muddy islets presenting a width exceeding 1½ miles.

The boundary shores are low, invested by mangroves of the genera *Avicennia*, *Aegiceras*, *Rhizophora* (mucronata) and a *Bruguiera*, these maritime thickets being backed by low strips of Forest land elevated only a few feet above the Mangrove bank but sufficiently to prevent the salt water at the flood tide reaching the roots of those stunted specimens of the Eucalypti, whose tapering heads barely peeped over those of the Mangroves.

At length in about 5 miles from the Entrance, forest ridges were perceived

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\(^{81}\) The South Passage, through which the “Amity” sailed on her return voyage to Sydney, thereby becoming the first ship to use that passage. Hoddle’s maps are in the Brisbane Survey Office, MT 58–60, and MT 59 is reproduced in part as Fig. 18.

\(^{82}\) The Pine River, where Oxley had seen pine trees in 1823 (Oxley, Field Books, 1 December 1823, Note 72). It was called Deception River because Finnegan had deceived Oxley there, claiming it was the Brisbane.

\(^{83}\) At Redcliffe.

\(^{84}\) The “Amity”.

\(^{85}\) Luggage Point, then known as Point Uniack.
before us, at the extremity of a fine western reach, and as the mangroves on each side progressively became thinner as we advanced, admitting us to observe the back forest ground, the channel of this water, from that appearance of a simple recess from the Bay, which the low depressed mangrovy shore from the Entrance upwards gave it, began at this stage of our advance, to put on all the usual characteristics of a River, and that, too, of some importance. *Hibiscus heterophyllus*, here and there, decorate its banks, to which some singularly pretty green patches of grassy forest dip from the ridges observed in the background which are wooded chiefly with Eucalypti of Blue gum and Iron bark – the *Callitris* of the Bay and large leaved *Tristania* distinguishable at once by the dark line of their foliage, being also conspicuous on the acclivities of these higher grounds.

Upon reaching the elbow of this reach which is perceived to bend from the Southward, we pulled in upon the left or north bank, on effecting our sixth mile (by estimation) and encamped on a grassy spot which by reason of the great luxuriance of vegetation, led us to conclude that fresh water would be found by examining a reedy swamp in the background which is discharged into the river by a Creek on the northern angle of the Reach. The Drought however of the Season which we have already observed to be of long continuance on the shores of Moreton Bay had dried up the Marsh – a few natives' wells in the neighbourhood was the only discovery made, containing a little water of so brackish and turbid a quality as not to be under any circumstance drinkable. We therefore had to open one of the Baracas with which we had furnished ourselves from the Vessel for the necessary supply each person required. Some dark shaded brushes in the neighbourhood engaged my attention until dusk and although I discovered no plants that had not been examined in the Equinoctial portion of our Continent during Captain King's voyages, it was nevertheless gratifying to recognize my old friends a second time. *Seaforthia elegans, Tetrathera ferruginea – Hellenia coerulea, Stadmannia – Cordyline cannafolia, several of the Asclepiadeae, Apocynae without fructification – Flagellaria* climbing over the topmost branches of trees – *Dioscorea – Plumbago zeylanica, and the scandent Fern Lygodium* were of the plants I was enabled to identify. – I gathered flowering specimens of a tree of the Sapindeae and perhaps an *Amyris* bearing panicles of red flowers.

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86 Hamilton Reach.
87 The cypress known as the Bribie Island pine.
88 Breakfast Creek.
89 Casks.
90 Cunningham accompanied Captain P.P. King on his surveys of the Australian coast.
Numerous were the beaten paths of the wild aborigine. His several fire­places showed me that this part of the River was numerously inhabited and an hour had not elapsed after my return to the Encampment before four of these Savages made their appearance, yelling from a surprise excited by the appearance of our Encampment, and the several strange objects around them. After a merry but wild dance with our boat people in which they exhibited some extravagant gestures, they peaceably retired, taking with them from our fires each a lighted stick, not probably to illuminate their path to the distant bivouacing ground, but to rekindle their own fires, as they were not careful to preserve the flame.

17TH Friday. A slight fog. As we had rather improvidently consumed the whole September of our supply of fresh water taken from the Vessel, in the too sanguine reliance upon our discovery of an abundant store at the head of the Creek near our Encampment, some time was lost in fruitless search in the neighbourhood, when we were at length obliged to make a hasty meal91 without drink and be content to wait with patience until we should reach that part of the Brisbane (a few miles distant) at which Mr. Oxley had on his former excursion found the River perfectly fresh and sweet. The natives whose clamours we had heard at Daybreak from their Encampment distant probably not a half mile, suddenly made their appearance about us, just at the time we were all busily engaged re-stowing our boats. In an instant, these Savages caught up our mountain barometer, a case of Drawing Tablets etc and ran off as fast as they could towards their Encampment. Fortunately however, the contents of a loaded Gun being discharged92 at one of these Indians, recovered to us the whole of the stolen articles with the exception of a Straw Hat93 with which one remarkably nimble fellow in advance of the Greater thief had got clear off.

Our desire to proceed on our voyage induced us to resume it (about 8 a.m.) against the ebb tide which was running down with considerable strength. A noble reach94 extending South about 2 miles in length, by a breadth of \( \frac{1}{2} \) mile, with banks overhung with lofty volubulous and scandent95 plants called forth our admiration as we prosecuted our boat voyage – the respectable and regular width of the stream when considered in connection with a depth of 4, 5 and 6 fathoms at the last quarter of the ebb tide, fully impressing each of us with the great importance in a commercial and agricultural point

91 This probably accounts for the name "Breakfast Creek". In Lockyer's sketch of the river in 1825 (Fig. 25), the point to the east of the mouth of the creek is marked "Breakfast Point".
92 By Lieutenant Butler (Oxley, Field Books, 17 September 1824).
93 Oxley's hat.
94 Bulimba Reach.
95 Twisting and climbing.
of view at no distant day, by reason of its navigable capabilities, of the fine water which Mr. Oxley has, in its discovery, opened to us.

In this reach, the right or east bank was more particularly clothed with twining plants and a density of brushwood than the opposite or western shore where the open woodland, in forest ridges, was remarked. In the thick and shaded brushes, and towering above the highest trees, were observed the Corymbose\textsuperscript{96} branched Heads of a Pine\textsuperscript{97} (as it was called) at the extremities of whose branchlets I perceived the young fruit, but as this curious tree exceeded 100 feet in height, I could not perceive whether it was capsular or coniform. Of that section of the genus \textit{Metrosideros} with long detached filament – proposed by Mr. Brown to be separated from it by the name of \textit{Callistemom}, one curious species was very conspicuous on the immediate banks, and a \textit{Crinum} growing in the mud, that is daily covered by each flood tide was in flower, and from its short peduncle, narrow leaves, and altogether smaller habit than \textit{C. pedunculatum}, it was important to examine it; however our boat was rapidly proceeding upwards, and as it was an object to prevent a loss of time, it was proposed to collect these fine subjects in our descent to the Vessel. After winding up several short bends we at length in about 8\textsuperscript{1/2} miles, entered a noble reach about 4 miles in length,\textsuperscript{98} the channel of the River still preserving the even breadth of half-a-mile, and bounded by dark, densely matted woods in which the new Pine was particularly conspicuous.

The young flood tide at length became felt as we passed up several new Reaches, in alternately northerly and southerly trends. We were however much disappointed in not meeting with Fresh water at the same stage on this stream as had been used last December by Mr. Oxley, thus serving us as a proof that the great Drought that has so materially affected the Colony,\textsuperscript{99} had also extended to these Regions where probably no rain has fallen for many months and that consequently the body of Fresh water in this River having become considerably diminished by a vast daily evaporation, the salt water (not meeting with a weight or force, to repel its pressure) had flowed up many miles beyond the spot marked on the Chart of the River, made last December.

We continued our voyage westerly about 13 miles in which estimated distance we passed up some long and very handsome reaches of nearly an uniform width or very gradually and almost imperceptibly diminishing from

\begin{footnotes}
\footnote{96}{When the branches, although starting from different points, attain the same level.}
\footnote{97}{The hoop pine.}
\footnote{98}{Milton Reach and Toowong Reach, at that time known as Long Reach or Crescent Reach.}
\footnote{99}{The Sydney area.}
\end{footnotes}
600 yards to \( \frac{1}{2} \) of a mile; the banks being alternately brushy or densely overhung with a matted or tressed mass of vegetation and the open Forest land, abundance of Pine existing in the former.

Towards the close of the Day, having passed another exceedingly fine length of the River, named the Mermaid Reach\(^{100}\) on the former visit, we began to look for a spot to rest ourselves on for the night; the banks however proved either so steep and inaccessible or low, soft and muddy as to render our attempts to gain a footing on the shore abortive; the water also was still brackish slightly, and none decidedly fresh was found in the Gullies which fell into the River as far as they were examined by the people of one of our boats. Considering therefore that as the long prevalence of Drought had caused a very great diminution of the Fresh water in the River, allowing the tide to flow daily much higher than previously observed, and as the water at the present point of penetration on this River was (although salt) drinkable, Mr. Oxley proposed that as the People had laboured hard all day without fresh water, had become exceedingly fatigued, and the day on the close, to haul in at the first spot at all eligible and pitch the Tents, which we accordingly did on the South or right bank, upon the high grassy ridge which forms the outer or upper bank of the River.\(^{101}\)

The Country would seem about to assume another feature from this Stage of the River upwards, the primary or upper banks are now frequently open and unencumbered by brushes and beyond, forest Hills appear occasionally, the Soil appears evidently improved not only at our present Encampment where it was examined but also in other parts not landed on, but timbered with Apple Tree (\textit{Angophora lanceolata}). The general direction of the River as traced during this Day's arduous exertion was from the South West, its breadth varying from \( \frac{3}{8} \) of a mile to 250 yards. \textit{Hibiscus heterophyllus} is very frequent on the immediate bank clothed with a profusion of its specious flowers. Pelican, Black Swan (at this period moulting, and hence easily run down by the Boats) and Ducks were very abundant in every reach of the River and of the Two tail we shot several which gave all hands a feast variously prepared. \textit{Plumbago zeylanica} L. a species of \textit{Sida}, \textit{Ficus (aspera)}, \textit{Dioscorea bulbifera}, \textit{Ipomoea pendula}, \textit{Dolichos} sp., a volubilous plant with membranous pods hanging from long peduncles, of which I gathered ripe seeds and a tree of the \textit{Urticeae} evidently, 20 feet high allied to \textit{Antiaris} of Mr. Brown, were generally subjects of the river bank and brushes in the neighbourhood of our tent.

\textbf{18th}

The fog of the early morning having cleared off, we proceeded on our voyage at an early hour against the ebb tide, which however was not of a

\(^{100}\) See Fig. 15. The reach still bears this name. In it are the Seventeen Mile Rocks.
\(^{101}\) Near Mt. Ommaney.
strength to impede our progress. Our first reach trended from the westward about two miles bounded by banks alternately concealed by a thick brushwood and open forest land, occasionally showing the prevailing rock formation which is quartzose with a breccia in which quartz is chiefly imbedded. Again the River takes a bend from the Southward, the banks become lower, which abound in Hibiscus heterophyllus and a Casuarina, the Crinum observed in the lower Reaches of the River,102 being here very general on the mudflats on each side which at the present low level of this water are partially dry.

It was at this particular stage of our ascent on the stream that it first definitely assumed the character of a fresh water River nearly uncontaminated by any admixture of salt water, although it is certainly influenced by the tide forcing back at the flood the fresh bodies, and occasioning a rise of about 4½ feet; which height shown us on the rocks; being the same as at the Vessel, afforded us the proof that the bed of the River is continued horizontal and it is equally worthy of remark that whatever this stream may eventually prove to be, its banks have not yet offered us any proof of its being a mountain stream, having a near rise or origin but the rather that it flows quietly from a level or very slightly declining country at a slow rate not sufficient to carry off the loose vegetation observed growing at some distance from its banks.

In further proof of the inactive disposition of this Stream (at least at the present Season), I could not but notice the quiet repose on the surface of certain acuatics usually found in those of our Colonial fresh waters not liable to frequent or much agitation viz. Potamogeton natans L. Triglochin procerum [sic] – Vallisneria spiralis – Damasonium ovulifolium.103

Continuing upwards Southerly about 5 miles, we reached the extreme point of the River to which Mr. Oxley had, on the former occasion, extended his Research when having landed on the right or eastern bank,104 the tents were pitched for the day and I accompanied Mr. Oxley to the highest point of a ridge of forest land near our Encampment to take bearings of the Country to the Southward and Westward of us. Upon ascending this Ridge which immediately overhangs the River, we found we were not sufficiently elevated to overlook the Timbered lands around us. We however reached a slight rise of the back Hills and thence Mr. Oxley took a few bearings that might prove useful to him in the Survey.

In the progress of the Day, I had an opportunity of landing on a brushy Bank of the River and on entering a dark wood of great density and novel

103 See 19 September 1824, at Note 107.
104 Near the Wolston Park Hospital, Goodna.
appearance, I gathered the following plants, the features of the vegetation generally being tropical.

*Capparis* sp. . . .

Asclepiadaceae. *Gymnema* sp? – *Secamone* sp. . . .

Amaranthaceae. Pentandria, a shrubby plant allied to *Deeringia* and *Lestibudesia*.

*Sida* sp. . . .

Dioecia. a broad leaved shrub (frequent) flowers unexpanded anthers 6–8.

*Capparis* sp. (without fructification) spines erect; branches flexuose, leaves oval and obtuse.

*Parsonsia velutina* Br. –

*Carissa ovata* Br. very frequent within the Tropic never seen with fructification.

*Alyxia ruscifolia* Br. without fructification.

*Acacia* sp. leaves elliptically lanceolate alternately pinnate, peduncle elongated flowers in an open capitulum. A tree 25 feet high.

*Tilliaceae*. A genus allied to *Apeiba* and *Sloanea*. . . . a tree of moderate height and spreading habit.

*Urticeae*. *Acalypha* sp. – *Clematis stenosepala*. Br. a specimen of female flowers.

Several other plants were also observed in the recesses of these forests, but without fructification, and therefore their genera could alone be presumed from their respective habits viz. –

*Grewia* sp. leaves elliptical 3-nerved – *Acanthus ebracteatus* –

A slender tree of the Proteaceae like some Equinoctial Grevillea, leaves pinnatifid.

*Rubiaceae*. *Cephaelis* or *Psychotria* – Verbenaceae. a square stalked few leaved shrubby plant, of which another specimen was gathered in the Interior in 1817, fruit a dry, orange small drupe.

*Hiraea alata* [sic] of King’s Voyage – *Zanthoxyloides* – a tree 12–16 feet high - stem thorny – wood hard and yellow.

In these interesting shades I was forcibly struck with the rambling habit of *Hoya carnosa* which had (with a *Dolichos*) reached the summits of the loftiest trees, of which we noticed several distinct kinds, producing timbers of large dimensions which ere long will be found of importance to the young Colony just planted on the Shores of Moreton Bay. Of the several timbers of these forests investing this interesting River, only two can be here spoken of, exclusive of the Pine, which although its fruit has not yet been examined, it is nevertheless probable, will prove to be an *Araucaria*.

105 Scientific descriptions in Latin are given for this and some of the following plants. See p. 155 of Cunningham’s manuscript.
The first of these timbers is *Flindersia* of Mr. Brown who discovered it on the shores of Broad Sound just within the Tropic where he observed it to rise to a moderately size Tree, producing flowers and fruit in the month of September. Notwithstanding the gigantic stature of *Flindersia* on this River (the specimen cut down from which I had gathered flowering specimens measuring about 100 feet), it nevertheless did not appear to be specifically distinct from *Flindersia australis* as described by that eminent Botanist above referred to. The second timber is of a Genus of Rhamnaceae allied to *Ceanothus*, of which there is a species frequent on the sea coasts of the Colony of Port Jackson, whose flowers I have not yet seen, the fruit is trilocular resting on a persistent calyx – the particular species of this River is of straight growth, from 60–80 feet in height, and whose timber is of a close compact grain. Of parasitical Orchideae I remarked *Cymbidium suave* and *canaliculatum* of Mr. Brown on the Eucalypts skirting these shaded woods, within which on the timber were filiformed leaved plants, probably *Dendrobium teretifolium*, with an unpublished plant, growing in large mattes, producing a single lanceolate leaf to each bulb.

19th Sunday. Foggy as usual. As the River upwards was perfectly unknown, some alterations in the storage of the boats became necessary to afford Mr. Oxley as much room in the larger or whale boat and with a view towards enabling him to re-commence and carry on his Survey from the point at which he had left off last December, without any interruption that might arise from our continuance in the same boat with him as we had done during our passage to this resting spot.

Mr. Butler and myself quitted the whale boat for the smaller or jolly boat. About 10 o'clock, it being about the top of High Water, we launched forth upon a new Voyage of Examination with much expectation of a long Course, and distant inland origin of the stream, now engaging our serious attentions. Passing up a Western Reach about 250 yds wide, and whose lower or secondary banks were clothed with *Hibiscus heterophyllus*, the several lengths whose waters were constantly fresh wind from the N.W. and occasionally expand to 300 yards, the almost stagnant stillness of the River whose surface was covered with pond weeds of *Potamogeton, Triglochin, Damasonium*, and *Vallisneria* giving it the appearance of a spacious fish pond or canal, showing moreover that no floods had taken place for a considerable period. The River continued to bend from the Westward (N.W. and S.W.)

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106 See Oxley, Field Books, 18 September 1824, at Note 20, and Cunningham, Journal, 26 September 1824, at Note 149. This was indeed *Flindersia australis*; *F. xanthoxylum* does not flower in September.

107 See Cunningham, Journal, 18 September 1824, at Note 103.
as also to preserve a fine open width of 350–400 yards having alternately brushy secondary banks and open forest land, clothed in many instances with that indication of good soil, the *Angophora* or Apple Tree.

Shoal water and a gravelly bottom were observed in the centre of the Reach, these however we passed by a Deep water channel without suffering ourselves to receive an ill impression of our River. However, upon ascending about 4 miles of our morning’s advance, we passed a dry gravelly bank evidently the deposit of floods and on bending North entered a beautiful Reach extending an estimated distance of 2 miles, having a range of Forest Hills\(^{108}\) at its head or upper Extremity, the breadth of the River at this part being expanded to 400 yards, its lower bank rising gradually to an interesting back forest Country appearing to furnish abundance of grass and heavy Eucalyptine timber, these particular parts occupied by the usual density of brush, having the new Pine and a *Ficus (rubiginosa)* of vast magnitude.

At length a Branch 150 yards wide runs into the River from about West\(^{109}\)

\(^{108}\) D’Aguilar Range.
\(^{109}\) Bremer River.

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Fig. 22. Allan Cunningham’s sketch of the course of the Brisbane River between Goodna and Mt. Araucaria (here designated as Pine Mountain, but not the present one of that name).
being probably the channel by which the waters of neighbouring rising country to the S.W. are conveyed to the River. Pursuing the main trunk northerly, we passed a low Sandy Island, about a mile in length and occupying the centre of the Channel, a sufficient depth of water to float our boats being found under the left bank. Upon passing this Island, which is clothed with the vegetation of the neighbouring banks, the breadth of the River is immediately perceived to contract to 150 yards, and on the Channel taking a bend from the N.W., several sandbanks appeared and in one spot some naked rocks extend from the right bank half the distance across the River which after winding from the South, S.E. to E. in the space of a mile and varying in breadth from 150 to 250 yards, we were brought to a low point proceeding from the right bank, over which, when the River is flooded, heavy and impetuous Torrents have evidently passed, leaving a considerable deposit of sand and pebbles which had formed a short distance above, an extensive Bank, 20 feet high, occupying 3/4ths of the Channel, and thus confining the Stream which was contracted to 50 yards and very shoal, to flow over a lower bed under the left bank.

On this gravel bank we pitched our Tents,\footnote{Opposite Fairy Bower.} our boat people being exhausted with the day's exertion, ourselves being much disappointed in our hopes of this River, by these indications of an origin by no means distant. Upon laying down on the Chart our Day's progress, we found that although we had made a diversion Course of about 11\frac{1}{2} miles, our direct route Westerly was not above 6 miles. The right bank of the River, opposite to our Encampment being 70–80 feet high and apparently likely to afford us a view of the Country to the Westward, I ascended it in company with Mr. Oxley but had again to regret that a series of wooded ridges of equal and at some points of bearing of higher elevation, prevented our sight being extended far. We, however, could perceive a very distant blue Range\footnote{Oxley's bearings (Field Books, 19 September 1824) indicate that this range included Cunningham's Gap.} bearing S.W. by S. and from its appearance there can be no doubt of much lofty land being situated in the Country to the Westward of Mt. Warning (an eminence on the Coast) especially as their bearings intersected the parallel of that remarkable Landmark to the Mariner at a distance of about a degree of Longitude to the Westward.

Of the few plants gathered in this Day's advance, a species of *Aeschynomene* related to *A. picta* Cav. Ic. very general on the gravel bank, afforded me seeds. A species of *Polygonum*, an *Indigofera* gathered formerly within the Tropic and an *Acacia* with tortuous pods scarcely distinct from the species gathered on Sims' Island.\footnote{This island near Arnhem Land was presumably visited by Cunningham during the voyages of Captain P.P. King.}

The pebbles that have been brought down and deposited by heavy floods in this part of the River, of which our encamping ground was entirely formed, were chiefly of quartz, jasper and agate but no portions of calcareous rock was discovered to infer that any Limestone formation exists in the distant western mountainous regions whence Torrents in wet seasons had brought them.

20th September

Continuing our Voyage, we had not advanced a mile in a S.W. direction whence the Channel occasionally becoming contracted to 60 yards, trended, when we arrived at another extensive Bank of sand and gravel over which the River in great floods impetuously sweeps, its marks on the Outer Bank furnishing us with the proofs of its being at those periods 500 yards wide.

In a walk I took across the Bank to a continuation of the River, I noticed a number of plants most interesting to me, growing in the Gravel, some of whom were advancing to a flowering state. They were *Kennedia rubicunda,*
the acacia above referred to,\textsuperscript{113} which is also frequent on the main banks bearing ripe seeds. Two species of Polygonum already collected – *Croton quadripartitum* [sic] – a species of *Hovea* with large leaves – *Ficus aspera* – *Commelina cyanea* and the *Aeschynomene* before remarked.

On reaching the opposite margin of this Bank, I again joined the Boat which had traced the River round the western side of this siliceous deposition by a very narrow channel not exceeding 50 yards in width, from which, however, it again widens to about 100 yards, having on its western shore a large mass of Rock\textsuperscript{114} which from its figure and apparently curious structure, induced me again to land to examine it, a depth of water exceeding 5 fathoms being sounded off it. This rocky mass was about 25 feet high, of vertical position and sub-cubical form, its summit being alone accessible from the back part, by the aid of some detached fragments of the same formation. It was of a compact siliceous or flinty structure, containing a portion of Iron, its front (to the River) which was singularly smooth and glossy, being deeply tinted by its oxydation.

The course of this progressively diminishing River continued to bend from the Southward and Westward a short distance from the Rock when it at once shoals to a bare sufficiency to float our boats which at length were stopped by a rapid of gravel 40 yards wide, obliging us to quit our seats to allow our people to drag them over to a continuation of the Channel which upon being pursued about half a mile brought us to a more considerable rapid 400 yards in extent, a large shelf of sand and gravel being on its eastern side.

Totally unwilling to suffer the further examination of the River to be prevented, Mr. Oxley on ascertaining that a channel of water deep enough to float us, existed on the opposite or south-western extreme, directed the people to drag the boats, on being partially unladen, over this Fall,\textsuperscript{115} but as this laborious operation would occupy 3 or 4 hours, the Worthy Director proposed to ascend to the Summit of a very steep range of Hills over-hanging the

\textsuperscript{113} Cunningham, Journal, 19 September 1824, at Note 112.

\textsuperscript{114} On Cunningham's sketch of the river (Fig. 22) this rock is designated "Remarkable bronzed rock".

\textsuperscript{115} This was College's Crossing. In Cunningham's letter to Telfair concerning this expedition, he wrote: "Extensive beds of alluvial gravel occupied its entire channel putting a stop to the progress of our boats – a few inches in depth of water occupying a small portion in the centre. Mr. Oxley, however, with his accustomed perseverance encouraged the boatmen who in a few hours actually dragged the boats over this barrier into a depth of about 12 feet water which continued along a short reach where we were again stopped by rocks in fast and fallen timber entirely choking up the very contracted channel . . . the river in period of flood had cut itself another channel a quarter of a mile wide the limits of which were marked by the gravel deposited there. These beds of gravel were of a compound character for besides the rounded pebbles or masses of
River, with a view to observe the nature and appearance of the Country to the Westward from its apparently commanding higher points. A broken hilly undulated tract of Land, extended as far as the eye could perceive, occasionally intersected by loftier ridges was observed to the Westward—an elevated Range\textsuperscript{116} lying North and South and bearing from us West by South about 6 miles, appearing covered with the Pine of the River; whilst to the Northward a series of lofty steep Forest Ridges lying east and west appeared.

Smokes, the indications of Natives, rising from the interjacent vallies or lower grounds. From the point on which we stood, the River was perceived to trend from the Northward and Westward with apparently a clear although very contracted channel. Iron bark (of the genus \textit{Eucalyptus}) was timber of the Forest land around, in which I remarked very generally \textit{Jacksonia scoparia}, with \textit{Pultenaea linophylla}. A tall species of \textit{Daviesia} allied to \textit{D. squarrosa} however rewarded me for the labour of climbing this otherwise to me uninteresting eminence.

About sunset our people had hauled the Boats over the rapid to a continuance of the River where the depth of water varied from 3 to 6 and 9 feet whereupon pulling a quarter of a mile, we hauled in on the margin of another body of Torrent-gravel and pitched the tents,\textsuperscript{117} our attendants being exceedingly exhausted with the labours of the Day; it being now determined to trace the River upward on foot rather than proceed further with the Boats before it was ascertained that there is a depth of water sufficient to float them.

The rock of this part of the Interior is a Sandstone, a pudding stone base as is shewn in the steep bank of the River opposite to our Encampment, which rises to the height of 200 feet, in the face of which it was remarked the stratum dipped E. by S., 15 degrees.\textsuperscript{118}

Upon examining the Channel before us, it was immediately discovered to be choaked \textit{sic} up by fallen and drifted Timber of large Dimension, the trunks of several of the trees extending from Bank to Bank which there, were rock there were torrent-worn fragments of whin of which we had noticed none in the country around.

"Finding it was perfectly useless to attempt to carry our boats beyond this second bank and seeing in our examination on foot a further series of impediment... we regularly encamped and planned a tour on foot to a high mount distant about ten miles (about west) from us in the presumed direction from which the river proceeded, from which elevation we hoped to gather such facts as would enable us to determine whether or not this river is an inland or Western stream communicating with the internal marshes."

\textsuperscript{116} Pine Mountain.
\textsuperscript{117} The position of the tents is shown in Cunningham's sketch (Fig. 22).
\textsuperscript{118} See Oxley, Field Books, 20 September 1824, where Oxley has "E. by N. about 15 degrees".
40 yards apart and it was found that these serious obstacles in the way of our
further advance by Boats, could not possibly be removed by our saws etc, all
further observations on this River could alone be made on foot. *Hibiscus*
*heterophyllus* continues with us on either Bank with the new *Metrosideros*
and in the small Brushes with which this part of the River is decorated,
*Ipomea pendula*, *Convolvulus septium*, and *Passiflora herbertiana* bearing
fruit, are very conspicuous.

**21st Tuesday.** Mr. Oxley, having determined upon a further examination of
the River on foot, I most gladly joined him in the Day's excursion, accom­
panied by our comrade in research, Lt. Butler.

Upon crossing this very reduced stream by the aid of a fallen tree, we
traced it on its right bank about 2 miles in a westerly direction, the boundary
lands on each side being lofty forest hills which occasionally approach and
overhang the River, in the Channel of which at scarcely the distance of a half
mile from our Tents were a ledge of rocks which extending from Bank to
Bank and within a short space of a second formidable Barrier, at once closed
all further enquiry of the Course and Origin of this interesting Water by our
Boats, the premature termination of whose navigation had so exceedingly
frustrated every hope that had been sanguinely entertained of it. Perceiving
we were not above 5 miles (by estimation) from the Pine Range seen yesterday,
from whose summit it was presumed we should be able to make some further
observations on the Interior, itself bounding our present view to the West­
ward, we proceeded direct over an undulated Forest Country, constituting
generally fine dry Sheep pasture, grooved by rather deep watercourses dipping
to the River, at this particular season, for the most part dry.

In three miles of this description of Country, we again intersected the
River**119** which from its Western Reach had taken a bend to the Southward
and as we were descending to its bed, our attention was arrested by the voice
of a solitary aborigine, almost in the decline of life, who in order to enjoy
it to its last glimmer, was by the aid of his Fish-gig**120** vigilantly looking
out for such a meal as the inhabitants of the shallow weedy pools of the River
would afford him. He had assuredly never seen a white face before, but the
instant his eye caught ours, an open frankness of Countenance showed us
his harmless disposition and we suffered not a moment to elapse before we
fully convinced him by signs, of our honest intention towards him.

The poor savage immediately joined us and learning we were about to
cross the River in order to proceed to the Pine Ranges which we then

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**119** This reach was called Red Cliff Reach. Cunningham revisited it on 1 September
1828, walking from Ipswich (Fig. 51).

**120** A fishing-spear.
discovered were not so near us as we had calculated, he forded the stream with us, directing us to the point, by which (it should seem) he had from period to period ascended the opposite bank to the elevated but level forest land extending to another bend of the River, which curved beneath to Pine Range to which we were destined.

Observing this Native had a basket, probably of his own manufacture, hanging from his shoulder, in which he had just deposited a Fish, recently speared, I made signs for permission to examine it, when on drawing it out by the Tail, it was with surprise and satisfaction both Mr. Oxley and myself immediately recognized in it the species of Fish, heretofore only known to us as an inhabitant of our Western Waters or those Streams that we have hitherto considered as ending in Internal Marshes and which at Bathurst in the parallel of our Colony is commonly called Cod, being throughout the Summer months caught in the Macquarie that waters those Downs. We have not been mistaken in the Fish which we have now found to be an inhabitant in an eastern water within 30 miles of that point of the Brisbane to which that of the Ocean flows, for we examined it critically, particularly as to the radii of the dorsal fin, the relative position of the pectoral and ventral fins, together with the structure of head and gill-covers.

However great the disappointment of our Hopes of this River, particularly in the limits of its navigable capabilities, by the existence of those extensive beds of gravelly deposits to which we have adverted and which had, in my mind, induced the partial conclusion of a mountainous Source by no means distant, rather than a River from distant internal muddy morasses, the fact nevertheless (accidentally acquired) of the Fish of those Marshes which receive our Western waters, existing in this River would feign indeed induce us to conceive that although we have (from some high points on this River) partially observed lofty western points at a Distance from us inland, which we had been disposed to consider as parts of a Main Dividing Range, giving two Directions, as in the parallel of our Mother Colony, to the Waters that rise in it, it is, nevertheless, probable that no such Barrier exists in the latitude of 27° to prevent the Discharge of these Waters (which we have hitherto designated Western) on the East Coast by this great Channel although it may be by a Course throughout its various meanderings of not less than 1,000 miles.

Founded as this Idea is on the single solitary fact of the discovery of the Western "Cod" in this River, it has given us a determination to make (on another day) an excursion inland to the most lofty point Westerly whence the Country may be overseen on all sides.

Traversing about 2 miles of grassy forest land Westerly, we again intersected a bend of the River, which had made a curve from the Northward and having forded it, immediately entered some thick brushes at the base
of the Pine Range, our Native friend having left us by striking off to the S.W.
probably to his Encampment, the density of the bush, as we ascended it
being too difficult to him, carrying as he did, his long spears on his shoulder.

The brushes of the acclivities of this Range which we found exceedingly
gradual, were of those plants chiefly of tropical aspect and of which I have
already made some slight mention, those of more frequent occurrence being
a small leaved Capparis, Carissa ovata, Maba laurina, Clerodendrum floribundum–Urtica–allied to Antiaris. Jasminum gracile–Exocarpus latifolius–

As we penetrated upwards it was with admiration, on passing through a
stupendous Forest, we beheld Timbers of stately growth but of unknown
Genera, without flowers or fruit, associated with the arborescent Flindersia
whose five cleft echinated122 capsules of the last year were thickly observed
on the ground, on whose trunk I observed a magnificent Acrostichum as
large as A. alcicorne but as a species perfectly distinct. It may be thus charac-
terized: A. grande etc.123

Hitherto in our examination of this River, we have been only gratified
with a distant view of the Pine; immediately we approached one of magnificent
stature, the Monarch of these woods. It was a healthy well-grown Tree,
exceeding 120 feet in height with a trunk 3.6 diam., clear of branches ex-
ceeding 80 feet. It was totally impossible not to halt a few moments to
admire this noble tree which had all the habits of ramification of the Araucaria
braziliensis. I perceived it bore its young Cones at the extremities of the
topmost branchlets, which of course were perfectly beyond my reach;
however a branch that had been broken off by the Wind, was found on the
ground, bearing several green fruit enabling me to satisfy myself that the
tree was of the Genus Araucaria.124

As we plodded onwards, imperceptibly ascending through a matted difficult
thicket of underwood beneath Araucariae, several of whose trunks measured
10 feet circumference at four feet from the base, I was not a little surprised
to observe a solitary elliptical nerved leaf upon a long foot stalk rising from
the ground, which on digging up the root, I discovered to be bulbous and
hence inducing me to consider it a species of Calostemma and perhaps
“album” of Mr. Brown, as the plant of Cairncross Island125 to which it is

121 See Cunningham, Journal, 17 September 1824.
122 Pointed.
123 Cunningham has a note “See specimen book”. This was the first mention of
the staghorn. See Fraser, Journal, 2 July 1828, Note 7.
124 Araucaria cunninghamii, or hoop pine. Cunningham called it Araucaria Brisbanii,
or Brisbane pine.
125 Cunningham had visited Cairncross Island, off the coast of North Queensland,
with Captain P.P. King in the “Mermaid”.

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closely allied (at least as far as habit is to be consulted) has proved to be a species of *Pancratium*. Upon discovering on reaching the highest point of this Pine Ridge,\(^{126}\) that in consequence of the stupendous growth of the Trees and general density of the brushes, no view around could be obtained, we descended the Ridge, re-forded the River and retraced our steps back to the Encampment which however we did not reach until Sunset.

22ND Wednesday. Whilst Mr. Oxley, accompanied by Mr. Butler, was absent from the Tents in a walk to a lofty forest hill\(^{127}\) bearing North, I was diligently engaged in re-papering my green plants, examining others that were prepared, etc.

Upon the return of these gentlemen in the afternoon, I learnt they had a most extensive prospect of the surrounding Country, particularly to the Southward and Westward, and that from the disposition of the lateral western Ranges of Mt. Warning to become lower and even soften down towards an apparently moderate internal western country where no defined dividing Range appeared to exist, the conclusion was that eventually the Brisbane will prove to be a distant western water of remote origin, and not rising chiefly in a mountainous region. Upon taking a series of valuable Bearings, they returned and proposed a Tour of two Days’\(^{128}\) advance to the Westward before our return to the Bay.

23RD Thursday. From the observations made yesterday from the summit of a steep Hill named Belle Vue Mount, situated North about 2 miles from the alluvial bank of our Encampment, in regard to the direction of the Higher Ranges of Hills, particularly those that diverge laterally to the Westward from the collections of mountainous land of the Mt. Warning Range which it has been presumed might extend inland, and by uniting with other lofty lands stretching from the Northward of us towards the South might form a body of mountains sufficiently elevated to constitute a Dividing Range of the Waters, it was proposed to make a tour of two days to the Westward with a view of observing from some commanding points within the range of a long Day’s march, the true structure and face of the Country bearing between N.W. and S.W. in order that some opinion may be formed of the probable point whence this River flows, the presumed distance of its source.

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\(^{126}\) Pine Mountain.

\(^{127}\) Mt. Crosby.

\(^{128}\) According to Oxley (Field Books, 23 September 1824) they planned a tour of five days, but Oxley’s illness forced them to return on the second day. Cunningham, writing up his journal at Parramatta on the basis of his field books and his memory, made a number of errors, others of which are mentioned in subsequent footnotes, numbers 131, 132, 154, 155.
or whether or not, it may be inferred from circumstances already existing, when supported by the results of our further inquiries that the Brisbane may be an outlet from the Marshes that receive the Macquarie, Castlereagh, etc., etc.

Taking two days’ provisions with us, attended by three of our boat people, I accompanied Mr. Oxley to Bellvue Mount which lying directly in our further line of route westerly, we ascended to the summit measuring barometrically 530 feet\textsuperscript{129} above the bed of the River but I had to regret the lowering aspect of the morning and the general haze that hung over the Country, (so clearly seen by Mr. Oxley yesterday) obscured for the most part our view around. (I could however perceive a low moderately hilly tract of land at South and distant about 25 miles). Taking therefore simply the bearing of a distant peaked wooded Mount\textsuperscript{130} (at N.W.N.) which appeared a lofty point whence some important bearings could be taken, we proceeded forward, observing to keep such ridges in the undulated Country we traversed, as tended towards the point to which our Course was directed, and avoiding a descent to the Vallies which were deep sharp and of difficult acclivity, again. About an hour before Sunset\textsuperscript{131} we reached the base of this elevated mount\textsuperscript{132} round which we again found the River winding from the Westward, and having refreshed ourselves, and fixed on the spot to pass the night,\textsuperscript{133} we climbed its very steep acclivity and from its summit had a most extensive view of the Country around us,\textsuperscript{134} more particularly to the Westward where the diffusion of light, occasioned by the rays of the setting sun enabled us to extend our observations.

At a distance of eight miles due west from us, a Pine Ridge\textsuperscript{135} of moderate elevation extended several miles in a North and Southerly direction, to the westward of which the actual structure of the Country, although it could not be fully ascertained by actual observation, it was nevertheless satisfactorily evident to each of us that it was either low and marshy or a level forest without a Hill, as the bold lateral Southern Ranges which (we have already remarked) diverge Westerly from those of Mount Warning on the Coast, were observed with some low ridges, stretching from the Country to the Northward of

\textsuperscript{129} Oxley’s field book gives the actual barometer readings (23 September 1824).
\textsuperscript{130} Probably Mt. England.
\textsuperscript{131} Oxley said it was at 2 p.m. that they stopped, for lunch (23 September 1824).
\textsuperscript{132} Actually it was not the mountain they had aimed to reach, being only about halfway to Mt. England. They called the mountain Mt. Araucaria, but it is called “Pine Mount” on Cunningham’s sketch of the river (Fig. 22).
\textsuperscript{133} At Sapling Pocket.
\textsuperscript{134} A sketch of this view (Fig. 20) was included in Cunningham’s letter to the Reverend J.D. Lang, 20 October 1824. It shows the river, the Marburg Range, and the position of their bivouac.
\textsuperscript{135} The Marburg Range.
our position, progressively to dip towards the Western lands before us and at length to soften down to their level, whence the River bending round the foot of the Hill on which we stood was observed to proceed. I would have rejoiced to have extended our Journey another Day to the Western Pine Range before us, as such observations could doubtless be made from its higher points, on the actual face of the Interior beyond it as would have enabled us to have arrived at more satisfactory conclusions in respect to the River and how far it may be considered as having a connection with our Internal Marshes, – the state, however, of Mr. Oxley’s health136 not permitting to advance so far prevented it.

At this point then, (whose Geographical position is about 27°30’ South Lat. and probably under the Meridian of 152°30’ East) closed our Examination of this River, and although we have not been enabled to determine whence it derives its source, we have at least acquired this knowledge of the Geological structure of the Interior of the Country in the parallels of 27° and 28° – that mountainous lands similar to those leading Ranges of our present Colony which not only constitute a formidable Boundary to the lands on our Eastern shore there within its limit, but separate the Eastern from the Western Waters, do not exist137 in the Interior of the Country from Moreton Bay but that from its moderate structure, and the fact of the fish of the Macquarie and other western waters being found in the Brisbane, there can be no doubt of its communication with some distant Internal streams, although not perhaps with the Marshes of the Macquarie, Castlereagh etc. seen by Mr. Oxley in 1818, from which this river at the western point of our penetration on it, is distant at least 300 miles. Finally as opposed to the Idea of its being an Outlet from our Internal Marshes whose waters in Seasons of their Overflow, doubtless carry with them portions of the mud of their extensive Bed which would certainly form a considerable deposit in the Channel of any river rising from them, and by which they could be disembogued on Sea Coasts, I need only advert to the extensive Banks of alluvial sand and gravel, with which the Channel of the Brisbane is alone138 occupied which at least would go to prove that if it does not altogether rise in the neighbouring highlands, its leading or principal tributary branches originate in mountains and most probably in those elevated Ranges observed to the Southward which are connected with the lofty points of Mount Warning.

136 In his letter to Lang, Cunningham wrote, “two days being as lengthened an absence from his comfortable bed and tent as Mr. Oxley could possibly bear in the very debilitated state arising from Diarrhoea under which he was labouring.”

137 In 1829, Cunningham reversed his opinion, claiming that the Dividing Range was indeed a great barrier, only to be crossed by means of Cunningham’s Gap. The truth is somewhere between these two opinions.

138 That is, no mud.
The chill of the early morning we experienced rather bracing, exposed as we were to its effects although somewhat sheltered from the humidity of the dews that had fallen very heavily during the last night, by the Hut of Boughs which our people during the period of our absence on the Pine Mount, had ingeniously constructed the last evening.

I rose at Daybreak to examine the shaded woods in the neighbourhood in which, however, I found most of the plants observed in similar umbrageous forests bounding the lower reaches of the River. The Trees that characterize the scenery are of the Araucaria or Pine, Flindersia australis and a very large Ficus which appeared undescribed and therefore may be distinguished by the following characters...139

The plants of the Capparideae observed in the thick woods of the River near the sea, presented in these forests the most formidable thickets I have ever encountered, rendered perfectly impervious by reason of the density of their growth and the Aculeae with which these plants are furnished. To the several plants of which I have made some mention as forming portions of the characteristic vegetation of this parallel of Latitude, I would now add Santalum venosum, Acacia scandens, a species of Grewia, Ehretia saligna and a strong thorned tree seemingly Zanthoxylum141 which however, with the others, were without fructification at this particular season.

On the skirts of these Forests in situations open to the sun and air, I observed Melia azedarach and young plants of the Red Cedar of our Colony and I gathered specimens in fruit of a spreading Tree with pinnated leaves, having much the habit of Trichilia but producing Leguminī from Capsules, enclosing large green seeds of the size of a chestnut.143

Such has been the effects of the long protracted droughts of the year that vegetation appears almost wholly in a state of inactivity, for of the evidently great diversity of Species that constitute these forests, few or none have been at this season detected in any state of fructification, and notwithstanding the close shade of these woods, so favourable to the existence of Filices etc., a continuance of dry blighting atmosphere appeared to have hardened the

139 A scientific description in Latin follows; it may be found on p. 161 of Cunningham's manuscript.
140 Prickles.
141 Zanthoxylum brachycanathum, commonly called Thorny Yellow Wood. Compare 18 September 1824 and 26 September 1824.
142 Fruit of plants of the Leguminosae.
143 This was the first mention of the Moreton Bay Chestnut, which Cunningham and Fraser later admired so much, and which by 1829 was established in the great gardens of the world (Fraser, Journal, 4 July 1828; Cunningham, Report, 30 July 1828; Cunningham, Letter, 1829).
144 Ferns.
surface of the thirsty soil and generally destroyed such small Ferns and Mosses which in seasons of regular moisture, flourish beneath such an umbrage.

Of the large and beautiful *Acrostichum* allied to *A. alcicorne*, I gathered duplicate specimens and with no small pleasure I discovered two very distinct plants of parasitical Orchideae of probably the Genera *Cymbidium* or *Dendrobium* but not evidently of species enumerated by Mr. Brown in his invaluable *Prodromus*.145

Of each of these very interesting plants I collected roots from the Trees on which they grew for transmission with others of this Family growing in the Colony, to His Majesty's Gardens; one species being remarkable for its elliptical undulated leaves upon a square club shaped stalk growing from matted fibrous roots – the other producing long fusiform flag-like leaves from an elliptical flattened bulb-like stem.

About 9 o'clock I returned to Mr. Oxley who I joined at breakfast and then we all set out on our Journey back to our Encampment pursuing a more direct and less hilly route than that of yesterday.

The proofs of a long protracted dry season were abundant throughout the fine grazing lands we traversed, for of the many water courses from the Hills which were deeply grooved and in many places fully sheltered from the rays of the sun, only one was intersected by us that was not dry, this now forming a chain of deep pools in a perfect state of stagnancy.

About 3 p.m. we returned to our Encampment where we found Mr. Butler had been absent from the Tents since Dawn of Day – he, however, relieved our anxieties for his safety by making his appearance about dusk, having made a Tour in the forest country remote from the River, where he had been indefatigable with his Gun. He had shot several of the Bronze-winged Pigeon (*Columba chalcoptera*) and a few male specimens of the Regent bird, a species of *Turdus*, exactly that of Hunter's River and Port Macquarie.

25TH September. About 9 o'clock we broke up our Encampment and began our Voyage downwards towards the Bay, having done as much in the Examination of the River and gathered as many facts relative to it, as existing circumstances would admit.

In the various parts between the Rapids, we observed a Fish to glide quickly past our Boats, which we fondly hoped would be found to be the Cod seen higher up the River and of which Mr. Oxley was exceedingly anxious to obtain a specimen. However its depressed head and shoulders, its tapering form, added to its manner of swimming proved it immediately to us to be a species of *Squalus* or shark of which several that were shot

145 Brown's great work on botany.
at exceeded 3 feet in length. The only difficulty existing in our minds was to conceive how a fish, properly the inhabitant of the Ocean could live also in waters presumably fresh.

Having passed the Narrows, we remarked at a clear, open part on the right bank a small fire round which were seated some Natives, consisting of a Man, some Women and Children, forming in the whole, a group of six persons. A scarcity of food in the forest land above the outer bank which they had fired to dislodge the Kangaroos of the brushwood, had driven these miserable Beings to seek an aliment in the productions of the River, I refer not to its fish, but to certain long whitish worms which engender and exist in sunken logs of Timber that after many years immersion, becoming in part decomposed is easily perforated by these worms who inhabit the excavations they thus make. These Indians had made their little fire, and having collected together a quantity of this decayed wood, were observed by us, very industriously engaged in breaking it up, to extract the worms within.

The instant we appeared on the Stream, they precipitately retreated into the Brush, leaving the whole of the little paraphernalia, economical utensils etc. behind them. We landed and found several stone headed hatchets, some spears and a basket or two of a plant of the Restiaceae. The consideration of the great labour of these people in preparing these Hatchets before they can possibly be of use to them, would not suffer us to take possession of one of them and finding that all our calls to induce these people to return and join us were unavailing, we resumed our Voyage, trusting that our having, in no wise, disturbed their little arrangements or taken their weapons, would inspire these Savages with just feelings of our generosity and good intentions towards them.

About 5 p.m. we reached that part of the River into which the Western branch falls, whereupon finding a good landing on the opposite or eastern

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146 K.A.W. Williams states, in an article in Queensland Naturalist, XX (1971), 51-53: "Many years ago a large fish locally called 'Cod' is known to have inhabited the reaches of the river and many good specimens were caught. This may have been the Murray Cod (Macullochella macquariensis) or a very similar fish. I have no record of this fish being sighted in recent times, but I have tried, by interviewing the old people in the Brisbane Valley, to obtain a description of this fish. They have been fairly vague, but it is known that the fish was large (sometimes about 20 lb.), had a large mouth and a body with spots and brownish markings. It was thought to be a sluggish fish because one was caught by hand at the mouth of Gregor's Creek as it lay in the shallow water near the river crossing. This was in April 1912. . . Sharks: Periodically warnings are issued for waters as far upstream as Mt. Crosby. Specimens as long as 10 ft. have been caught."

147 The Bremer River.
bank, we pitched our Tents (for the day) – the flood tide being set up strong against us.

As I had an hour before me of Daylight, I employed it in a patch of shaded forest, immediately on the River's bank near our Encampment, when I gathered the following specimens.

*Capparis* sp. . . .

*Rubiaceae* *Genipa* sp. . . .

*Pittosporaceae* . . . – a shrub of larger growth than the plant of our colony – *Cordyline cannaefolia* duplicate specimens.

The *Acrostichum grande* and *Cymbidium canaliculatum* of Mr. Brown grew on the timber trees on the margin of these woods, the latter showing a disposition to flower, but as no other plants of the many curious shrubs of these shaded situations bore either description of fructification, I was obliged to content myself with imperfect leaf specimens of the more remarkable, and then returned to our Tents.

26TH Proceeding on our Voyage downwards, we continued until we arrived at the particular reach on whose left bank I had in our ascent, landed and in whose thickets I had discovered the *Flindersia*. At this particular spot, it was proposed we should again land, not only to cut small logs of a few of the Timbers of these forests but also obtain specimens of such as were at the season, bearing flowers or fruit. Besides these in an abundant flowering state, of *Flindersia*, I furnished myself with specimens in young fruit, of a large and heavy Timber tree, probably of the Rhamneae and related to *Ceanothus* together with those of the Pine bearing young Cones from which I am enabled to draw character to shew that this Tree is specifically distinct from *Araucaria excelsa* or Norfolk Pine although its habit of growth is very different from that assumed by the Tree at its insulated indigenous spot, or shewn in those that have been imported to our Colony. This difference of habit in the Pine of this River consists in its uppermost branches being generally so disposed as to form by their unequal lengths, a flat or even surface at the summit in shape like that description of Inflorescence called a Corymb.

A very remarkable shrub of large growth seemingly of the genus *Zanthoxy- lum* with aculeated stem, yellowish wood and pinnated leaves, was observed

148 Scientific descriptions in Latin are given for some of these plants; these may be found on p. 162 of Cunningham's manuscript.

149 See Cunningham, Journal, 18 September 1824, at Note 106.

150 The inflorescence of a plant is the arrangement of the flowering branches.


152 Prickled. See Cunningham, Journal, 18 September and 24 September 1824.
in these shaded woods. I could not discover any one of the specimens of this remarkable plant bearing either flowers or fruit at this particular season.

Of the Parasitical [plants] I collected from the top-most branches of one of the Trees that were felled for the purpose of obtaining specimens of its Timbers, tufts of a plant of the Epidendra not enumerated amongst the species of *Cymbidium* or *Dendrobium* of this Continent in Mr. Brown's valuable work, as also further flowering specimens of the magnificent new *Acrostichum*, sparingly dispersed in these woods.

As soon as specimens (in small logs) of these Timbers were cut and placed in the Boats, we again quitted the shore, Mr. Oxley being anxious to profit by the strength of the tide, which had already begun to ebb. Upon proceeding down the River however about 2 miles, heavy clouds were perceived gathering from the Northward, indication of an approaching storm, it was therefore deemed advisable to land and encamp, and the tents had scarcely been pitched an hour, before the Thunderstorm in its passage over us to the Southward, drenched us with a copious rain which proved most serviceable to the parched lands around that had not apparently imbibed much moisture from the clouds for many weeks.

The flood tide had made before we quitted our Encamping Ground. We had therefore to pull down against its influence until about 2 p.m. when we fortunately had it, together with an occasional puff of westerly breeze, in some of the Reaches in our favour. About 4 p.m. we reached the points of Entrance of this River and as the people had laboured hard during the forenoon in descending to the Bay, we landed upon a low island to give them an opportunity of preparing a meal, previous to our return to the Vessel, whose anchorage was distanced about 7 miles.

This island which is elevated only a few feet above the upper marks of ordinary tides, is clothed with *Rhizophoreae* and *Avicennia* of large growth and is evidently overflowed in the periods of the full and change of the Moon, when its centre, which is somewhat lower than the marginal beaches is

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153 On the right bank, below Cockatoo Island.
154 Actually 28 September. Comparison with Cunningham's field book SZ20, and with Oxley's field book, shows that Cunningham has omitted from his journal the events of 27 September, including the encounter with the natives at Toowong. SZ20 has merely a few disjointed notes on this, including “Natives were yelling in the denser brushes as we passed down the River . . . muscular appearance of these savages . . . shot . . . wound left side and shoulder . . . visit to the spot where the unfortunate person dropped . . . yell of the night to be fully described . . . the probable ideas of these savages regarding firelocks”.
155 SZ20 records that they reached the mouth of the river at 2 p.m.
156 Mangroves. See Cunningham, Journal, 16 September 1824.
rendered a perfect saltmarsh, the plants of which were chiefly of *Salsola macrophylla*, *Salicornia indica*, a *Tetragonia* common on the shores of our Colony with *Atriplex halimus* which however rather occupied the drier shores of the Island where the Natives had, at a period rather recent, been enjoying themselves with a regalement of shell fish near the spot of our landing, where huts of very neat construction and ample internal capability were standing, which gave us proof of their superior manner of building retreats from the Weather, over their Countrymen in the Mother Colony.

Upon a curved framework of sapling wands crossed and secured at the several points of intersection by strips of *Flagellaria indica*, sheets of paper-like bark of some *Melaleuca* carefully laid in ample thicknesses, fully to exclude the heaviest rains from the Interior – these thatched roofs being externally secured by the stems of the *Flagellaria* whose suppleness is admirably adapted to all purposes where abrupt bends are required. The area of each appeared fully sufficient to afford accommodation to 6 Individuals.

Such was the violence of the breezes in the evening from seaward, that upon leaving this island, we were labouring until 10 o’clock at night before we reached the anchorage and not before a part of my baggage, including some of my specimens of plants, had suffered injury from the salt sprays which continually broke over our Boats. The Master of the Vessel,157 accompanied by the Assistant Surveyor158 were absent in the examination of the supposed shoal passage to Sea between the south extreme of Moreton Island and Point Lookout of Captain Flinders, agreeably to Mr. Oxley’s directions to them, previous to our Departure on the River excursion, and were not expected to return before the close of the month. We were informed to our surprize, that in the thunderstorm of yesterday afternoon, which was particularly felt at the Anchorage, the Vessel drove, in consequence of the foulness of the ground, and insufficiency of weight of the anchor, and was alone prevented from being drifted on shore by letting go one of a larger size which was the 3rd down. During the squall, the sea that is described to have got up with the wind from the N.E. was that of a very heavy swell which constantly broke over the Brig’s forecastle, showing us that notwithstanding the shelter of the Bay by Moreton Island, such is the expanse of water within, that a sea is raised by breezes from the N.E. and S.E. equal to that to which an open roadstead is subjected, rendering it unsafe for vessels to remain long at anchor, but after the discharge of their respective cargoes, to remove.

157 Charles Penson.
158 Robert Hoddle.
On Saturday morning last H.M. colonial brig Amity returned from the Northern Settlements, last from Moreton Bay, with His Excellency the Governor in Chief, his Honor the Chief Justice, the Surveyor General, Captain McArthur and Mr. Francis Stephen, all in excellent health.

His Excellency proceeded, by water, to Parramatta.

We are happy to inform our Readers that the Amity was only four days returning, while she was 14 days on the passage to Moreton-bay; in which she encountered heavy gales and bad weather. One night in particular, the thunder was so awful, and the lightning so vivid (the wind at the time blowing a gale), as to resemble a storm in the West Indies. His Excellency, we believe, passed five years of his life in these islands, and never witnessed more stormy and alarming weather: the fire-balls, as it were, danced upon the deck.

The information that we have been able to obtain, is not of a much more interesting nature than that which we have already given to our Readers. His Excellency the Governor is amazingly gratified with the excursion; and, from the knowledge He has been able personally to acquire, there can be little doubt but that Australia will, at no distant period, derive considerable and lasting benefit. The Amity entered by the Northern, and returned through the Southern entrance. The length of Moreton Bay is ascertained to be 60 and its breadth 20 miles; containing, within the basin, no less than 1200 miles! His Excellency and His Honor the Chief Justice, with the other Gentlemen, went up the Brisbane River only 28 miles. At this extent the breadth of the river is about half-a-mile. The river preserves its character the length of this distance. The scenery on each side was truly picturesque; on one side high open forest land would present itself, whilst on the other, a comparatively low country, covered with close vegetation, was to be seen: these views were alternate, and from the striking contrast, were of the most engaging description. The pine, with which the country seems to abound, holds out prospects of a truly promising kind. Some of the trees measured

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159 4 December 1824.
160 Sir Thomas Brisbane.
161 Sir Francis Forbes.
162 John Oxley.
164 Clerk of the Council.
165 If the estimated distance is correct, they would have gone about as far as the Seventeen Mile Rocks.
166 Hoop pine, a specimen of which Sir Thomas sent to England for appraisal; Brisbane to Bathurst, 1 January 1825, in Historical Records of Australia, Series I, XI, 456–57.
from 8 to 10 feet in circumference, and in height might be from 90 to 100 feet, without the intervention of a branch to injure their symmetry.

As the natives were particularly troublesome to the New Settlement at Red Cliff Point, by purloining the tools and other useful articles, at every opportunity, the Commandant has been constrained to keep them at a respectful distance, owing to which very few were to be seen by the Party. Up to the day preceding that of the departure of the Amity, only three natives had been descried, and they were at some distance. On the morning of the Amity's weighing anchor, however, a small party came round a point of land. The Governor, the Chief Justice, and other Gentlemen, presently landed. One of them quickly recognised Finnegan (the partner of Parsons who had been so many months with them), and evinced extraordinary pleasure. In a few moments the party increased to 15, men and boys, but no females were to be seen. Two of the Hunter's River natives had attended the Expedition, and were on shore with His Excellency, but they failed in making themselves understood, other than by gestures—they seemed quite ignorant of each other's dialect. They were very friendly, and betrayed no symptom of fear; indeed, one was so inordinately gratified, as to roll himself in the sand—from pure pleasure.

They were in a state of nudity, with the exception of curiously-wrought nets, which were worn round the neck for the purpose of carrying fish and other food: these were gladly bartered away for tomahawks, &c. They were armed with no destructive weapons. His Excellency regretted that the Expedition had not earlier fallen in with these aborigines, that some degree of confidence might have been commenced upon, if not established, between them and the Europeans. They are evidently of a superior order to those in the more Southern part of this continent.

His Excellency, and the Gentlemen of the Expedition, remained one night up the River Brisbane, having encamped on Peel's Island, so named in

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167 At Amity Point; see a parallel account in the *Australian*, 9 December 1824.
168 Another account of this meeting, told by Sir Thomas Brisbane in a letter to W. J. Hooker, 3 November 1829, is in W. J. Hooker (ed.), *Botanical Miscellany* (3 vols.; London: John Murray, 1830), I, 238: "It is remarkable how much better the condition of the aboriginal inhabitants appears upon the coast than it is in the interior. While at Moreton Bay, I fell in with natives who had never seen an European. One old chief put his hand all over my arm and shoulder to feel if my clothes were part of myself, when the ecstasy of some was beyond my powers of description. They had no weapons but long spears, and perhaps, if left to themselves, would not arrive at the possession of bows and arrows for some centuries. They had never seen iron or steel, and when I presented them with tomahawks, knives, and scissors, it produced the most extraordinary surprise, one of the natives throwing himself down on the sand, rolling over and over, roaring and making a hideous noise, but all through pure delight." Sir Thomas had forgotten that these natives already knew Finnegan.
honor of the Right Honorable Secretary of State for the Home Department.\textsuperscript{169}

We are credibly informed, that His Excellency intends either the removal of the present temporary Settlement, or the establishment of another about 9 miles from the mouth of the Brisbane,\textsuperscript{170} which will be more desirable for the purposes of navigation.\textsuperscript{171} The site fixed upon was designated, by His Honor the Chief Justice, Edenglassie. The river is half-a-mile wide in this eligible position for a Settlement; having ten fathoms water, possesses good anchorage, and has, by nature, a wharf already nearly complete.\textsuperscript{172} Our limits will not allow of more at present.

\textsuperscript{169} Peel Island is in Moreton Bay, near Dunwich, and was so named by Oxley in October 1824, after Sir Robert Peel (1788–1850). As the “Amity” left the Bay by the South Passage, they would have passed around the southern side of Peel Island in the channel discovered two months earlier by Hoddle.

\textsuperscript{170} At the mouth of Breakfast Creek. This site had been recommended by Oxley after his 1823 expedition. See Oxley, Report, 29 November – 6 December 1823.

\textsuperscript{171} A settlement up the river had always been the main objective (Oxley, Report, 29 November – 6 December 1823). After the discovery of a shipping route through the South Passage in October 1824, ships could travel to the mouth of the river without having to go near Redcliffe. The Redcliffe settlement had been intended as a military post and store on the route to the river, and the new route made Redcliffe obsolete. A store was later built on the new route, at Dunwich.

\textsuperscript{172} The “wharf” was the rocky point just downstream from the mouth of Breakfast Creek, where Oxley had gone ashore on 2 December 1823 and camped on 16 September 1824. See Oxley, Report, 29 November – 6 December 1823, Note 202.
Major Edmund Lockyer of the 57th Regiment arrived in New South Wales in May 1825. Under instructions from Governor Brisbane, he visited the Brisbane River in September 1825, with John Finnegan in his party. As the river was in flood, there was ample depth of water to enable him to take his boats far beyond the limit of Oxley's expedition of 1824. He passed the junction of the Stanley and Brisbane Rivers, and explored the foothills of Mt. Brisbane on foot.

Lockyer's journal, reproduced here, appeared in the *Australian Quarterly Journal*, ed. C. P. N. Wilton, I (1828), 268–80, 356–69. Extracts from a draft of the journal appeared in an article by Nicholas Lockyer; these are quoted here in footnotes.

Lockyer’s instructions were to investigate certain claims in "a report lately made relating to the interior of the country at Moreton Bay and its inhabitants". This report had been made by John Gray, the pilot at Port Jackson, who had been sent to Moreton Bay in March 1825, to survey and buoy the channel from the South Passage to the mouth of the Brisbane River, and to move the settlement from Redcliffe to its new site up the river. He completed his tasks by mid-July. During an expedition up the Brisbane River, he thought he saw a tribe of white men with bows and arrows at the mouth of England Creek, near Fernvale Bridge.

As a result of this surprising report, Brisbane instructed Lockyer to seek out these people and to note "their dispositions, complexion, size, dress and customs, with their means of hostility and defence". Lockyer took with him Thomas Robinson, a sailor who had been in Gray's party; Robinson pointed out the place concerned, but no white men could be found, and Lockyer's map is marked "Gray's mistake" at this place.

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1 N. Lockyer, "Exploration by Major Edmund Lockyer of the Brisbane River in 1825", *Historical Society of Queensland Journal*, II (1920), 54–73. The Oxley Library advises that Major Lockyer's draft was lost while on loan from the Library.

2 J. Ovens to Major Lockyer, 31 August 1825 (reference 4/1658 in Archives Office of N.S.W.)

3 Gray's chart of Moreton Bay is in the Survey Office, Brisbane; catalogue number NA 9, reproduced here as Fig. 24. Gray's report is not known to have survived.

4 Ovens, op. cit.

5 Lockyer's sketch of the course of the Brisbane River is in the Survey Office, Brisbane; number MT 50, reproduced here as Fig. 25.
Fig. 24. A copy of John Gray's chart of Moreton Bay in 1825, chart NA 9 in the Survey Office, Brisbane. Place names in this chart include Red Cliff Point, River Brisbane, Peel's Island, Bird Island, Fresh Water Point, Amity Point, Point Moreton, and Point Look Out. At Point Look Out
is the remark "Latitude by Observation 30 November 1824 27° 23' 8" By His Excellency Sir Thomas Brisbane K.C.B.".
JOURNAL OF AN EXCURSION TO MORETON BAY, AND UP THE RIVER BRISBANE IN THE YEAR 1825, BY EDMUND LOCKYER, ESQ., J. P. - LATE MAJOR, IN HIS MAJESTY'S 57TH. REGT. OF FOOT

Communicated by the author

SEPT. 1st Embarked on board the Cutter Mermaid.

2ND At 5 o'Clock A.M. sailed from Sydney - after a fine run anchored inside Nobby's Island, Hunters River - At half past 6 P.M. landed the Detachment of the Buffs. 6

3RD The Brig Amity lying here - learnt, that she had not the boat, that was supposed to be on board that vessel - At 11 A.M. sailed for Port Macquarie.

4TH Arrived off Port Macquarie,7 at 5 A.M. went on shore - the Brig Henrietta had sailed from thence with the boat, that was said to be in the Amity - Captain Gillman offered me any of his boats, that I thought would answer; on inspecting them, they proved quite unfit, except a boat belonging to Lieutenant Owen, which I considered my duty to purchase for government, as the one furnished at Sydney was incapable of carrying the necessary articles &c. for the expedition, besides being very much the worse for having been badly used, and was patched up, and not safe. Went on board at 12 A.M. - had the new boat hoisted, and made sail.

5TH Wind fresh W.S.W. - running along the coast - found the head lands to answer correctly as laid down by Captain Flinders, passed Cape Byron and Port Danger, the latter at half past 6 P.M.

6TH Wind S. light airs, at day light close in with Point Look-out - passed in between the Reef of Rocks, and flat Island,8 - Plenty of water eighteen fathoms to eleven to the outer buoys of the Channel,9 leading into Moreton Bay by Amity Point. In the channel, not less than four fathoms and half at the last of the ebb - good anchorage inside and close under the shore of the land. Inside Amity Point from this anchorage through the Channel up to Peel's Island, not less than four fathoms at high Water; after rounding Peels Island plenty of water for Ships of any size and good anchorage, which continues

6 A sergeant and twelve soldiers of the 3rd Regiment. See N. Lockyer, op. cit., p. 63.
7 "For the purpose of delivering five pheasants to the Commandant of that station, and, if possible, to procure a boat which may better answer the purpose of the expedition than the one now furnished." See ibid. Owen was paid £28 for the boat.
8 Flat Rock.
9 The South Passage, buoyed by Gray a few months previously.
all the way up to the Green Islands\textsuperscript{10} and from thence to the buoy on the spit of land off the mouth of the Brisbane.\textsuperscript{11}

\textbf{7TH} At 6 o'clock weighed anchor and stood for the river – came to anchor at the buoy on the end of the spit. The navigation would be considerably facilitated by regular buoys being placed of different colours, red and white, to mark the sides of the channel. At 3 o'clock p.m. learning from Mr. Penson, the master of the Mermaid, that he did not think it prudent to take the Cutter over the bar, I departed in my boat, to proceed to the settlement up the river; on going over the bar, which was then high water, found upwards of 12 feet all over the passage by which I entered. At half past 7 o'clock, landed at Eden Glassie,\textsuperscript{12} Captain Bishop 40th Regiment Commandant.\textsuperscript{13}

\textsuperscript{10} Green Island, St. Helena, and Mud Island.

\textsuperscript{11} The events of this day are given in a draft of Lockyer’s diary, quoted in N. Lockyer, \textit{op. cit.}, p. 63: “The land opposite to the South Point of Moreton Island is called ‘Amity Point.’ We passed quite close and about half a mile further in, and close to the shore, we came to anchor in six fathoms. We observed a large bark hut and two or three soldiers. Not far from them were a number of natives, all armed with spears. We landed and learned that these soldiers were in charge of provisions and stores landed from the \textit{Lalla Rookh}, nearly two months previously. This ship was of 380 tons, had been in there and had landed a detachment of the 40th Regiment with stores. The only means of removing these to the settlement about 40 miles distant was by a leaky boat, which could only take two tons at a time, a very tedious operation. The Sergeant in charge informed me that the natives were very civil, and even brought them fish every day. They had not shown any inclination to take any of the loose articles lying about. One of the three men who had lived amongst the natives here for nine months, by name James [sic] Finnegan, was by order of the Government sent as one of my party. The natives recognised him again, and showed the greatest pleasure at meeting their old acquaintance . . . The master of the cutter, anxious to take advantage of the flood tide now making, returned on board and sail being made, we made quick way towards Peel Island, situated very prettily in the Bay. On rounding this we had to beat up to the Green Islands, where the cutter anchored for the night.” The “\textit{Lalla Rookh}” had left Sydney on 29 July 1825, and in addition to the detachment of soldiers had carried Captain Peter Bishop, the new Commandant, and L. V. Dulhunty, the new Superintendent of Convicts.

\textsuperscript{12} Forbes had suggested this name for Brisbane Town in December 1824, but it was seldom used. The settlement was on William Street.

\textsuperscript{13} N. Lockyer, \textit{op. cit.}, p. 63, gives further details of this day: “At nine the next morning the anchor was weighed and a course made for the entrance to the river. At 3 p.m. we arrived off the mouth of the river. The Master, Mr. Penson, stated that no vessel had ever been in the river, and from the reports of Mr. Gray, the pilot who had been sent to survey and buoy the channels, it appeared no vessel could go over the bar. Anxious to get to the settlement, to proceed with the survey of the river, I left the cutter, in my boat, and on going over the bar found 13 feet, it being then high water.” Lockyer’s chart (Fig. 25) includes “Breakfast Point”, just east of the mouth of Breakfast Creek, evidently referring to the spot where Oxley breakfasted on 17 September 1824 (Cunningham, Journal, Note 91).
Fig. 25. Sketch of the Brisbane River in 1825, by Edmund Lockyer, redrawn for this book from an original, MT 50, in the Survey Office, Brisbane. Lockyer's survey was not accurate and this map does not always agree with the course of the river as shown on modern maps.
MORTON BAY
GREEN ISLAND
PEEL'S ISLAND

PIE HILLS
NATIVES SEEN
14 SEPT.

COAL HILL PINES
13 SEPT.
RED CLIFFS
FULL STREAM RAPIDS
FALL

HIGH ROCKY BANK
TREES ACROSS
PINE TREES
OCCASIONALLY ON BOTH SIDES
THICK BRUSH
11 SEPT.
7 STONES
GREEN HILLS
HILL PINES
RIVER WASH

HILL BANK
FULL BANK
FALL

MR. OXLEY
STONES
OAKS

SWAMP OAK & MANGROVE
NORMAN CREEK

LOW FLATS
MANGROVES
BREAKFAST P.
HIGH BANK

SPRINGS WATER IN A ROCK
PRETTY SPOT
LAND GOOD

VESSELS UP TO 10 FEET
CAN COME HERE

NO TIDE ABOVE THIS
UP 5 HOURS DOWN 7

CAT NO. M620

MT50
8TH  Wrote back to Mr. Penson, desiring him to use all exertion to sound for a passage, and to bring the cutter over the bar, and up the river to the settlement.14

9TH  Making arrangements for the equipment of the boats and packing of the provisions.

10TH  Loaded the boats,15 and embarked at 2 O’Clock, p.m. – several natives were seen on the side of the river opposite to the settlement. I was informed by Captain Bishop and Lieut. Miller,16 that they had not appeared there before in numbers, except one or two, and that very seldom. On this occasion I think there were upwards of thirty men, women, and children. – They seemed desirous to cross the River. I learnt on my return, that they had swam across higher up, after my departure, but could not be persuaded to approach the settlement nearer than 2 or 3 hundred yards, where they remained looking at the buildings and the cattle for about an hour, and then went off, and were not again seen.

Miles.—Course of the River.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Miles</th>
<th>Description</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1/4</td>
<td>North West</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>SW. &amp; SN.17 by S.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>S. to East</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>¾</td>
<td>S. S. E.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1½</td>
<td>W. S. W.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

On the banks, Pine trees on both sides. The Indian Fig tree – blue gum, swamp oak, Iron bark, and occasionally thick brush. In the last reach a long shoal of hard gravel in the middle of the river.18

14 N. Lockyer, *op. cit.*, pp. 63–64: “I wrote back (on arrival at Edenglassie), to the Master, and requested that he should attempt to come in, which he did and sailed up to the settlement, where he landed the stores, and took on board a cargo of fine timber. He sailed out again, and has since been in and out with full cargo, drawing ten feet without touching. For sixty miles from the entrance (Amity Point), any vessel drawing ten feet might proceed up this fine river... the thick mangroves at the entrance and its low shores completely mask it, and it is not observable a mile distant.” The pine logs were cut at South Brisbane, “opposite the settlement”.

15 N. Lockyer, *ibid.*, p. 64: He was provisioned for 42 days, and the “boat crews consisted in all, of fourteen persons divided as follows:- In one boat myself, four men to row, and a soldier of the 40th. In the other, Mr. L.V. Dulhunty, four men to row, two soldiers of the 40th, and my servant.”

16 Bishop had succeeded Miller as Commandant.

17 Misprint for SW.

18 “Bishop’s Bank” in Lockyer’s chart (Fig. 25). Named after Captain Peter Bishop, Commandant of the Moreton Bay Settlement, 1825–26.
At quarter past 5 o’Clock landed on the right side of the River in going up which we observed it to be a Brush with long grass, thinly wooded and rising in a gradual slope from the River. It was a very pretty situation, where I halted for the night, which was very cold, with a very heavy dew, and the Mosquitoes innumerable and exceedingly troublesome, which we found to be dispersed by our smoking. The boats sail was a good substitute for a tent, though it did not succeed in keeping out heavy rain.

11th

Left our halting place, and embarked at 8 o’Clock.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Course</th>
<th>Miles</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>N. W.</td>
<td>1$$\frac{1}{2}$$</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>W. to SW. E to SS E</td>
<td>2$$\frac{1}{2}$$</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>S. to SS E</td>
<td>1$$\frac{1}{2}$$—steep bank</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>N. W.</td>
<td>1$$\frac{3}{4}$$—a reef of rocks nearly across the river — 7 stones.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>W. S. W.</td>
<td>2$$\frac{1}{2}$$—Pines occasionally on both sides.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>S.</td>
<td>3$$\frac{1}{2}$$—Green Hills.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>W. SW.</td>
<td>3$$\frac{1}{4}$$—Hilly banks, and low ground intervening.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>S. SE.</td>
<td>3$$\frac{1}{2}$$</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>W. SW.</td>
<td>1$$\frac{1}{2}$$—Red cliffs.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>S. E.</td>
<td>4$$\frac{3}{4}$$</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>S. W.</td>
<td>4$$\frac{3}{4}$$</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>S. E.</td>
<td>1$$\frac{3}{4}$$—An Island, low, three quarters of a mile long, thickly wooded, and often flooded.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>N. W.</td>
<td>1$$\frac{1}{4}$$</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>N. NW.</td>
<td>2 —A large branch here joins the main river from the Southward called Bumers Creek.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

19 Between Long Pocket and Indiврооpilly. Lockyer’s chart (Fig. 25) includes “Oxley’s Creek”, possibly the first use of this name.

20 Seventeen Mile Rocks.

21 Mt. Ommaney.

22 Cockatoo Island; Oxley’s “Termination Island”.

23 This statement should be opposite N. NW. 3$$\frac{3}{4}$$, and the spelling should be “Bremer’s Creek”. Both of these were printer’s errors, for Lockyer’s chart treats them correctly (Fig. 25).
S. SW.  
N. NW.  
\[1\frac{1}{4}\]

Here is a long sand bank and also gravel with patches of brush, and trees on it.

\[3\frac{1}{4}\]

The wood on the banks – Fig tree, Blue gum. Swamp oak, and Iron bark, for the last half distance no Pines, but here and there a solitary cedar – On landing found spinage in great abundance, mint, parsley, and the wild poppy. Halted at 3 o’Clock on the left side of the River on a sand stone rock forming a natural wharf or jetty. The tide only flows a short distance above this. Whilst dinner was preparing, took a walk into the country, found it delightful, thinly wooded to a great extent, fine pasturage for any number of cattle, and only occasionally thick brush with little marks of natives having been there – Several very fine eels were caught here, and a fish called the cat fish.

12TH  
At \(\frac{1}{4}\) past 8, left our halting place and proceeded.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Course</th>
<th>Miles</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>NW. and N.</td>
<td>1(\frac{1}{4})</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>W. to S.</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>E.</td>
<td>(\frac{1}{4})</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>S.</td>
<td>(\frac{1}{4})</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>W. and SW.</td>
<td>1(\frac{1}{4})</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>S. SW. and W.</td>
<td>1(\frac{1}{4})</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>W.</td>
<td>2(\frac{1}{4})</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>N. and NE.</td>
<td>(\frac{3}{4})</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>N. and W</td>
<td>(\frac{3}{4})</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

11

The country as yesterday, except the hills being high with fine downs thinly wooded with very high grass, of the cat species: very few pines to be seen; the river in some places was considerably narrow, and then again widened; over the rapids rather shallow, obliged to track the boats over, to do which the men were forced to get out; marks of drift grass and pieces of wood

24 Mentioned by Cunningham (Journal) and Oxley (Field Books), 20 September 1824.
25 College’s Crossing.
26 This statement all refers to N. and NE. \(\frac{3}{4}\), i.e. below Mt. Crosby. Oxley had been prevented from taking his boat through here, owing to the fallen trees, but Gray had since been well past this point. See also Journal, 4 October 1825, Note 65.
washed up the sides of the banks, and up into the branches of the trees — Marked the floods to rise here upwards of one hundred feet;27 near the place of our encampment28 fresh marks of the natives having had their fires — As yet we have not seen any — landed at half past 4 o’Clock P.M. — Mr. Oxley has been thus far.

13TH

At ¾ past 8 A.M. left our halting place.

Course. Miles.
N. W. 1½—Several rapids
N. and NW. 1 ¾—Shallow, rapid & difficult
S. and SE. 1 ¾—River deep a rapid easy high red cliffs.29
SE. to NW. 3 —Many shallow, and a very rapid fall — Coal bed30
N. 1 ¼—Very shallow.

9

This day from the number of rapids and shoals, the getting of the boats up was a matter of great labour and exertion, as the men were mostly in the water for upwards of six hours. — At half past two landed and encamped for the night.31 Saw some Cedar Trees, on the Banks of the river near the edge quantities of Honey suckle and swamp-oak; on the high ground, Blue gum and iron bark in abundance and very large. Saw a few wild ducks; the fires of the natives quite fresh and concluded from not seeing them, that they avoid us; Cod fish caught similar to those which are taken in the river at Bathurst.32

14TH

At half past 8 embarked and proceeded up the river.

Course. Miles.
N. 1½—Rapids then deep water for upwards of a mile and half
NE. ¾—
SS E. ¾—

27 The official record of the flood level of the river on 4 February 1893, at the Mt. Crosby pumping station, was 94 feet 10½ inches; see N. Lockyer, op. cit., p. 65.
28 The encampment was just upstream from Mt. Crosby.
29 Cunningham called this Red Cliff Reach (Fig. 51).
30 This coal was observed near Kholo bridge, and was probably the first coal discovered in Queensland. Lockyer collected some here on 4 October (Journal).
31 At Pine Mountain, Lockyer’s chart has “Hills with pines”. They camped at the foot of Pine Mountain.
32 See Oxley (Field Books) and Cunningham (Journal), 21 September 1824.

189
E. N. E. 1½—
N. 3½—
N. NW. 1¼—
W. ½—
NW. 1¼—
N. ½—
E. to S. 1½—
SE. 3—Some natives seen, high hills.33

11½

The hills beautifully covered with Pine trees, of large size, the banks as before with swamp oak, Honey suckle, Blue gum, and Iron bark. We this day for the first time saw some of the natives – ordered the boats to pull up, to the shore, on which they stood – after a little hesitation, and the sight of a looking glass, which I held up, they ventured down within a few yards. Gave them some biscuit, shewed them two sheep, we had in the boat, at the sight of them their astonishment was great, as also at two of the soldiers of the 40th Regt, who had very red hair: from their manner it was evident, the colour of these soldiers’ hair was a matter of great curiosity to them as well as their red jackets. They were perfectly naked, stout, clean skinned, well made people, and shewed no symptom whatever of hostility. From the short intercourse, I had with them, I do not think, that they had ever seen an European before. In the evening heavy rain – the sail completely drenched through; passed a very uncomfortable night, the fires going out owing to the heavy rain – much thunder and lightning.

15th

About 7 o’Clock the rain ceased, and the weather began to break up – with the aid of good fires we soon got our clothes dry, and at 9 o’Clock embarked.

Course. Miles.
W. NW. 1¼—Several rapids and shoals with dead trees
W. 2½—lying in all directions in the stream, which
WNW. 3—caused great trouble to get the boats over, and to keep clear of them.34

6½

33 It is hard to identify these reaches of the river, but the day’s journey ended at Watercress Creek. The hills included Pine Mountain, Flinton Hill, and (to the north) Oxley’s “Mt. Araucaria”.
34 They camped near Fairneyview; the direct distance covered this day was less than 3 miles.
The natives, we saw yesterday, again made their appearance; amongst them saw an old man, a cripple, whom they carried; also a little boy – gave them fish hooks and lines. – They kept constantly pointing with their fingers to the boats and shouting, supposing them, as I concluded to be alive. The men having no change of clothes but what were wet, at 2 o’Clock I ordered a landing, having observed a good spot for the purpose on a point, which projected into the river from its bank on the left side going up. Under a range of hills encamped near a very large tree, a blue gum. To mark the spot, I caused the broad arrow to be cut above four feet from the bottom. The country here very good on both sides, soil good; walked up the hills, the country behind them having quite a park-like appearance. I saw Kangaroos in abundance, but they were extremely shy. As far as I could see to the S and SW, the whole country appeared well timbered with forests of tall pines; and to the NW. and NE. very few. – Walked several miles, having started as soon as I landed, and did not return until half past 5 in the evening – a fine lagoon of good water, about a mile and half from the landing place in a SW. direction;\(^{35}\) found the grass very long and fatiguing to walk in – rain during the evening.

16TH

At 9 o’Clock got into the boats and departed.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Course</th>
<th>Miles</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>NWN. and NE.</td>
<td>1½ – Deep water</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NE, by E. and NE.</td>
<td>1½ – Rapids and falls</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NW. and N.</td>
<td>1¾ – Shallow</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>W.</td>
<td>1¾ – Long reach and deep</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>N.</td>
<td>¾ – Same</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NW.</td>
<td>1¾ – Great quantities of free stone of a good</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>N. and NW. and N.</td>
<td>1¾ – description on the right side going up.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>W.</td>
<td>¾ –</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>10½</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Landed at the spot,\(^{36}\) where Mr. Gray the Pilot had stated, he saw the white race, and made our huts for the night; the party much fatigued, having been hard at work for six hours, it being 3 o’Clock, when we landed. The Pine hills, which appeared very high on ascending, now that we had left them in our rear, presented only their tops to our view which proved, we had ascended considerably; no appearance of the natives, where we halted – no marks of

\(^{35}\) According to Lockyer’s chart (Fig. 25), this should be N.W.; the lagoon is at Fairneyview.

\(^{36}\) At the mouth of England Creek, about ¼ mile downstream from Fernvale Bridge. See the introduction to this chapter.
fires nor the remains of shells of the river-muscle, nor of huts – this place was pointed out by Thomas Robinson, one of the sailors who was with Mr. Gray, who on my questioning him as to the color, number &c. &c. of the people stated to have been seen, said it was dusk at the time – that he only saw two or three men running in the bush, who appeared to be of a light colour, but he saw no bows nor arrows.

N. B. The natives are known on some occasions to whiten themselves with wood ashes.

17TH At half past 8 again set out.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Course</th>
<th>Miles</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>W. SW. and W.</td>
<td>4/3—to a fall</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SW.</td>
<td>1/2—to a fall</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SSW. and SW.</td>
<td>5/2—picked up a fishing net neatly made but old</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SSW. and W.</td>
<td>1/2—and rotten</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>W.</td>
<td>1—trees lying in the river</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NW.</td>
<td>3/4—a large creek running into the Brisbane from the westward</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

9 1/2

Much obstruction from dead trees lying across a narrow and winding part of the river, too numerous and large to attempt cutting a passage through them; consequently had to pull the boats over, taking every article out of them, and in making a distance of about a mile and half they were unladen four times, which occupied upwards of three hours, the stream running four knots and a half. On getting clear of this rapid, we entered a long reach with deep water – great number of wild ducks – shot several, as also a yellow snake – On the left side going up, and opposite our halting place, a large stream or creek joined the main river – after landing, the men went to fish, and caught a great number of cod and eels, the former particularly good. The country about this place was very fine, and the soil excellent. The trees of the same description – Iron bark and stones in abundance.

18TH At 9 o’Clock, proceeded up the River.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Course</th>
<th>Miles</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>N.</td>
<td>3/4—to a fall</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NE. and E.</td>
<td>3/4—a fall</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

37 At Fernvale Bridge.
38 Lockyer Creek, which this account suggests had its mouth near Lowood, 3 miles south of the present mouth. But see Cunningham, Report, 2 July 1829, Note 40.
Landed at half past 4 o’Clock P.M. From the number of falls and the rapidity of the stream this proved a most laborious day, and the party landed completely knocked up – several marks of fires and muscle shells, where the natives had lately been – white cockatoos in great numbers. Parroquets in great variety, but similar to those seen in the country about Sydney.

19TH

During the morning until ten o’Clock, very heavy rain.

Course.

Miles.

NW.  3/4—Deep
S. and SW.  3/4—A Fall
NW. and N.  3/4—A Fall
NW. and W.  3/4
SW. and W.  3/4—A Fall
W. SW.  4 1/2—Deep reach.

Rain began to pour in torrents about 12 o’clock, which compelled us to seek a place of shelter – took advantage of a very remarkable spot under a very high hill near its base, where were some natural caves about the size of a side box, of a Theatre, and resembling it much in shape – the abodes of wild cats and dogs. After getting the necessary articles, landed from the boats, – walked up the hill, which occupied one hour and a half – it appeared to me not less than 1000 feet high. On reaching the summit the weather began to clear up, – had a tolerable view of the country, which is very mountainous to the W.N.W. and high hills to the westward and SW. To the S.

39 Wivenhoe Bridge.
40 About a mile E.N.E. of Wivenhoe Bridge.
41 Northbrook Bridge.
42 Pine Hill.
43 Actually 750 feet above sea level and 650 feet above the river.
and SE. high land was discernible through the haze. Between the hills, upon whose summit I then was and the mountains to the W. N. W. and W. was a large flat country in extent not less than 30 or 40 miles finely wooded with blue gums and Iron bark – The iron stone prevails, very rotten, good sand stone, fine soil and fit for any purpose of cultivation. The rain again set in, and continued during the evening and greater part of the night with thunder and much lightning.

20th

The weather having cleared up and having got our clothes pretty dry, we quitted this spot at 9 o’Clock.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Course</th>
<th>Miles</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>NN E.</td>
<td>3/4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>E. and ESE</td>
<td>3/4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ENE and W NW.</td>
<td>13/4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NW.</td>
<td>13/4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>WNW and WSW.</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SW.</td>
<td>12/4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SSW.</td>
<td>1/4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>W and WNW.</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>N and NNE.</td>
<td>3/4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>N and NW and W</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>WNW and NW.</td>
<td>1/4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NW. to NNE.</td>
<td>2/4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NE to N.</td>
<td>4/4</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

14

The river became much better, as we were now crossing a level country – On rounding the point of one of the reaches we came suddenly on the encampment of some natives, who, on seeing us ran off leaving their Kangaroo skins, spears and tomahawks all behind – landed and examined their implements, giving strict orders not to remove a single article – sent to the boats for some biscuit and left it on the Kangaroo skins.

As I could not ascertain the direction the natives had taken or whether they would return, we got into the boats, and proceeded about a mile, when two natives were seen following us up the banks and calling to us – we returned to the shore and after some difficulty induced them to have sufficient confidence, to allow us to approach close to them, when they proved to be a woman and a lad about 14 years of age – the former had an infant in her arms – gave them looking glasses, beads and fish hooks, their surprise and apparent wonder at seeing people so opposite to themselves in color as well as in other respects, cannot well be described, but it is certain, that they had never
seen white people before, nor could they believe, that the boats were not living animals, as I could not induce them to go down to the place, where they were – On making signs for them to do so, the woman shook her head, and put her hand to her mouth, as if she was afraid they would bite. – Whilst we were holding communications with these two natives, several women and children were seen at a distance, but we could not induce them to come near; the men no doubt were not far off, though they did not appear. Finding we could not induce them to approach, we left our new acquaintances after convincing them of our friendly intentions. The woman, in return for what I had given her, held out a neat basket, made of plaited straw, and a kangaroo skin – The former I took, but declined the latter, as it was an article of considerable use and value to them. As we proceeded up the river, these poor people continued to wave their hands and to shout after us, until we were completely out of sight – They were black and perfectly naked. Great numbers of wild ducks were seen upon the river – we shot several in passing the boats. No Pine trees were seen this day – at 5 o’clock we landed and made the boats fast for the night on a bank on the right side of the river, about half way up a rapid in the eddy of the stream, which had formed a little basin – This place from the colour of the soil was named Red Bank.44

This morning at half past 7 I observed the water had risen a foot in less than an hour, and its discoloured appearance indicating that a flood was coming down, no time was to be lost in getting the boats up this rapid into the next reach – we accordingly all quitted our position.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Course</th>
<th>Miles</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>NE. &amp; N.</td>
<td>1½</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NW. &amp; W.45</td>
<td>1⅛</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SW.</td>
<td>¾</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>WSW.</td>
<td>¾</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>WNW. &amp; N.</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>N. &amp; NW.</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>N. &amp; NNW.</td>
<td>¾</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>N. &amp; NNW.</td>
<td>¼</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NE.</td>
<td>½</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td>8½</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The rapidity of the current increased every hour and the river had risen upwards of eight feet by eleven o’clock, and there was no want of water over

44 About 1½ miles south of Macfarlane's Bridge, Bryden.
45 Macfarlane's Bridge.
the rapids, but we experienced extreme difficulty in getting the boats up from the great strength of the stream running down the falls and rapids.

The country on both banks of the river was very fine with a very rich alluvial soil, and the whole on both sides all the way up from the settlement, quite fit for the cultivation of wheat, barley, oats, maize, fruit, vegetables — grapes particularly, as also cotton, coffee and rice, with sugar cane might with common exertion be produced in the greatest abundance. Very fine fish including a great quantity of very large eels were caught by the party — we landed at 2 o'clock and examining the country in the vicinity, found it, as described. We also observed marks of fires, and trees barked by the natives.

22ND

Left at 9 o'clock.

Course. Miles.
NNE & N 1 1/4 — Deep water
NNW. 1/2 — Deep water
WNW. 1/2 — Fall very rapid
W. 1 1/2 — Deep water, Pine Hill due W. 47
WNW. 1 1/4 — Deep water
NNW. 1/4 — Deep water

6

Landed at half past 1 to enable the party to wash their clothes, and to repair the oars of the whale boat, the river continuing the same, the country appearing beautiful — the flood still running down.

23RD

Left at 9 o'clock.

Course. Miles.
NW & N. 3/4
N 1
NE 3/4
N & NE 1
E 3/4
SE. 1 1/4
E & NE 1 1/4
NE 3/4

8

46 Near the mouth of Esk Creek, north of Glen Esk.
47 This hill is just north of Coal Creek.
48 Western side of Mt. Esk Pocket, near the mouth of Coal Creek.
The flood still running with such great force, that with unceasing exertion we had only made 8 miles at four o'clock, and frequently after we had nearly surmounted it with the greatest exertion in pulling up against the stream the men from being completely exhausted, were obliged to desist from their efforts, and we should soon have been taken down against our wish to the first tree to which we could make fast. Here I was in hopes of falling in with a large tribe of natives — 9 huts being directly opposite where we landed. On going over, however, we were disappointed, as there was no trace of their having been there for some days. We noticed several kangaroo and fish bones. — Heavy rain all the evening.49

24TH

During the night heavy rain, thunder and lightning, the flood in the river running down with great force making much noise in rushing over the rocks and the stumps of trees lying in the river. At this place a considerable stream50 runs into the river from the eastward — I caused a blue gum51 to be cut down. The weather proved so bad during the day, that I considered it advisable to remain, where we were.

25TH

We attempted to go with the boats — made about four miles, but found it impossible to make head against the stream, which was running at least eight or nine knots. — We landed,52 and took the precaution to have the ropes of the boat carried well up the bank, as the river was rising very rapidly. Opposite our encampment was an immense range of mountains, the largest of which and the nearest was about 1500 feet high.53

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Course</th>
<th>Miles</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>N. NW &amp; N</td>
<td>2½</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NW &amp; W</td>
<td>1¼</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Having landed about one o'clock we made an excursion into the country. There can be no doubt, but that the natives avoid us. From the marks of fires, their empty huts and the number of trees barked, I should think them rather numerous in this neighbourhood.

49 They camped near the mouth of the Stanley River for two nights.
50 The Stanley River.
51 This tree was found by Cunningham in 1829 (Cunningham, Report, 15 July 1829).
52 North-east of Caboonbah.
53 Point Deception, 1525 feet. Lockyer named this the Brisbane Mountain. The present Mt. Brisbane (2225 feet) is a few miles further north on the same range.
We again attempted at eight o’clock to proceed finding the river to have gone down six feet. Advanced about a mile, but found it impossible to pull against the stream up a rapid; made arrangements for tracking the boats up by sending ashore and the party passing the end of the rope to each other along the banks, as far as it would reach, and all the party assisting in hauling one boat at a time against the stream, remaining myself to steer her clear of trees and stumps lying in the middle – we succeeded in doing so nearly half way up the rapid, when the rope broke, and the boat was instantly carried down a considerable distance below, but fortunately without coming in contact with any thing, and by steering into an eddy I got the boat to the opposite shore. I found it useless with the means, with which I was provided, to make any further attempt to get the boats up this rapid, which I observed to extend upwards of a mile, and trying the stream with the log line I found it running at the rate of nine knots, therefore considerable danger was to be apprehended. And it was extremely fortunate on the rope breaking, that the boat escaped coming in contact with any of the numerous large stumps of trees, which lay directly in the main stream of the river, and which would have instantly knocked her to atoms. The loss of the boat and also of the provisions would have placed me in an awkward situation. This determined me to order the party and the other boat to join me, and on their doing so I directed every thing to be landed, and having fixed on a good spot under the mountain, I made arrangements to proceed by land for further exploring the river; leaving the Corporal of the 40th Regiment in charge of the boats and stores with one private of the 40th, four sailors and a convict; at the same time I gave strict orders to the Corporal on no account whatever to quit that place, or to move the boats, and to be on his guard in the event of the approach of any number of natives, and to prevent any violence being offered them, and to behave towards them in a manner to convince them no hostility would be intended. – Every thing being ready, at twelve o’clock I set out, accompanied by Mr. Dulhunty54 – a private of the 40th, one sailor55 and two convicts, with my servant carrying with us 8 days provisions, – kept the river in view – found walking extremely difficult, and dreadfully fatiguing from the long grass, which was at least four or five feet high, out of which started numbers of kangaroo of the large sort or forest kangaroo. Private Ward of the 40th would have trodden upon an immense snake had he not fortunately been prevented by my servant – it was shot by the former, and, when measured, proved to be ten feet in length and seven inches round, and of the diamond species. We crossed three considerable beds of rivers running down from the mountain to the main river. The water in the streams, that

54 Lawrence Vance Dulhunty, Superintendent of Convicts at Brisbane Town.
55 Possibly John Finnegan.
was running through them was excellent. At five o'clock being considerably
tired we halted for the night about a quarter of a mile from the banks of the
Brisbane – the course, which we traced from the spot, where we left the
boats, was –

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Miles</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>NW &amp; N</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NW W &amp; N</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NW. W. &amp; SW</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The night was extremely cold, and a number of emus, which our fires
had disturbed, were running about, making an intolerable noise all night.
From the quantity of trees newly barked, and wood lately burnt, as well as
the skeleton of several bark huts, we concluded, that the natives must be
numerous, and could not be far off.

27th At eight o'clock having all ready, we again set out, keeping the river in view.
Nothing can possibly exceed the fine rich country we are now in – we con­
tinued keeping the river in view until 12 o'clock its course being –

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Miles</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>SWW NW &amp; N</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NE N &amp; NW</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>W &amp; SW</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Here the bed of the river, though broad, was nearly dry, except a small
stream passing through it, and at this time quite impassable for boats, and
from the number of large streams running down from the Brisbane Mountain,
I am induced to suppose the river to be chiefly supplied by these tributary
streams, as it certainly terminates here as a river, but I think it very probable,
that the large swamp, into which the river at Bathurst loses itself, occasionally
overflows, and is the cause of the tremendous floods, that at times take place
in the Brisbane River. From the Brisbane Mountain looking to the westward
with a fine clear sky I could not discern the least sign or appearance of any
hills or mountain, but all a flat country behind a ridge of hills running North
and South. These hills well wooded with pine trees; the long and thick
grass making it dreadfully fatiguing to walk through it with our loads, the

56 The party may have reached Cressbrook, 3 miles north-east of Toogoolawah.
57 He probably climbed one of the lower ridges connected with Mt. Brisbane.
men being badly off for shoes, and two of them having sore feet. In consequence of this, seeing the impossibility of making any progress by land, I determined to rejoin the boats by a short cut, without going back by the course of the river, which we accomplished the same evening, after having crossed the eastermost end\(^{58}\) of the Brisbane Mountain at half past six o'clock, P.M. found all right with the party left in charge - myself and companions quite knocked up.

28th

Much rain, thunder and lightning - directed the boats to be got ready, and every thing put into them to descend the river, as my instructions were to return if possible by the middle of October. At 10 o'clock we left the Brisbane Mountain, and before quitting it I caused a tree to be barked, and a broad arrow to be cut deep into it. Made rapid progress - going at the rate of eight and nine knots through the falls and rapids, which was attended with considerable danger for the want of ropes to ease the boats down - I had no alternative but to keep the stream and a good look out, as also good steerage. The weather threatening I deemed it prudent to land, and erect our huts, which was no sooner done, than the rain began to come down accompanied by thunder and lightning; the flies were very troublesome, as we had experienced these three days past - made the distance 25 miles.

29th

At nine set out and continued going down the river, until three o'clock, P.M. In passing down one of the falls the whale boat was caught by a stump of a tree, that was under water, and nearly upset, she was half full of water before she was clear. I also with the green boat struck a tree from the great force, with which we were going, - The jerk threw me nearly out of the boat, being head and shoulders in the water, but was prevented from going further by one of the men holding me by the leg - killed several ducks - whilst dinner was getting ready took a walk with my gun - saw a bird not unlike a goose running in the bush - but he was too quick for me, to get a shot at him - smoke was seen in several directions around us, but the natives do not appear at all to wish to come near us. This day 22 miles.

30th

At eight we again set out, passed through several falls, in one of which I was obliged to drop the boats down. Several fresh obstacles had taken place by the flood having taken away several large trees from off the banks of the river. Arrived at the caves\(^{59}\) at two o'clock - very heavy rain with thunder and lightening - shot a wild duck of a new species, which proved good eating.

\(^{58}\) He meant the south-eastern end, which appears on his map as the eastern end. He probably crossed a ridge only about 400 feet high.

\(^{59}\) At Pine Hill, where they had sheltered on 19 September (Journal).
In all my walks I could not find any variety of rocks, they being either the rotten iron stone, the plum pudding rock or sand stone. Distance 14 miles.

OCT. 1ST

Last night the weather was extremely sultry with thunder, lightning and rain. At 8 o'clock we set forward, and in our way had many proofs of the effects of a small flood – a large one must be terrific. Had we by any chance have been deprived of the cross-cut saw and axes the boats must have been abandoned. After meeting with many obstructions we arrived at the spot, where we halted on the 17th of last month.60 Afternoon and evening heavy showers, – fish caught in abundance. Distance 15 miles.61

2ND

From the circumstance of all our clothes being very wet, and from the appearance of the country and having a wish to examine the large branch, which here joined from the southward,62 I determined on halting at this spot. After breakfast took one of the boats, and went up this branch above three miles, then landed and on ascending the banks, found a large open country with scarcely any wood of consequence to impede cultivation on it – the trees chiefly blue gums, being at least an acre or more apart and more ornamental than otherwise. The natives had lately set fire to the long grass, and the new grass was just above ground making this plain appear like a bowling-green; the soil rich beyond any idea, and from its being easily flooded, it would be particularly adapted for the cultivation of rice, sugar cane, cotton and coffee. – I saw plenty of kangaroo and wild turkies. – After traversing this fine piece of land, which was at least 6 to 7000 acres in extent, I returned to our encampment.

3RD

At half past eight set out – obliged to drop the boats down some of the falls – observed in passing through one of the reaches a native sitting on the banks and within a half mile, where Mr. Gray had stated that he had seen white people.63 This man was sick, and appeared to be totally indifferent to and insensible of our presence – I gave him some biscuit and left him. At three o'clock landed and encamped the party – discovered some natives about a mile distant – we immediately went to the place, and succeeded in getting close to them before they saw us. They proved to be two men, a woman and three children – we made them presents. The woman could not be induced to look up, but hid her face between her legs, and on our moving off, as soon

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60 Opposite the mouth of Lockyer Creek.
61 The distance from Pine Hill to Lockyer Creek by river is about 9 miles, showing that Lockyer tended to overestimate distances, even on the downstream journey. Contrast Lockyer's claim in his journal, 6 October 1825.
62 On 17 September he said this creek ran from the westward.
63 Between Fernvale Bridge and the mouth of England Creek; see Lockyer, Journal, 16 September 1825, Note 36.
as she ascertained we had gone a short distance, she was on her legs and off like an arrow. This day's distance 22 miles.

4TH

Left at eight o'clock - made rapid progress and arrived at the coal bed - filled a sack of it as a sample - there is fine coal just below. The whale boat struck a tree and knocked a large hole in her bottom - she was full of water before she could be beached; took every thing out of her, hauled her up, and in about two hours had her completely repaired. Made our distance this day 28 miles.

5TH

Left at eight o'clock - shortly afterwards passed down a fall with a remarkable bed of rocks in it. On going up the water was much lower, it was now nearly four feet higher, and broke violently - we this day met several natives, who were a little shy at first, but soon became confident, and were fine people. Distance 18 miles.

6TH

Left at five o'clock, and arrived at the settlement at eleven - distance 20 miles - having been absent twenty-seven days, the party being all in good health, and without meeting a single accident of any consequence. I am certain the distances are considerably underrated, from a wish at the time rather to underrate than otherwise. The obstructions in the river might be easily removed, which no doubt must prove of considerable importance - the fine timber growing on its bank is fit for every purpose, particularly ship building. Moreton Bay is well calculated to become a place of trade when once settled.

8TH

At two o'clock quitted the settlement to join the cutter at Moreton Bay, for the purpose of returning to Sydney. It becoming dark on getting clear of the river, we did not get on board until eleven o'clock at night, as it was with great difficulty we discovered the cutter, which I should not have succeeded in doing, but for the lucky accident of having my double barrel fowling piece, which I discharged several times - at last we saw a light hoisted to the mast, distant from us about a mile and half.

9TH

Beat down to Peel's Island - came to an anchor - went on shore and found it well wooded - some part of it good soil, the remainder sandy. On removing it from the surface, found a good clay soil below - in the middle of the island is a lagoon of excellent fresh water - the island is from 12 to 15 miles in circumference, and would be a very proper place on which to build a storehouse, to deposit stores landed from large vessels, that could not approach the

64 Near Kholo crossing; see Lockyer, Journal, 13 September 1825 and Note 30.
65 Probably in the reach below Mt. Crosby, already well-known for its fallen trees; see Lockyer, Journal, 12 September 1825, Note 26.
66 Just below Mt. Crosby.
settlement nearer than this. It would also feed a number of cattle, sheep and other stock.

10th  
Dropped down to Amity Point, and anchored there, the wind blowing in with a strong sea breeze from the NE. Went on shore, a number of the natives being there — was much amused by their singing a song pronouncing several English words most distinctly, and by their instantly recognizing James Finnegan, one of the three men, who was wrecked on the shore in a boat there, three years ago, having been driven away to the northward from Illawara or the Five Islands by a gale of wind. These men were kindly treated and taken care of by the natives for nine months — until discovered by Mr. Oxley. They appeared delighted at meeting Finnegan again, and instantly brought a supply of fish, which they offered without expecting any return, though I took care by giving them fish hooks, lines, biscuit and several other things, looking glasses, hatchets, to show them we did not slight such good will. The stories told of their being cannibals are fabulous and absurd — they are a quiet, inoffensive, good natured, lively set of people.

11th  
Quitted Moreton Bay at nine o'clock, P.M. with a land breeze, leaving our friends the natives sitting on the shore at Amity Point, watching the vessel until she sunk in the horizon from their view. The attachment of these people to their dogs is worthy of notice — I was very anxious to get one of the wild native breed of a black colour, a very handsome puppy, which one of the men had in his arms. I offered a small axe for it, his companions urged him to take it, and he was about to do so, when he looked at his dog, and the animal licked his face, which settled the business; he shook his head, determined to keep it. I tried him afterwards with handkerchiefs of glaring colours, and other things, but it would not do, he would not part with his dog — I gave him, however, the axe and the handkerchief.

On Sunday the 16th of October at four o'clock in the afternoon, anchored in Sydney Cove, and on Monday made my report to His Excellency the Governor.

On my passing down to Moreton Bay I visited Newcastle and Port Macquarie. The difficulties which attend vessels entering into these places, particularly the latter, will prevent their ever becoming sea ports of consequence, as produce raised there must be sent to Sydney in small vessels for ulterior shipment in larger vessels for exportation. — Not so, however, with Moreton Bay — ships of the largest size can go in at the passage, which is

67 See Journal at Note 11, which suggests that this meeting occurred on 6 September. Also see Governor Brisbane and Oxley, November 1824, at Notes 167 and 168.
68 They used to eat human flesh, but did not kill simply to obtain it.
69 See Flinders in the “Norfolk”, 16 July 1799, Note 20.
called the Southern one by Point Lookout, where a light-house and signal station should be established, as also pilots, who would board vessels before they approached any danger. - No stranger ought to go in without a pilot. - The passage, as you approach the Southern end of Moreton Island, is marked by buoys on each side, and runs up from the entrance a course about NW. for nearly one mile between two sand banks. On the Southern one which is the Spit, the course changes to SSW. about a mile and half. On getting past Amity Point, there is no farther danger, being then in Moreton Bay, and still distant from the establishment on the Brisbane River about forty miles. Inside Amity Point is the most eligible spot for a future town for this fine sea port. There is abundance of most excellent fresh water and good depth of water for ships to lie close to the shore. The Bay abounds with excellent fish of every description, as well as wild fowl in great numbers. From no accurate survey having been taken or good examination of Moreton Bay, a great part of it is still unknown. There are many rivers, running into it, that no one has ever entered, consequently their capabilities and resources are yet to be learnt, though from what is known of the Brisbane, the Blind River70 and the Pumice Stone, they abound with the finest timber that has hitherto been found in New South Wales. It would be well, that the Government would direct their attention to this valuable article, as there can be no doubt it will become one of great export, as also of Colonial purposes for ship building, &c. &c. - A steam engine with sawing apparatus might be erected with advantage on Peel’s Island for converting the pine into deals and squaring other timber for the more convenient stowage and shipment; whilst it remains a penal settlement the prisoners would be well employed in falling this valuable timber, rafting it down the rivers to Peel’s Island, where it would be prepared for exportation. The pine, which is in such abundance at Moreton Bay, is well adapted for masts, spars of every denomination, as also being excellent for oars; all these would find ready sale in India71 as well as being a most valuable article in the Colony.

As a proof, that this wood of the country is valuable, several ships72 in this last year have been principally loaded with it on their home voyage; and further, the merchants of Sydney are not inclined to give any information of their profits on this article.

70 The Blind River was the Pine River, also called (at that time) Deception River. Cunningham, in his journal for 29 September 1824 (SZ9 in the Archives Office of New South Wales), refers to a trip from Redcliffe “to cut pine spars at the head of a Blind Arm, which had been discovered formerly by Mr. Oxley”, while Oxley’s field book for the same date (C 246 in the Mitchell Library - included in Chapter 7 of this volume), mentions “preparing boats and tools in order to procure some of the pine spars from Deception River”.

71 Lockyer had, until recently, served in India.

72 The “Amity” had taken some hoop pine and cypress to Sydney in October 1824.
CHAPTER
NINE

1826
and 1827

Logan

SUMMARY Captain Patrick Logan of the 57th Regiment arrived in New South Wales in 1825. When his regiment relieved the 40th at Moreton Bay, he became Commandant of the penal settlement, arriving at Brisbane Town in March 1826. The greatest expansion of the settlement took place under his leadership.

He became an avid explorer and led numerous expeditions. In August 1826 he discovered the Logan River and rediscovered the Southport bar. In May 1827 he announced his discovery of the Coomera River. He explored the Bremer River as far as Ipswich. His major overland expedition started from Ipswich in June 1827. Seeking a route to Mt. Warning and the Tweed, he followed Warrill Creek (a tributary of the Bremer) as far as Fassifern, and climbed Mt. French. He then proceeded along Teviot Brook to Mt. Toowoona. Following Burnett Creek and the Logan River, he reached the eastern side of Mt. Barney, which he mistook for Mt. Warning. After an unsuccessful attempt to climb its East Peak, he succeeded in reaching the summit of a lesser peak, possibly Isolated Peak. Being unable to penetrate the forests of the Lamington National Park area, he gave up his plan of reaching the coast, and returned to Brisbane Town, travelling for part of the way beside the Albert River.

Logan's further exploration work is detailed in Chapters 11 and 14. He gave every assistance to Cunningham, who referred to him as the "truly excellent Commandant". He became the first man to reach the summit of Mt. Barney (Chapter 11). He was killed by natives in 1830 while exploring in the Brisbane Valley (Chapter 14). A biography of Patrick Logan has been written by Charles Bateson.¹

SOURCES The 1826 expedition is described briefly in Logan's letter to Macleay (the Colonial Secretary in Sydney), 28 August 1826. A more detailed, but less accurate, account related by a member of the expedition is reprinted from the Sydney Gazette, 28 October 1826.

The 1827 expedition to the Coomera is mentioned briefly in Logan's letter to Macleay, 24 May 1827.

The 1827 expedition to Mt. Barney is mentioned in Logan's letter to Macleay, 25 July 1827. With this letter Logan enclosed a journal of the

¹ C. Bateson, Patrick Logan (Sydney: Ure Smith, 1966).
expedition, which appears to have survived only as a newspaper article in the *Sydney Gazette*, 17 August 1827. Manuscript copies of the three letters referred to above are in Logan’s letter book, in the Archives Section of the Public Library of Queensland.

**DISCOVERY OF THE LOGAN RIVER, 1826**

*(LOGAN TO MACLEAY, 28 AUGUST 1826)*

I have much pleasure in reporting for the information of His Excellency the governor that on the 21st inst I discovered a very considerable River which empties itself into Moreton Bay about twenty miles to the Southward of Peels Island and about double that distance from the mouth of the Brisbane, running from the S.E. and varying in depth from 2 to 6 fathoms for about 80 miles. Proceeding a few miles further it gradually diminished to 6 feet, and some large gum trees fallen across the stream put a stop to my further progress by water but on tracing its course about ten miles further I found no diminution and I have no doubt if the fallen trees were removed it would be found navigable by boats for many miles further. – As this river is navigable by the largest class of Colonial vessels for eighty miles and running through the finest tract of land I have seen in this or any other country, I conceive it a discovery of the utmost importance to these Colonies, and will be found well worth the attention of Settlers; – I have named it the River Darling which I hope will meet with the approbation of His Excellency.

2 – I have likewise discovered an entrance from the sea into Moreton Bay about thirty miles to the Northward of Point Dainger having a Bar with eleven feet water; this I conceive will be found useful for small vessels when a northerly wind prevents their making Amity Point.

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2 Probably overestimated. The Logan was navigable as far as Maclean Bridge (Logan, Journal, 4 July 1830).

3 Government Order No. 27, of 16 July 1827, reads: “The Governor has been pleased to name the River recently discovered at Moreton Bay (immediately to the Southward of the Brisbane) the ‘Logan’ as an accord of His Excellency’s approbation of the zeal which Captain Logan the Commandant at Moreton Bay has evinced in adding to the important discovery made by Mr. Oxley the Surveyor General, of the Town of Brisbane in the year 1823”.

4 At Southport, Bingle had seen it from the ocean side on 4 March 1822; Oxley reported its discovery during his expedition of 1823 (see Report, 29 November – 6 December 1823, Notes 206 and 205), but by September 1824 had forgotten it, referring to Stradbroke Island as mainland.
DISCOVERY OF THE LOGAN RIVER, 1826
(SYDNEY GAZETTE, 28 OCTOBER 1826)\(^5\)

Advices, of a most gratifying description, have been received from Moreton Bay. Captain Logan, the Commandant, has distinguished his administrative career in a way that will long be recollected. This Gentleman, after much patience and considerable toil, which was the result of a third research, has succeeded in discovering a River, 50 miles South of the Brisbane, that falls into Moreton Bay, far superior in magnitude to the Brisbane River. Our intelligent Readers, and so will the world also, believe this to be a most important discovery. The entrance is not observable at first sight, inasmuch as an archipelago, or group of small islands, covers the entrance of this magnificent sheet of “many waters.” Several of the islands, at the entrance, are from 4 to 5 miles in length,\(^6\) and at a distance, assume the appearance of the main land, until approached, when the diversified openings gradually and pleasingly display themselves to the enraptured eye, and supply the contemplative mind with food of no ordinary kind. Captain Logan penetrated to the distance of 100 miles in a Western course up this new river, which is said to be much wider than the Brisbane, and branches out and spreads into multiplied harbours and coves.\(^7\) The boat, in which the enterprising Commandant was pursuing his course, was impeded at the distance already mentioned, by trees that had fallen into and were lying across the river, or had been forced down by the floods. The depth of water, the whole way up, averaged from two to nine fathoms, and it was ten fathoms\(^8\) when further progress was stopped; though the distance beyond could not be sufficiently conjectured, so as to furnish any certain report. The general aspect of the country is stated by a Gentleman who accompanied Captain Logan, to be infinitely superior, in point of soil and water, to that on the Banks of the Brisbane. Sturdy and magnificent forests of cedar and pine were everywhere observable in thick clusters to the summit of the ranges, and seemed only to invite the attention of some civilized hand to convert them into more noble purposes than that of standing, from age to age, unnoticed. Traces of inundation were visible on the low lands, but as the country gradually rises, no danger appears likely to be sustainable from such causes. The situation of this River is immediately under Mount Warning,\(^9\) and the largest vessels in the navy

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\(^5\) Reported by “a gentleman who accompanied Captain Logan”, but much of the information is exaggerated.

\(^6\) Macleay Island and Russell Island.

\(^7\) Evidently Redland Bay was regarded as the estuary of the river.

\(^8\) Logan’s report states that it was 6 feet deep here.

\(^9\) This untrue statement led some people to think that Logan had re-discovered the Tweed River. It arose from Logan’s belief that Mt. Barney was Mt. Warning.
may safely enter; though, if that were even dangerous or impracticable, the islands which guard the entrance would be excellently adapted either to take in or discharge cargoes, whilst vessels, of sufficient tonnage, might bring the settlers produce down the river. This discovery will prove of vast importance to the rising interests of Australia, and we do not yet despair of some inlet into the interior being found out, that will solve these mysteries which time, industry, and patience can alone explain. Captain Logan, very properly, in honour of our excellent and worthy Governor, distinguished this new and valuable research by giving it the name of – The Darling River.

DISCOVERY OF THE COOMERA RIVER
(LOGAN TO MACLEAY, 24 MAY 1827)

I have much pleasure in stating for the information of his Excellency the Governor that I have discovered another considerable river which empties itself into Moreton Bay at the Southern extremity, and have taken the liberty to name it the McLeay; neither this river nor the Darling have any connexion with the Tweed.¹⁰

EXPEDITION TO MT. BARNEY, 1827
(LOGAN TO MACLEAY, 25 JULY 1827)

I regret exceedingly that I should have been absent from the Settlement during the recent visit of His Excellency and likewise that I am not yet enabled to make a satisfactory report respecting the Lake or Body of water¹¹ mentioned in my letter of the 24th May as I expected to be relieved by the first vessel that should arrive here. Instead of going to the spot where I first discovered the lake in question which would have been the most direct way of coming to the point, I proceeded up the Brisbane with the view of seeing as much of the Country as possible before I left it, intending after reaching Mount Warning to cross the Tweed and get to the Sea coast between Point Danger and Cape Biron. I proceeded up the Brisbane on the 7th of June, as will appear by my Journal, which I beg leave to enclose, with the view of heading the river¹² lately Discovered, reaching Mount Warning and from thence taking the most direct route to the Tweed. However, I found it impossible, notwithstanding every exertion to get through the thick scrubs which cover the Mountains in that direction; I was in consequence obliged

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¹⁰ See Note 9 above.
¹¹ The Coomera River.
¹² The Coomera River.
to return to the Settlement without accomplishing the object of my journey:
However I have much satisfaction in reporting that the country through
which I travelled exceeded my most sanguine expectations and is every where
extremely well watered; and I have no doubt, whenever it may suit the views
of government to open it for settlers, it will be found the most desirable
district for that purpose hitherto found in the colony. After the sailing of the
Wellington I will take an opportunity of proceeding to the spot from whence
I saw what I suppose to be the Tweed, and from thence endeavour to make
direct route. The distance did not appear to me to be more than 50 miles.

EXPEDITION TO MT. BARNEY, 1827
(SYDNEY GAZETTE, 17 AUGUST 1827)

JOURNAL OF CAPTAIN LOGAN’S PEDESTRIAN TOUR, IN THE NEIGHBOURHOOD OF MORETON BAY,
IN THE MONTH OF JUNE 1827

JUNE 7TH Left the settlement at 4 o'clock in the morning, proceeded up the Brisbane,
and arrived at the limestone hills, on the left branch, at 10 o'clock at
night; distance, 57 miles.

JUNE 8TH Sent the boat back to the settlement, and proceeded overland; directed
my course S.S.W. in the direction of Mount Dumaresq; the country very
fine - a black vegetable mould, on a limestone bottom; the timber consisted
of several varieties of the eucalyptus, viz. iron bark, blue gum, box, apple
tree, and a variety I have not hitherto seen, the trunk resembling iron bark,
with a broad leaf. This tree is only found on the best soils - at a distance it
very much resembles the cork tree; at 2 o'clock came to the banks of the
Brisbane; the beauty of the spot, and the men being much fatigued, induced
me to halt for the night; distance this day, only 13 miles.

13 Mt. Barney; he had probably seen the Clarence River. See introduction to
Chapter 11.
14 Ipswich.
15 The Bremer River.
16 Mt. French, near Boonah. Strangely, on this very day Cunningham gave the
name Mt. Dumaresq to a square-topped mountain on the Darling Downs,
which still bears that name. On hearing later of this, Logan renamed his Mt.
Dumaresq, Mt. French. See Fraser, Journal, 7 August 1828 and Cunningham,
Report, 6 August 1828.
17 He halted at Warrill Creek, where it flows north-west for about a mile, and rightly
regarded it as a branch of the Brisbane (more exactly, the Bremer River. Logan
seems not to have used a measuring wheel (odometer), and the true distance
covered is about 75 per cent of his estimate at this stage of the journey. Later,
especially in mountainous country, the factor is about 50 per cent.
JUNE 9TH Resumed my route at 8 o'clock; the country for 8 miles superior to yesterday; shot two beautiful parrots (a new species), not hitherto found in the Colony; came to a large swamp, several miles in extent; skirted it for some miles, and then crossed it; came again on the Brisbane, running N.E.; crossed it, and proceeded up the left bank; approached Mount Dumaresq towards evening; the country now exceeded, in beauty and fertility, any thing I had before seen; in the bed of the river I found several specimens of coal and crystal; distance, 20 miles.  

JUNE 10TH Commenced this day's journey at half-past 8 o'clock; crossed a beautiful plain, two miles in width, and about three in length, very lightly timbered; no preparation requisite for the ploughshare; at half-past 9 o'clock entered a thick scrub, at the foot of Mount Dumaresq, which continues to the summit; found several turkies, and a remarkable large pigeon, upwards of three pounds weight; gained the top of the mountain at 3 o'clock; I had a grand and extensive prospect; the limestone hills bore N.N.E.; I had traversed the valley of the Brisbane 36 miles, and it appeared about the same in breadth; I may safely rely that there is in this beautiful vale at least half a million of acres, excellently watered, and fit for any purpose to which it may be applied. I could likewise distinctly see the windings of the Logan, through an extensive and beautiful country eastward from Mount Dumaresq, and only separated from the valley I had quitted by moderately elevated ground. On descending the mountain, on the southern side, had to encounter a difficult scrub, which I could not clear before sun-set; luckily found water in a ravine, where I stopped for the night; distance this day, 12 miles.  

JUNE 11TH Resumed my descent through the scrub at 8 o'clock; after much difficulty cleared it at 10 o'clock; found a branch of the Logan at the base, running northward; the river here passed through a large swampy plain, well adapted to graze cattle; saw a large flock of emus, the first seen in the vicinity of Moreton Bay; the course of the river making a detour to the west, left its

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18 Near the Cunningham Highway, 1 mile south-west of Warrill View.  
19 He stopped near the junction of Warrill Creek and Reynolds Creek.  
20 Fassifern.  
21 Probably the north peak (1555 feet). He probably continued along the mountain for 2 miles to the summit (1955 feet) at the southern end.  
22 Teviot Brook, a tributary of the Logan.  
23 Teviot Range, which Logan later found to be impenetrable (Cunningham, Report, 7 August 1828).  
24 Teviot Brook, about 3 miles upstream from Boonah.
banks, having changed my course to south, in the direction of Mount Shadforth,\textsuperscript{25} and after a few miles walk, re-crossed the Logan, which flowed through a large plain; the grass thereon being on fire, obliged me again to cross the river; proceeded up the left bank for some miles; the mountains, towering on each other on every side, reminded me of a Pyreneean valley; at 4 o'clock killed a large kangaroo, which was very acceptable to the men; distance, 25 miles.\textsuperscript{26}

\textbf{JUNE 12TH} Continued my route to the south; the river branched into several streams; we were evidently near the source; walked for some hours over a hilly country, admirably adapted for grazing sheep; came to a creek at the foot of Mount Shadforth, and shot an emu on the bank; ascended the mountain, which was the most fatiguing part of the journey, it unfortunately began to rain\textsuperscript{27} on my reaching the summit, accompanied by a thick fog, which prevented me from having so extensive a prospect as I expected. I was surrounded by mountains on all sides, but I could not get a view of Mount Warning; to continue my route to the southward would have been very difficult, and would have protracted the journey beyond the time intended, I therefore determined to steer eastward, and gain the low country; descended the mountain to the eastward, and halted for the night in a native's encampment,\textsuperscript{28} which was very \textit{apropos}, as the rain continued; distance, 15 miles.

\textbf{JUNE 13TH} Continued my route eastward, over a very difficult and mountainous country; at length perceived Mount Warning,\textsuperscript{29} direct in my course; on approaching the base found the principal branch of the Logan; the stream was so rapid, I had some difficulty in passing; encamped on the right bank\textsuperscript{30} and immediately commenced to ascend, in hope of reaching the summit, but could only gain a peak, not more than half-way to the top; all attempts appeared hopeless at the east and north sides, and it would have detained me two days

\textsuperscript{25} Mt. Toowoonan, 2400 feet. Logan had named it after Lieutenant-Colonel Shadforth, Commanding Officer of the 57th Regiment (see Cunningham, Report, 6 August 1828), who had appointed Logan as Commandant at Brisbane Town.

\textsuperscript{26} He passed near Coochin Coochin, and camped at the foot of Minto Crags (see Cunningham, Report, 6 August 1828, and Logan, Journal, 6 August 1828). While Logan was shooting the kangaroo, Cunningham was on the Dividing Range taking bearings. The distance between the two explorers was about 14 miles.

\textsuperscript{27} Cunningham also experienced rain this day; see Cunningham, Report, 13 June 1827, at Note 20.

\textsuperscript{28} Evidently he found some native huts to shelter in, probably on the banks of Burnett Creek, near Maroon.

\textsuperscript{29} Actually it was Mt. Barney.

\textsuperscript{30} The campsite was near the one used the following year (see Cunningham, Report, 2 August 1828, and the introduction to Chapter 11).
longer, to have made a detour to the westward, probably with as little chance of success; I therefore returned to the encampment, with the intention of proceeding on my journey in the morning; distance, 14 miles.

**JUNE 14TH**  Made another attempt to ascend the mountain on the north side; got to the top of a peak,\textsuperscript{31} considerably higher than yesterday; had a very extensive view; found Limestone Hills bore due north; recommenced my journey to the east; proceeded for some miles without much difficulty; crossed another river,\textsuperscript{32} which washed the S.E. side of the mountain, and united with the other a few miles below; crossed some beautiful valleys, well watered with mountain streams; got into an extensive scrub, which prevented me making way to the east; towards evening made a detour to the N. to clear the scrub, and got into an open forest country, before sun-set; distance, 20 miles.\textsuperscript{33}

**JUNE 15TH**  Started at sun-rise, proceeded east, passed through a fine hilly country covered with most luxuriant grass, to the top of the hills, the soil principally a black vegetable mould; this part of the country is the best I have seen, either for sheep or cattle, and is most abundantly watered, each valley possessing a beautiful rivulet; passed several considerable streams which unite with the Logan;\textsuperscript{34} towards evening my route eastward was completely terminated, by mountains covered with pine scrubs, to the summit;\textsuperscript{35} perceiving a stream running north,\textsuperscript{36} I determined to follow its course for a few miles, for the purpose of finding a more even way to cross the mountains, to the sea coast; distance, 25 miles.

**JUNE 16TH**  Started N.E. over a hilly country, somewhat inferior to yesterday, but well adapted to pasturage; distance, 15 miles.\textsuperscript{37}

**JUNE 17TH**  Ascended a ridge of mountains; could see nothing but mountains\textsuperscript{38} to the eastward, covered with pine scrubs; provisions were nearly exhausted, and the men's shoes worn out; determined to steer northward, and join the settlement; proceeded down the banks of a river, through a rich tract of

\textsuperscript{31} Possibly Isolated Peak.
\textsuperscript{32} Palen Creek.
\textsuperscript{33} Probably just east of Rathdowney.
\textsuperscript{34} Oaky Creek and Christmas Creek.
\textsuperscript{35} Apparently he reached the crest of the ridge between Christmas Creek and the Albert River, and could see the thick forests of the Lamington National Park blocking his way to the east.
\textsuperscript{36} The Albert River.
\textsuperscript{37} This stage would have ended near Kerry.
\textsuperscript{38} Probably the Sarabah Range.
country; saw several kangaroos, but the dogs were so weak, they could not run them down; fortunately before sun-set killed one; stopped for the night; distance, 20 miles.\textsuperscript{39}

\textbf{JUNE 18TH} Continued my route; passed through a rich valley,\textsuperscript{40} towards mid-day left the valley on my right; my route now lay over some rocky ridges,\textsuperscript{41} the worst country I have passed through; the men greatly fatigued; distance, 16 miles.

\textbf{JUNE 19TH} Continued north the first part of the day, the country was very good; much improved in appearance to that traversed yesterday; towards noon it became swampy; at two o’clock arrived at the Logan,\textsuperscript{42} not fordable; stopped for the night; distance 20 miles.

\textbf{JUNE 20TH} Made several unsuccessful attempts to cross the river; moved up the bank about 8 miles.

\textbf{JUNE 21ST} Proceeded up the river about two miles, crossed at a ledge of rocks, steered north for the settlement; the soil principally a light sandy loam; timbered with forest oak; a considerable number of swamps;\textsuperscript{43} distance, 22 miles.

\textbf{JUNE 22ND} recommenced my route for Brisbane Town, for a few miles through a swampy country; towards mid-day arrived at Cowper’s Plains,\textsuperscript{44} and crossed Cane\textsuperscript{45} Creek; reached the Brisbane opposite the settlement at 4 o’clock.

\textsuperscript{39} This stage probably ended near Tabragalba.
\textsuperscript{40} Mundoolun.
\textsuperscript{41} West of Tamborine Village.
\textsuperscript{42} Near Logan Village.
\textsuperscript{43} There are swamps a few miles east of the Mt. Lindesay Highway.
\textsuperscript{44} On Oxley Creek, west of the present Cooper’s Plains. Named by Logan after Henry Cowper, Assistant Surgeon at Brisbane Town from September 1825 to December 1832.
\textsuperscript{45} A misprint for Canoe Creek, the original name for Oxley Creek.
Fig. 27. Modern map of the Cunningham’s Gap district, showing bearings taken by Allan Cunningham in 1827 and 1828. This indicates that the gap discovered in 1827 was Spicer’s Gap, while that visited in 1828 was Cunningham’s Gap. Map drawn by author, 1970.
CHAPTER TEN

1827

Cunningham

SUMMARY Allan Cunningham left Segenhoe Station in the Hunter Valley on 30 April 1827, and discovered the Darling Downs (along Glengallan Creek) on 5 June. He climbed Mt. Dumaresq (2725 feet), and then entered the valley of Swan Creek (which he called Logan's Vale). He established a camp on Swan Creek about 2 miles above Swanfels where he remained for six days.

On 11 June, he climbed to within about 2 miles of Spicer's Peak (4009 feet), and was able to see through the hollows in the Dividing Range to the country east of the Range, taking bearings on Mt. Warning and Flinders Peak. He also noticed a gap in the Dividing Range to the north-east. He sent two men to examine this gap, and they returned with a favourable report as to the possibility of constructing a road through it. Cunningham then returned to Sydney, but when he visited Brisbane Town in 1828, his main ambition was to reach this gap and verify its suitability as a pass to the Downs.

SOURCES The text given here is taken from an autograph manuscript draft of Cunningham's Report to General Darling. This manuscript is in the Mitchell Library, *D79, Item 1, and the complete text of it was published in H. S. Russell's *The Genesis of Queensland.*

The final version submitted to Darling was enclosed with Darling's Dispatch No. 119, of 12 November 1827; the autograph manuscript is in the Public Record Office, London, C.O. 201/184, and a microfilm of it is in the Mitchell Library, PRO 154. Parts of it were quoted by I. L. Marriott in *Early Explorers in Australia.* Quotations in the present work appear by permission of the Controller of H.M. Stationery Office.

The two versions differ mainly in the choice of words; any differences of fact are given here in the footnotes. Two of Cunningham's field books give further insights; they are numbers SZ18 and SZ25, in the Archiives Office of New South Wales.

THE STATION ON THE RANGE

Cunningham’s vantage point on the range can be deduced from bearings he took from it, recorded in field book SZ25 as follows:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Feature</th>
<th>Bearing</th>
<th>Identification</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>High Peak</td>
<td>46°</td>
<td>Spicer’s Peak</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Double Mountain on extreme ridge at head of Logan’s Vale</td>
<td>81°</td>
<td>Mt. Doubletop</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mt. Warning, 65 miles distant</td>
<td>99°</td>
<td>Mt. Huntley</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tents in vale</td>
<td>about 226°</td>
<td>on Swan Creek</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Head</td>
<td>106°</td>
<td>Spicer’s Gap</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gap at head of valley at heads of D. Plain</td>
<td>58°</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

If a magnetic variation of 10° is assumed, the bearings of the tents and Mt. Doubletop define a position on the southern edge of a table-top about 3600 feet in altitude and half a mile in diameter, on the ridge leading to Spicer’s Peak, about 2 miles W.S.W. of that Peak (see Fig. 27). Since the table-top was heavily forested, Cunningham could only have taken bearings from its edges, and he probably walked along the eastern and northern edges in order to take bearings. The bearing towards Spicer’s Gap would have been taken from the northern edge of the table-top.

THE GAP

Cunningham believed that the gap he observed in the Dividing Range on 11 June 1827 was the same gap that he discovered in 1828, now known as Cunningham’s Gap. However, R. C. Hamilton did not accept that belief; he wrote “I have always maintained that this was Spicer’s Gap, as Cunningham’s Gap, only 2½ miles north of it and separated from it by Mt. Mitchell, would be masked by Mt. Mitchell itself and its spurs.” Present research now confirms Hamilton’s contention.

From where Cunningham stood, the gap at 58° could only have been Spicer’s Gap, between Spicer’s Peak and Mt. Mitchell. Cunningham’s Gap bore about 11° from where Cunningham stood, and was behind Mt. Mitchell.

THE BEARING OF FLINDERS PEAK

In his report, Cunningham gave the bearing of Flinders Peak (from his position on the Dividing Range) as follows:

High Peak, of Flinders’ chart, N. 50° E., about 25 miles.

In his earliest map of this region (Fig. 29) he plotted this mountain accordingly in relation to the position on the range, and included a small sketch of its profile. However, the compass bearing should have been about N. 42° E., and when Cunningham tried to draw a complete map using the correct position of Flinders Peak, he ran into difficulty. In his field book SZ18 he mentioned that he had mapped the station on the range by taking the inter-

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section of the bearing of the tent (226°) and that of Mt. Warning (99°). When this was done, he found that "The bearing of Oxley's High Peak intersects from this station", that is, a line at 50° from the true position of Flinders Peak did not intersect at the same place as the other two lines.

The reason for this confusion is that the original bearings recorded in field book SZ25 were obscure. In that book are two entries, both of which Cunningham tried to reconcile with Flinders Peak, as follows:

A high peak at 60° or another bearing
Bearing of the other curved [Sketch] 55°

The sketch shows the same profile of Flinders Peak mentioned above. Superimposed on the number 60 is the number 52 and a query, thus: 52?, evidently a late attempt by Cunningham to correct his error. It seems that he rounded this off to 50 when writing his official report.

Cunningham must have regretted this confusion, especially in 1828 when he travelled past Flinders Peak in search of the gap in the Dividing Range. The uncertainty must have been one cause of the difficulty he had in finding the gap.

EXTRACT FROM CUNNINGHAM'S REPORT

Rain having set in, it continued almost without intermission (for forty-eight hours), until the morning of the 10th, when fair weather was again restored to us, and we quitted our encamping-grounds with the intention of penetrating towards the higher points of these mountains, from the summits of which I expected to obtain bearings to fixed points on the coast, so extremely important to me at this stage of my journey. Pursuing a course to the south at the base of a thickly-wooded ridge, stretching from Mount Dumaresq, about four miles to a second hill of tabular figure, we passed round its foot, and altering our course to north-east entered a very beautiful grassy vale, bounded by lofty lateral ridges, and like Millar's Valley, leading directly to the base of the principal range.

Advancing about five miles up this vale, which I named after Captain Logan, the present indefatigable commandant of the penal settlement at Moreton Bay, I again halted on a small brook meandering through it to the south – a remarkable double-headed mount of the main range, bearing N.E. by E. about ten miles. Dense brushy forests, clothing the bases of the

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4 10 June 1827.
5 Near Mt. Dumaresq, between Warwick and Cunningham's Gap.
6 Mt. Sturt (Fig. 32), shown in Fig. 29 as Mt. Carter.
7 Swanfels Valley.
8 Logan was, at this moment, and unknown to Cunningham, leading an exploration party on Mt. French, about 20 miles to the north-east.
9 Swan Creek. They camped about 2 miles above Swanfels.
10 Mt. Doubletop, 3730 feet.
Fig. 29. Features seen by Cunningham in 1827, sketched by him and including a profile of Flinders Peak. Redrawn for this book from Ida Lee Marriott, *Early Explorers in Australia* (London: Methuen, 1925), p. 566.
lateral ridges immediately overhanging our encampment, were productive of a number of curious plants not before known; and it was in these shades I first clearly and satisfactorily recognized the pine (\textit{araucaria}) which I had formerly observed in greater numbers in the dark brushes of the Brisbane River.\textsuperscript{11}

As the ranges in the neighbourhood appeared likely from their considerable elevation to afford me a commanding view of the country at all points of the compass, I determined to occupy two or three days in this vale, taking such observations as were necessary to enable me to determine my present position on the chart, whilst my horses were acquiring a degree of strength to meet the further labours of my journey.

11TH\textsuperscript{12} A sharp frost; the thermometer at seven o'clock sank to 30 degrees. Having directed the occupations of the people during the day, I proceeded (accompanied by one of my party) to climb the steep ridge immediately above us. In an hour we gained its summit, but found other ranges not to be seen from our tents, although of greater elevation, interrupted our view to the eastward; we continued upon a gradual ascent from one tier of range to another and generally in a north-eastern direction, until about 3 p.m., when we gained the loftiest point of the lateral range, immediately connected with the main ridge of this stupendous chain of mountains, which even towered above us\textsuperscript{13} at a distance of about two miles.

Some hollow parts, however, of this extreme ridge enabled me to overlook portions of the country in the vicinity of Moreton Bay, as also most distinctly to perceive distant lands situate at the base of the Mount Warning Ranges, the cone of which we clearly saw crowning that group of mountains at an estimated distance of seventy miles. To this lofty pinnacle, as also to another fixed point near the coast-line,\textsuperscript{14} accurate\textsuperscript{15} bearings were taken, ere some

\begin{figure}[h]
\centering
\includegraphics[width=\textwidth]{profile.png}
\caption{Profile of Mt. Doubletop and Mt. Warning, sketched by Cunningham at his station on the Dividing Range in 1827. The original is in field book SZ25 in the Archives Office of New South Wales.}
\end{figure}

\textsuperscript{11} Hoop pine, September 1824.
\textsuperscript{12} 11 June 1827.
\textsuperscript{13} Spicer's Peak, 4009 feet.
\textsuperscript{14} Flinders Peak.
\textsuperscript{15} Cunningham, however, already suspected that the bearing of Flinders Peak was in error. See the introduction to this chapter.
fresh breezes brought up clouds and heavy rain\textsuperscript{16} from the southward, which soon veiled those extensive regions from further observation.

The cone of Mount Warning bore east 9 degrees south seventy miles by estimation; High Peak, of Flinders' chart, north 50 degrees east, about twenty-five miles. The spot on which the tents stood in Logan Vale, bearing west 44 degrees south about five miles.

Had the weather continued favourable it would have been important to have examined the main range, with the view of ascertaining how far a passage could be effected over it to the Brisbane river country, from which point only the very interesting pastoral country lying on the western side of these mountains appears at all accessible. A very singular deeply excavated part\textsuperscript{17} of the range, bearing from my station on the lateral ridge N.N.E.\textsuperscript{18} was, however, remarked, to the pitch of which the acclivity from the head of Millar's Valley seemed very moderate, and as this gap appeared likely to prove on examination a very practicable pass through these formidable mountains, I determined to employ a day in exploring it.

These mountains, to the western base of which we approached from a sterile southern region, form the dividing range in this part of the country, and give rise to waters falling as well on the coast, as westerly to the distant interior; and as the barometrical observations made on the lateral range gave a result of three thousand seven hundred and thirty-five feet, and the extreme ridge appeared at least three hundred feet higher, its elevation above the level of the sea may be considered about four thousand one hundred feet.\textsuperscript{19}

The forest ridges, which were heavily timbered with stringy-bark of great bulk, were found clothed to their summits with grasses of the most luxuriant growth, and being well watered by numerous trickling rills, originating between the shoulders of the hills, constitute a very spacious range of the richest cattle pasture.

\textbf{[13–14 JUNE]}

Upon examining\textsuperscript{20} the hollow back of the mountain ridge, it was found to be very rugged and difficult, large masses of rock having fallen down from the lands on each side into the gap, which was overgrown with strong twining plants. Immediately to the south, however, the range presented a very moderate surface, over which a line of road might be constructed without much

\textsuperscript{16} C.O. 201/184 has "At 8 o'clock we reached the encampment perfectly drenched, myself never more disposed to sink beneath excessive fatigue".

\textsuperscript{17} Spicer's Gap; see introduction to this chapter.

\textsuperscript{18} C.O. 201/184 has "N.N.E. two or three miles"; SZ25 has 58\degree 9.\textsuperscript{18}

\textsuperscript{19} Spicer's Peak is 4009 feet; Mt. Huntley is 4150 feet.

\textsuperscript{20} C.O. 201/184 states that two of the people were sent to examine this gap, 13 and 14 June. On 12 June heavy rain had confined the explorers to their tents; Logan also experienced rain then; Logan at Mt. Barney, Journal, 12 June 1827.
labour, as the rise from Millar's Valley proved by no means abrupt, and the fall easterly from the range to the forest ground at its base appeared of singularly easy declivity. Looking north-easterly the eye wandered with pleasure over a fine open grazing country, very moderate timbered, with patches of clear plain, and detached wooded ridges to diversify the surface; and in no part did there appear the slightest obstacle to prevent a communication either with the southern shores of Moreton Bay or the banks of the Brisbane river.

In taking a general view of the very superior country at which the labours of my party terminated northerly, it was gratifying to observe the range of luxuriant pasturage, this subject of our discovery, in its plains, rising downs, open woodlands, valleys, and even elevated forest ranges has thrown open to our most extensive flocks and herds, in a genial climate and at an elevation of one thousand eight hundred feet above the sea shore.

Its timbers, moreover, add to its importance. The summit and flanks of

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Cunningham's footnote here reads: "The vapours that rise from the surface of the sea upon being blown over by easterly winds to the higher points of these mountains, becoming condensed and falling in light refreshing showers, on the adjacent lower country, would seem to account for the bright verdure of the grasses and generally vigorous growth of vegetation in the depth of winter."
the ranges produce great abundance of well-grown stringy-bark, whilst
the lower ridges furnish stately pine of the species already well-known on the
Brisbane, varying from sixty to eighty feet in height, and as small saplings
of the red cedar were observed on the margin of the brushes investing the
base of the hills, large trees of this valuable wood are doubtless to be met
with in their more distant recesses. Although neither coal nor limestone were
found in this tract of country, a quarry of freestone, seemingly well adapted
to building, could be easily opened on the bank of a creek about two miles
south of the Logan Vale. In fine, upon the consideration that we are occupying
a country in which (in the absence of navigable rivers) an expensive land
 carriage must ever be resorted to in the conveyance of the produce of the
inland to the coast, the value of this extensive range of pastoral country is
not a little enhanced by its proximity to the sea-shore, and the seeming facility
with which (we may reasonably conclude from the moderate appearance of the
interjacent country to the eastward of these mountains) the fleeces of its
growth, as well as the general produce of its soil, will at some future day be
borne down to the shores of Moreton Bay. The base of these mountains is a
compact whinstone; on the higher ridges was observed amygdaloid of the
trap formation, with nodules of quartz; whilst the summit exhibited a por-
phyritic rock, very porous, containing numerous minute quartzose crys-
tallizations.

The situation of the tents in Logan Vale was determined as follows: —
latitude, by meridional altitude of the sun, 28 deg. 10 min. 45 sec. S.; longitude,
deduced by the mean of several sets of lunar distances with the sun and fixed
star (Antares) compared with that given by account, and corrected by bearings
taken to fixed points on or near the coast line, 152 deg. 7 min. 45 sec. E. The
variation of the magnetic needle was found to be 8 deg. 18 min. east; the
mean elevation of the spot above the level of the sea, as derived from baro-
metrical measurement, was one thousand eight hundred and seventy-seven
feet, and its distance from the penal settlement on the Brisbane river was
estimated at seventy-five statute miles to the south-west.

Although very recent traces of natives were remarked in different parts of
the vale, in which we remained encamped about a week, only a solitary
aborigine (a man of ordinary stature) was seen, who in wandering forth from
his retreat in quest of food chanced to pass the tents.

Immediately however, upon an attempt of one of my people to approach him,
he retired in great alarm to the adjacent brushes, at the foot of the boundary
hills, and instantly disappeared. It therefore seemed probable that he had
not previously seen white men, and possibly might never have had any com-
munication with the natives inhabiting the country on the eastern side of the
Dividing Range, from whom he could have acquired such information of the
existence of a body of white strangers on the banks of the Brisbane, and their
friendly dispositions towards his countrymen as might have induced him to have met with confidence our overtures to effect an amicable communication. In the progress of our journey northerly, it was remarked that the plants of those portions of the interior lying between the parallels of 32 deg. and 28 deg. differ but little from the characteristic vegetation of the temperate parts of this country generally – the many unpublished species which were discovered in the course of the journey, belonging for the most part to genera, characterising the flora of the colony and country immediately adjacent. Upon reaching the parallel of 28 deg. S., however, under the meridian of 152 deg., a very decided change takes place in the vegetable productions; the brushes which densely invest the base and sides of the lateral ranges, being on examination found to be of plants hitherto only observed at Moreton Bay, and in the intertropical parts of this continent.

As I had now occupied several days in a partial examination of the very interesting country around me, I became exceedingly desirous to resume my journey. As my horses, notwithstanding the benefit they had derived from rest and good pasture during our stay in Logan Vale, were all much debilitated, and my stock of provisions considerably reduced, I felt reluctantly obliged to relinquish the tour I had originally contemplated towards the western marshes, especially as the appearances of the weather at the change of the moon had led me to apprehend a period of heavy rain was about to succeed the protracted season of drought. I therefore determined to prosecute my journey homeward in the meridian (152 deg.) to which I had penetrated, with as much dispatch as the nature of the country and the low condition of my horses would permit. Moreover, in resolving on this line of course, I considered I should ascertain what the country is lying equi-distant between the coast line and my outward tract from Hunter's river, and from my daily observations, geographical and otherwise, should on my return to the colony be more fully enabled to imbody the chart of that part of our interior comprehended within the parallels of 28 deg. and 31 deg.

[16 JUNE] Accordingly upon quitting Logan Vale, on the morning of the 16th, we commenced our journey to the southward through a fine open forest country, abounding in excellent pasture and tolerable timber, and watered by a reedy creek falling westerly, evidently into Condamine's river.
Fig. 32. Modern map of the Mt. Barney area, showing bearings taken by Cunningham in 1828, and identifying the campsite and the station on Logan's Ridge. Map drawn by author, 1970.
Cunningham and Fraser arrived at Brisbane Town on 1 July 1828. Fraser, as Colonial Botanist, “was directed to establish a public garden at Brisbane Town, to collect the vegetable products of the country, to make observations on their uses and importance, especially on the forest trees, and to report on the nature of the soil, and to what extent it is fitted for agricultural purposes, or grazing”. Cunningham, as usual, hoped to add to the botanical collection of the Royal Gardens at Kew, but his ambition was also to explore a route from Brisbane Town to the Darling Downs; the fulfilment of the latter objective is described in the next chapter. This present chapter describes, through the journals of Cunningham, Fraser, and Logan, several short excursions in the neighbourhood of Brisbane Town, and a major excursion as far as Mt. Barney with Captain Logan as their guide.

The short excursions took them to Enoggera Creek at Newmarket, Mt. Coottha, Ipswich, Flinders Peak, Breakfast Creek, and Dunwich.

The excursion to Mt. Barney began at South Brisbane on 23 July. They explored a new route along the Logan River, passing a few miles west of Beaudesert, and reaching Logan’s 1827 campsite near Mt. Barney, where they camped from 2 to 5 August. On 3 August Logan reached the summit of Mt. Barney, and on 4 August he discovered the route now followed by the Mt. Lindesay Highway through Collins Gap (then called St. George’s Pass). After travelling along Burnett Creek and Teviot Brook, Logan and Fraser returned to Brisbane Town, while Cunningham detoured to Ipswich in readiness for his excursion to Cunningham’s Gap.

**Biographical Details**

Charles Fraser of the 46th Regiment accompanied Oxley and Cunningham on Oxley’s exploration of the Lachlan in 1817. At that time his task was to collect plants for Lord Bathurst, in addition to the collection being made by Cunningham for the Royal Botanical Garden, Kew.

Fraser was appointed as the Colonial Botanist (or Government Botanist) based at the Government Garden in Sydney. On his visit to Brisbane Town

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1 W. J. Hooker (ed.), *Botanical Miscellany* (3 vols.; London: John Murray, 1830), I, 238. For the “public garden”, see Fraser, Journal, 2 July 1828, at Note 8.
in 1828 he had instructions to establish a new garden there for tropical plants. He accompanied Cunningham and Logan to Mt. Barney. In 1829 he again visited Brisbane to report to Governor Darling on the water supply and to select a site for a new farm at Eagle Farm. He died in 1832. The position of Colonial Botanist was successively occupied by Richard Cunningham (brother of Allan), who was killed by the natives in 1835, and by Allan Cunningham himself until his death in 1839.

SOURCES

The limits of this chapter are defined by Fraser's journal, reprinted here from Hooker's *Botanical Miscellany.* A manuscript in the Archives Office of New South Wales, Reference 7/2738, is a copy of the first draft; it is quoted here in footnotes where it differs significantly from Hooker's version. It seems probable that a second draft was prepared (by Fraser?) through the removal of some details of doubtful geographical and botanical accuracy. The second draft was then edited by Hooker, who inserted more botanical detail but occasionally misconstrued the geography and geology; for example, the manuscript on 1 July 1828 refers to the building stone quarried at Kangaroo Point as "a remarkably formed porphyritic body", but Hooker's version replaces this by "a peculiarly composed basaltic stratum". The italics in the present edition are Hooker's, and do not follow modern botanical conventions.

The other main source is Cunningham's report to Governor Darling, dated 16 December 1828. The manuscript is at the Public Record Office, London, C.O. 201/200, and a microfilm of it is at the Mitchell Library, PRO 167. Another manuscript is in Darling's Despatches, vol. 14, at the Mitchell Library, A1203; neither manuscript is original. The report was published in full in *The Genesis of Queensland,* and excerpts appeared in *Early Explorers in Australia,* both of these were evidently taken from the London manuscript. Although the report also includes the excursion to Cunningham's Gap, that part of it has been deferred to the next chapter. Dates have been inserted into Cunningham's report in accordance with the dates given in Fraser's journal.

Valuable information has also been obtained from Cunningham's field books SZ26 and SZ27 in the Archives Office of New South Wales (both formerly known as C742).

The chapter concludes with Logan's Journal, taken from a printed version in the Mitchell Library, reference Q984 I/L.

THE MT. BARNEY CLIMB

The route taken by Logan up Mt. Barney can be established with the aid of bearings given in the field books.

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(1) The position of the tent on the bank of the Logan River can be deduced from the following bearing taken at the tent:

Blantyre Head [North Peak] 232°

If a magnetic variation of 10° E. is assumed (Cunningham, Report, 4 August 1828, measured it as 11° E.), it is found that the tent was very close to the present bridge across the Logan, about 3.5 miles north-east of the East Peak. This position is confirmed by the latitude of the tent quoted by both Fraser and Cunningham.

(2) The point on the mountain from which Cunningham took a set of bearings (the highest point he reached) can be deduced from the following bearings (see Fig. 32):

Western Mount (Clanmorris) [Mt. Maroon] 8°
Lloyd's Hill [opposite the mouth of Mt. Barney Creek] 36°
Tent 43½°
Eastern Rodundo or Mount Hooker [Mt. Lindesay] 155½°

The point is high on Logan's Ridge, proving that Logan in his ascent of Mt. Barney did indeed climb the ridge that now bears his name.

(3) Other bearings taken from the same spot are:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Identification</th>
<th>Bearing</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Mt. Warning Peak</td>
<td>94°</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>High Peak (of chart)</td>
<td>360°</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Detached double-headed mount on moderate country (Mt. Forbes)</td>
<td>336½°</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mt. Warning Range</td>
<td>58°–117½°</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Macpherson's Range</td>
<td>85°–144°</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Head [on McPherson Range]</td>
<td>144°</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mount on it</td>
<td>118°</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Glass House</td>
<td>49°</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Innes Plain</td>
<td>48°</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Another Plain</td>
<td>343½°</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(4) “Bearings taken by Captain Logan from the extreme summit of Mt. Lindsay [Barney]”:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Identification</th>
<th>Bearing</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Lake or Lagoon or River</td>
<td>W. by S.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gap in Dividing Range</td>
<td>N 30°W</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Glenmorriston's Range [SZ26]</td>
<td>N 3°E</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>H. Taylor's Range [SZ27]</td>
<td>N 6°E</td>
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<tr>
<td>Telegraph Hill</td>
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Identification

Clarence River
(Cunningham's Gap is at N60°W)
Taylor Range
AN EARLY PICTURE OF BRISBANE TOWN

The picture of Brisbane Town (Fig. 33) is undoubtedly an early one, but its origin is unknown. It is included here to illustrate the present chapter, as most of the buildings shown were in existence at the time of the 1828 visit of Cunningham and Fraser. A further reason for its inclusion is the possibility that it is the work of Cunningham. This possibility depends critically on the date of the picture.

The original in the Mitchell Library, SSV4B/MORE B 1, is entitled "Moreton Bay in 1831", but Cunningham's last visit to Brisbane Town was in September 1829. The Associate Mitchell Librarian (1 September 1969) has furnished the following remarks: "I regret that I am unable to give you any authority for the dating of this picture, which was presented to the Library in 1931 with the title and date already inscribed on it. The owner was unable to give any information whatsoever about the picture or its artist, stating simply that she had found it among a collection of her family's records."

The earliest possible date can be determined from the date of the newest buildings shown in the picture. On 30 June 1828, Cunningham listed the existing buildings as follows (ML MSS 1374): The Commandant's Cottage, Offices and outhouses, Superintendent's quarters, Clergyman's quarters, Lumber yards, Engineer Lieut. B. [Bainbrigge's] Cottage, [Military] Barracks temporary, [Military] Barracks permanent - building in progress, Hospital, Commissariat Department, Prisoners' Barracks building, Guard House. In 1828 the Commissariat Department was temporarily housed in a barn near the Prisoners' Barracks. Of the other buildings shown in the picture, the windmill was built in 1827 and the Government Store was built during 1829; the soldiers' hospital and doctor's quarters were built in 1830-31. The soldiers' barracks shown in the picture are the permanent ones, which were completed about 1831.

It is concluded that Cunningham did not draw this sketch.

FRASER'S JOURNAL

JUNE 30TH      Arrived at Amity Point, Moreton Bay, in the ship Lucy Ann, and cast anchor in Rainbow Reach, after a passage of twenty-three days from Port-Jackson.

JULY 1ST       At seven o'clock in the morning, proceeded across Moreton Bay, in company with Mr. Allan Cunningham, the Government Botanist, and entered the Brisbane River at ten o'clock, where we landed for an hour and refreshed the men, and then reached Brisbane Town at three o'clock.5

5 This is corroborated by some very rough notes by Cunningham in the Mitchell Library, ML MSS 1374. "At an early hour (7), Mr. Fraser and myself with a
The banks of this river, until arriving at the islands, are clothed with Mangroves, Casuarinae, and Banksia Compar, entwined with many thick climbers, and containing several interesting plants. Above the islands, the Casuarina disappears, and is succeeded by Gum Trees, (Eucalypti,) and extensive brushwoods, the latter exhibiting a profusion of Yellow Wood, (Oxleya xanthoxyla) and Tulip Wood, a few straggling Araucarian, Flindersia australis, and many other interesting timber trees, together with a vast variety of shrubs. The hills that rise behind the copse are open and stony, tolerably covered with grass, and with a few scattered Gum Trees.

On approaching Brisbane Town, the banks of the river become more elevated and rocky. The north side is formed of quartz rock and ironstone, the south of a peculiarly composed basaltic stratum, of which the basis is bright pink-coloured, with white spots: it is remarkably hard, and breaks into square blocks, and is used for the foundations of buildings at Brisbane Town, being reckoned exceedingly durable.

At nine o'clock, crossed the river to examine some dense forests on its southern bank, where I succeeded in collecting four species of Capparis, Carissa ovata, Exocarpus latifolia, Dendrobin tetragonum, and another new species. Here the Acrostichum grande (of Cunningham) forms a most striking feature. On my return to Brisbane Town in the afternoon, I accompanied Capt. Logan to the intended site of the New Garden, where we felled a magnificent tree of Flindersia australis, loaded with ripe fruit.

Commissariat officer proceeded in a boat across the Bay [from Amity Point] to the settlement on the Brisbane, leaving our respective baggage to follow by the first opportunity in charge of our servants who we left on board for the purpose. With the flood tide we crossed the Bay in four hours to the entrance of the River, up which we proceeded, still having the tide in our favour, about 16 miles, to the settlement called Brisbane Town at which we arrived at 3 o'clock. The settlement, the foundation of a large town ere long, we found situated on the left bank of the River, in the third reach from the Bay — at a small wharf alongside which lay a schooner of 90 tons, which was built here, and named Letitia Bingham. We were received by the truly excellent Commandant Captain Logan, Lieutenant Bainbrigge and the Surgeon, from whom we received congratulations on our visit to this penal settlement. (Then follows a list of the buildings and the industries of the town.)

6 Renamed Flindersia oxleyana and now known as Flindersia xanthoxyla; see also Cunningham, Letter, June-September 1828.

7 Staghorn fern, afterwards named Platycerium grande. The manuscript 7/2738 identifies this with the “new species” mentioned at the end of the previous sentence. In a footnote, Hooker (op. cit., p. 240) wrote: “Seeds of it are sown in the Glasgow Botanical Garden, and if we are successful in raising one of them, it would of all ferns be the one most worthy of cultivation in our stoves [sic].” See Cunningham, Journal, 21 September 1824, Note 123.

8 This was on the site of the present Botanic Gardens. It was intended for the cultivation of tropical plants.
JULY 3d Employed this day in laying down the boundaries of the New Garden, and fixing the situation of a large pond in its centre.

JULY 4th Accompanied Capt. Logan to examine a forest on the banks of a stream called Breakfast Creek, nine three miles north-west of Brisbane Town, noted for its gigantic timber, and the vast variety of its plants. In this interesting forest I observed several species of Ficus, upwards of 150 feet high, enclosing immense Iron Bark Trees, on which, originally, the seeds of these Fig trees had been deposited by birds. Here they had immediately vegetated, and thrown out their parasitical and rapacious roots, which adhering close to the bark of the Iron Tree, had followed the course of its stem downwards to the earth, where, once arrived, their progress of growth is truly astonishing. The roots of the Ficus then increase rapidly in number, envelope the Iron Bark, and send out, at the same time, such gigantic branches, that it is not unusual to see the original tree, at a height of 70 or 80 feet, peeping through the Fig, as if itself were the parasite on the real intruder.

In the singular angles, or Walls, as they are here termed, which are formed by the roots of these trees, and of which I observed many sixteen feet high, there is room enough to dine half-a-dozen persons. The fruit is eagerly sought by Regent Birds, (Sericulus chrysocephalus) Blue Pigeons, and Swamp Pheasants (Cuculus Phasianus) and the spreading and massy boughs support a number of superb parasitical plants.

This forest abounds in Urtica Gigas, as well as in an unpublished and most interesting new plant, producing fruit larger than a Spanish Chestnut, by which name it is here known. The legumens are large, solitary, and pendent, produced by the two-year-old wood: the leaves are impari-pinnate, each several leaflet being oval, lanceolate, and of a rich green, and the shade afforded by the whole tree excels any I have hitherto seen in New South Wales. By the natives the fruit is eaten on all occasions; it has, when roasted, the flavour of a Spanish chestnut, and I have been assured by Europeans who have subsisted on it exclusively for two days, that no other unpleasant effect was the result than a slight pain in the bowels, and that only when it was eaten raw.

The country intervening between Breakfast Creek and Brisbane Town is

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9 Enoggera Creek at Newmarket.
10 Laportea gigas, the giant stinging tree.
11 The Moreton Bay chestnut, Castanospermum australe. The manuscript 7/2738 refers to this as “an arborescent species of an Ompholobium”, adding “I had not an opportunity of seeing it in flower”. Ompholobium is used throughout the manuscript wherever Hooker's version reads Castanospermum. See also Fraser (Journal), and Cunningham (Report), 30 July 1828.
12 It is now considered dangerous to eat chestnuts.
FRASER, JOURNAL / 5-6 JULY 1828

hilly, the higher grounds stony, but the vallies fertile, and abounding in water. We reached the town again at six o'clock.

**JULY 5TH**  This day was appropriated to the examination of a valley N. E. from Brisbane Town, by which this settlement is at present supplied with water. In this spot, which I found most fertile, was shown to me an extraordinary Cemetery, if it may be so termed, of the aboriginal natives. It consisted of the hollow trunk of a dead *Eucalyptus*, in which were deposited human bones of all ages, consisting of leg, thigh, and arm bones, vertebras, and some fragments of crania, all mingled together. I was informed that many of the skulls had been previously carried away by scientific persons. The hills are covered with nodules of quartz: their timber consisting of *Eucalyptus* and *Casuarina*.

**JULY 6TH**  At ten o'clock I proceeded with Captain Logan and Mr. Cunningham to the southern extremity of Glenmoriston's Range.

The country which lies between Brisbane Town and the base of this range, is, to the north of the river, hilly, sterile, and devoid of interest. On ascending the high ground, the soil and grass improve, and continue to do so till the very summit of the range, which is clothed with *Tristania robusta*, *Eucalyptus*, and the *Forest Oak*, (*Casuarina torulosa*) the native Cherry (*Exocarpus cupressiformis*) also abounds here. On the summit was observed a remarkable tree of the *Urtica* family, which appears to be a new genus. In habit it resembles a tall *Weeping Willow*, the fruit hanging in pendulous clusters on the year-old wood; the foliage lanceolate and undulated. In the course of this day's excursion, we observed many beautiful *Orchideous* plants, amongst them *Caladenia carnea* and *alba*.

The view from south-east to north-west was extensive and very grand, presenting an immense, thinly wooded plain, whose surface was gently undulated, and clothed with luxuriant grass.

Flinders' Peak is seen to the westward, surrounded with numerous smaller ones. To the south and eastward arise a distant range of mountains, (since named Mount Lindsay) with very lofty peaks, one of which, (ascertained to be Mount Hooker) resembling a pigeon-house in form, is supposed to belong to the lateral branches of Mount Warning Ranges. To the south-west of this Peak appears the Dividing Range, with the gap, or pass, observed by

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13 Probably along Adelaide and Creek Streets, the town reservoir being upstream at Roma Street.
14 Mt. Coottha.
15 *Gyrostemon attenuatum*, according to Hooker. It is now known as *Codonocarpus australis*, the name originally proposed by Cunningham. Its common name is Bell Fruit Tree.
16 Now called Mt. Barney.
17 Now called Mt. Lindesay.
Fig. 33. Sketch of Brisbane Town as seen from what is now South Brisbane. The original is SSV4B/MORE B 1 in the Mitchell Library, Sydney, where it is entitled "Moreton Bay in 1831".
Mr. Cunningham, in 1827, near Gen. Darling's Downs, under which we remarked some extensive flats, perfectly clear of wood. In the centre of the plain rises a remarkable and detached table hill.¹⁸

To the north, the eye extends over a tract of lofty and forest-covered hills, interspersed with extensive districts of Araucaria, (the Moreton Bay Pine)¹⁹ of which the sombre green colour forms a striking contrast to the brownish hue of the Gum Trees (Eucalypti.)

The view easterly is most commanding. It embraces Moreton Island and Bay, Stradbroke Island, the Glass Houses, with the meanderings of the Brisbane River, and the settlements about the town. Immediately at the foot of the range, the Oxley, or Canoe Creek, is seen winding through a tract of fine country.

**JULY 7TH** Sunday.

**JULY 8TH** Confined by sickness.

**JULY 9TH** Recovering; but unable to make any exertion.

**JULY 10TH** Convalescent. In the morning I investigated the banks of the Brisbane near the town, and found some plants of a superb and unpublished species of Bignonia: also a species of Limonia, and one of Ipomaea, whose immense tubers are here called Native Yams, and are eaten by the natives.

**JULY 11TH** Proceeded with Captain Logan and Mr. Cunningham up the Brisbane River to the Limestone Station,²⁰ on the banks of the Bremer, which we reached at sunset, after having rowed for eleven hours. The south side of the Brisbane, as far as Canoe Creek, is covered with forests of Pine or Araucaria, to a considerable extent. The north bank, as far as Glenmoriston's Range, is principally open forest, not reaching far, beyond which it is clothed with pine brushes, as on the south. These forests contain immense quantities of Yellow Wood, (Oxleya xanthoxyla) and Tulip Wood, with Figs of five or six different species, Grevillea venusta, Br.²¹ (the Silk Oak of the pine cutters) and a great profusion of magnificent trees.

Beyond Canoe Creek, the Pine partially disappears from both sides of the river, and its geographical situation is occupied by enormous Figs.

Two miles beyond Canoe Creek is an excellent quarry of freestone,²² which is conveyed by water to Brisbane Town, a distance of eleven miles.

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¹⁸ Mt. Walker, then known as Mt. Forbes. The manuscript 7/2738 adds “supposed to be Mount Forbes of Mr. Oxley”.

¹⁹ Hoop pine, Araucaria cunninghamii.

²⁰ Ipswich.

²¹ The name given to it by Robert Brown. Cunningham, in his letter of 16 September 1828 to Telfair, called it G. excelsa, but it is now called G. robusta.

²² Possibly at Chelmer.
Its quality is excellent, being granular, and when first cut quite soft, but exposure to the air renders it as hard as granite. Following the course of the river towards the termination of Oxley's Range,23 the banks, which are comparatively divested of thickets, become more open and picturesque, and the nearer the Bremer is approached, the clearer is the country and the more precipitous the banks. These are interspersed with excellent *Gum Trees* (*Eucalypti*) and occasional patches of *Currijong*, or *Natives' Cordage Tree* (*Hibiscus heterophyllus*) which again are overhung with a new and beautiful kind of *Passion Flower* (*Passiflora*)24 whose blossom is greenish yellow, while the oval fruit, of which I partook, is produced in great quantities, and affords a grateful flavour.

On reaching the confluence of the Bremer the change in the character of the country is very apparent. On each side it is of the richest description, thinly wooded, and with abundance of water. The left bank is formed of flats gently sloping towards the Bremer, as well as towards a stream called Six Mile Creek,25 which takes its source in the mountains of Flinders' Peak. These flats are of the richest black loam, and covered with an extraordinary species of *Angophora*,26 and an unpublished kind of *Xanthorrhoea*,27 which attains the height of twenty feet, averaging not more than fifteen trees to an acre. Over this tract we proceeded until we came to the limestone formation at the navigable source of the Bremer, a spot that will at no distant period be the principal key to the internal commerce of this interesting portion of Australia.

The River Bremer, at its confluence with the Brisbane, may be estimated at forty yards wide, an extent which it carries to within a mile of the limestone station. It is navigable for seventeen miles above its junction with the Brisbane, for vessels drawing six feet water; and as far as the limestone, which is fifteen miles, for small sloops or schooners. Numerous beds of coal, lying in veins of considerable thickness, are adjacent to the lime: they jut out from the banks of the streams, and fall into the Bremer within a few yards of its tide mark. The limestone is singularly disposed, in large masses, intermingled with nodules of silex and chalk: on the surface it presents ridges of detached portions, several of which are covered with hexahedral crystals, and in many instances it is observed to form a remarkable conglomerate with quartz and silex, while great quantities of chaledony and carnelian, broken into small fragments, lie scattered on the surface.

23 Hooker apparently misunderstood the manuscript, which originally read "Termination Hills of Mr. Oxley".
24 *Passiflora herbertiana*.
25 At Redbank, 6 miles from Ipswich by road.
26 Apple tree.
27 Grass tree. See Cunningham, Report, 13 – 17 August 1828, and Fig. 42.
The summits of the lime ridges are studded with various species of Ficus, and many individuals of a genus belonging to the Meliaceae. From Brisbane Town to the Limestone Station, is estimated at 24 miles by land, and 50 miles by water.

**JULY 12TH** At daybreak I started for Flinders’ Peak, distant about ten miles. The first three miles lay over a beautiful country, when the soil changed to a light red sand, and the ascent of the lateral branches of the Peak commenced. For the first two miles the rise is very gentle, afterwards it becomes much more abrupt, and with this change in the geology ensues a consequent alteration in the soil and its productions. Having climbed a very high range, we obtained a magnificent view of the Peak, with its terrific northern front of perpendicular rock. The southern side appeared to be more accessible, being clothed with thick brushwood to the very summit.

From the situation which we had now attained, we clearly saw the impossibility of reaching the top by sunset, and having made no preparations for remaining an additional day on the journey, we determined upon descending into the valley\textsuperscript{28} to bivouac for the night, some of the party endeavouring in the mean time to penetrate as far as its base by a valley which promised to be practicable, but which proved quite otherwise. At sunset we halted on the edge of a lagoon, and formed a hut of grass to sleep in, the whole party being completely exhausted through fatigue.

**JULY 13TH** The morning was excessively cold. At break of day we retraced our way to the Limestone Station, where we arrived at ten o’clock. The rest of the day was devoted to the examination of the neighbouring district, and the coal seams, which are abundant. The view from the Limestone Hills is extensive, and the exact bearings were ascertained of the centre of the Pass in the Dividing Range, Flinders’ Peak, Sir Herbert Taylor’s Range, and Mount Forbes.\textsuperscript{29} The country between the Limestone Station and Brisbane Town, seems low and open.

**JULY 14TH** At eight o’clock, embarked for Brisbane Town, and reached it at half-past nine in the evening.

**JULY 15TH** Went to examine the lower part of Breakfast Creek, and discovered a gigantic species of Aspidium, bearing fructification only on the terminal

\textsuperscript{28} Probably Bundamba Creek.

\textsuperscript{29} Mt. Forbes is now called Mt. Walker. The manuscript 7/2738 gives the bearings of these features as $238^\circ$, $161^\circ$, $143^\circ$, and $126^\circ$ respectively. These numbers (except $161^\circ$) are incorrect; for the correct bearings see Cunningham, Report, 13–17 August 1828, Note 6.
pinnae. It is a native of salt marshes, and generally grows from 5 to 6 feet high. On the edge of the brushwood I found a Croton, with a remarkably ciliated calyx, and a kind of Ficus with digitated leaves. While following the line of the creek, I met with the females of a tribe of aborigines, who, on seeing me, set up a dreadful yell. Their cries brought the men, who, observing however that I was not a runaway convict, offered me no violence. At three o'clock, I returned to Brisbane Town.

JULY 16TH These days were devoted to procuring living plants in the vicinity of the town.

JULY 18TH Proceeded, in company with Capt. Logan and Mr. Cunningham, to Stradbroke Island, and reached Dunwich at one o'clock in the afternoon. Immediately on landing we ascended the hills to the east of the settlement, and found them covered with Callitris, Casuarina, Banksia Compar, and B. aemula, and the soil consisting of white sand. Among the new plants were a species of Boronia, one of Zieria, Callitris, Casuarina, and Persoonia. The soil on the lower part of Stradbroke Island is a red loam, containing much sand, but by care it might be made to produce good crops. The rock is a bright red sandstone or ironstone.

From the establishment at Dunwich, there is an extensive view of Moreton Bay, the Glass Houses, Flinders' Peak, the lateral range of Mount Warning, and Sir Herbert Taylor's Range.

JULY 19TH Examined the Cotton Plantation, which I found much neglected, the stools being literally covered with weeds. All along the Plantation runs a beautiful stream, issuing from an extensive swamp, in which I found a profusion of Melastoma Banksiana, with a species of Dacrydium. On the beach were thickets of Hibiscus tiliaceus, and Pandanus pedunculata: the latter is called Bread-fruit, and eagerly eaten by the natives. A beautiful species of Pinna, or Fan Muscle, was abundant on the mud flats, and I succeeded in obtaining a few specimens.

JULY 20TH Returned to Brisbane Town.

JULY 22D Employed in procuring plants on the river banks till eight o'clock, when I found the party proceeding to Mount Warning, on the south bank, consisting of Capt. Logan, Mr. Cunningham, one soldier, and five convicts,

30 Near Myora.
31 Cotton-wood tree.
32 21 July was Sunday. The manuscript 7/2738 reads “July 21st Employed variously.”
33 Logan imagined Mt. Barney to be Mt. Warning.
with their bullocks; but on arranging our provisions and luggage, we found that three beasts were inadequate to carry it all, and were therefore obliged to delay our departure till the following day, in order to procure another. At noon I returned to Brisbane, and assisted in laying out the walks of the New Garden.

JULY 23D  At eight o'clock we started, but had not proceeded above a mile, when we discovered that one of our bullocks could hardly stand under his load, while another had reared so as to break a part of his harness. To relieve the first, we reduced our stock of flour by 112 lbs. which we sent back, and the necessity of getting the harness of the other animal repaired caused us to encamp for the day.

JULY 24TH  At seven o'clock, we set off towards Couper's Plains, passing over a tract of indifferent land, composed principally of clumps of Iron Bark Trees, Eucalypti, and small valleys, abundantly watered. By eleven o'clock we had accomplished nearly six miles, and then halted till one, to rest our cattle, at the edge of the plain, or, more properly speaking, of the Flats, on the banks of a beautiful chain of ponds. Thence we continued our way across these flats, which are composed of excellent land, thinly wooded; and it appears evident to me, that the water must often stand here in many spots, on account of the numerous hollows in the surface. This district probably contains 5000 or 6000 acres. The timber is decidedly of little worth, but the ridges produce abundantly the Iron Bark and Blue Gum Trees, (Eucalyptus piperita).

We encamped at three and a half miles from the entrance of the flats, on the west bank of Canoe Creek, by which they are bounded, having accomplished a distance by the odometer of nine miles.

There was nothing novel in the botany of this district. The principal timber consisted of Banksia Compar, Tristania robusta, Iron Bark, some stunted Casuarinae, and a species of Acacia with long cylindrical spikes of flower.

JULY 25TH  The temperature delightful, and sky cloudy. At half-past eight we continued our course southward, which led us for a considerable distance along the banks of Canoe Creek, over a country varied with alternate strips of Tea Tree (Melaleuca linariifolia) of swamps and sandy forest land, the latter consisting of Honeysuckle Tree (Banksia integrifolia) the Forest Oak (Casuarina torulosa) and stunted Gum Trees (Eucalypti). The creek now taking a sudden eastward

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34 On Oxley Creek, Rocklea. Named by Logan after Henry Cowper, Assistant Surgeon at Brisbane Town.
35 Rocky Waterholes Creek at Rocklea.
36 Archerfield.
37 Oxley Creek.
turn, we were obliged to ascend a range of low hills, leaving on the left some beautiful flats of rich land. The hills are formed of a light sandy soil, and clothed with a sward of good grass, and I remarked several encampments of natives, the shape of whose huts were different from any I had hitherto seen. At half-past seven we again fell in with the course of the creek, and rested our cattle. Having carried their loads across the creek, and reloaded, with some difficulty, the animals, we resumed our journey at one o'clock. The way lay over a tract of uninteresting country, interspersed again with swamps, clumps of Tea Tree, and flats of a poor argillaceous soil, which, however, produced some excellent timber. We again left the creek, and crossed several ridges of Honeysuckle Tree and Forest Oak, the latter overgrown with a magnificent species of Loranthus. At two and a half miles from the creek, we passed a grave of a high oval form, around which lay felled about forty large trees of Banksia Compar: they had evidently been cut down with a hatchet, and their tops were carefully laid over the grave, as if on purpose to conceal it. The most probable conclusion from this circumstance was, that the interment belonged to one of the runaway convicts from Brisbane Town. Beside the grave was a large hole, full of water, and a well-beaten path led to it. Beyond this spot an evident alteration was observable in the country. The Honeysuckles (Banksia integrifolia) disappear, and are succeeded by an open forest of sandy soil, after passing nearly two miles of which, we encamped for the night, on the margin of a small creek, having accomplished by the odometer, a distance of ten miles, and the reduced true course south being nearly nine miles.

JULY 26th

The morning clear and piercingly cold, so that we found two blankets and a counterpane insufficient for our shelter. At eight o'clock we started, travelling agreeably over an extent of open and gently undulating forest ground, and after four miles and a half reached the River Logan, at its junction with a creek. At this spot it is a fine rapidly running stream of considerable magnitude, and in ordinary seasons must contain a large body of water: the immediate banks are bold and almost precipitous, clothed with thick brushes of creeping plants, containing a great number of the Castanospermum, or native Chestnut Trees. Having unloaded the bullocks, we got them across with some difficulty, and carried their burdens to the opposite shore. The country for some distance from the Logan River, is very rich, and produces fine Gum

38 The Blunder.
39 Probably eleven.
40 Between Greenbank and Browns Plains.
41 Between Greenbank and Park Ridge.
42 Near Maclean Bridge.
Trees. At noon we observed the latitude, which showed 27° 48′ South. An hour after, we pursued our way through fine forests, and once more arrived at the Logan, at the distance of but a mile and a half from our former crossing place. We found it impossible to ford the river again, and were obliged to hold on for two miles in a more easterly direction, until the windings of the stream should again permit us to proceed southward. Having passed two creeks which fall into the Logan, and reached a much improved country, we halted for the rest of the day: our progress was eight miles and a half, and the true reduced course to the south six miles. We had observed nothing new in the botanical features of this day’s journey.

On the banks of the Logan, and in the immediate vicinity of a native encampment, I noticed three sticks set upright in the ground, forming a triangle, and fastened together by a cord at top, on which was placed a sheet of bark; and seeing something suspended under shelter of this bark, my curiosity induced me to point it out to Capt. Logan, who informed me that it is customary for the tribes, when leaving a district, to deposit in such a situation their Kangaroo-Nets, Dillies, Bass mats, chissels, and superfluous implements, until their return. It is considered the greatest breach of faith among these rude nations to touch any of the articles thus placed; a degree of honesty which, it is to be feared, we might look for in vain among their white neighbours. On examining this depot, we found a Kangaroo-Net, 50 feet long and 5½ feet wide, formed of the most excellent twine, as fine as any fabricated in Europe, but much stronger, and woven in a manner that would do credit to a professed net maker; - a fishing-net of a beautifully fine mesh, and dyed black, forming, when in the water, an inverted cone about 7 feet deep; - a Dilly, or luggage-bag, such as the females carry, made of the leaves of a species of Xanthorrhoea, and strong enough to bear any weight; - two Eillmans, or shields, of the wood of Urtica Gigas, or the Tree Nettle, as light as cork; two chissels edged with flint; and an iron wedge, evidently stolen from Brisbane Town.

July 27th The morning proved clear and pleasant; thermometer indicating 47°. We set off at the usual time, and travelled over a good and level country, of which some parts are swampy, and others varied by hills of small elevation, and covered with forests of Casuarina, Jacksonia or Dogwood, and fine Gum Trees. At two miles and a half from our encampment we crossed a large creek, whose swampy banks harboured many kangaroos. From this point

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43 At the Logan, near the western end of Camp Cable Road.
44 In Fight Witnessed by Pamphlet, November 1823, the word is “elemong” and the manuscript 7/2738 renders it as “Eillamon”.
45 Henderson Creek.
we were again compelled to deviate in a westerly direction having, at the distance of another mile, crossed a second creek which falls into the Logan, and whose banks are remarkably fertile, and, half a mile farther on, a third creek, of which the sides are clothed with such dense forests of Araucaria, and Yellow Wood, that we found it impracticable to force the cattle through so that we were obliged to ascend the hills where this stream takes its source. At noon the latitude proved to be 27° 52' South. Here we observed one of those remarkable battle circles, which seem peculiar to the natives of this part of New Holland. It consisted of an enclosure 33 yards in circumference, edged by a path 3 feet broad and 10 inches deep, from which another path of similar dimensions diverges in a direct line, frequently for half a mile in length. The history of the circumstance which led to the formation of these circles was narrated to me by an eye-witness, who had lived for nineteen months among these tribes; and his testimony is strongly supported by facts that have been recently elicited during the formation of the settlement at Brisbane Town.

It was discovered, by one of the tribes inhabiting the banks of Pumice-Stone River, that a neighbouring tribe had trespassed on their hunting and fishing stations, whereupon a warrior was sent to the aggressors, who resided at three days' journey north, to demand satisfaction by battle. The challenge being accepted by the latter, they marched to meet their enemies in a body amounting to about 250 souls, including women and children, and when they had reached the territories of the aggrieved chief, they sent to request permission to cross his boundary-line. The chief was absent on a kangarooing expedition, but he immediately granted leave when he returned. The party, on passing the boundary-line upon the beach, made each a mark across with their toes, the meaning of which is not yet known; they then approached the scene of action, and encamped for the night. In the morning all the warriors were in readiness, and advanced to meet the enemy, followed at no great distance by the women and children, whom they gave in special charge to my informant, the European Finnegan, with strict orders that he should not quit them. Curiosity, however, urged him to approach the

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46 Should read "easterly".
47 Scrubby Creek.
48 Another branch of Scrubby Creek.
49 John Finnegan (see Chapter 5). About the time of Fraser's visit to Moreton Bay, Finnegan was a seaman on the pilot ship "Regent Bird", based at Amity Point.
50 Actually seven months.
51 See Fight Witnessed by Finnegan, November 1823.
52 The tribe Finnegan was staying with.
53 Actually thirty-five people from Finnegan's tribe, but many others were there.
54 Probably on the Redcliffe Peninsula.
field of battle, when he states that the picked men on both sides, being armed, entered the pathway and marched into the circle. Here two were selected from each party to fight with spears and eillmans, and the contest lasted a long time, until both the men from the aggressors' party fell, covered with wounds, on which a number of their friends rushed into the circle and carried the bodies away. Immediately on this an appalling cry was raised by the tribe which had originally been injured: they fell on the enemy with the utmost fury, and chased them for a considerable distance, keeping up a running fight, till night put an end to the combat.

The vanquished tribe immediately forsook their former encampment, and, carrying the dead bodies with them, removed to a spot two miles distant to the north, where they kept up the most horrible lamentations. Having encamped, they immediately commenced their operations by flaying and burying the bodies: they then carried the skins away to a considerable distance, where they formed a triangle of spears, around which they twisted the skins, leaving the face, palms of the hands, and soles of the feet suspended. A fire was then kindled beneath them, till the skins were dried to the consistency of leather, when one of the warriors took them down, and after performing some ceremony over them, carried them away, the whole tribe uttering a dreadful yell, and nothing farther was seen or heard of them.

Mr. Cunningham has in his possession the skin of one of the female aborigines, which was procured by Private Piatt of the 57th Regiment, from the hut of a native on the banks of the Brisbane River, just above its junction with the Bremer. It consists of only the front of the body, arms, and legs; the fingers and toes have their nails perfect, but the face is wanting, although the ears remain. It had been deposited in the Dilly or luggage-bag of a female, carefully placed within one of their nets.

At one o'clock we continued to ascend the range, by which we were enabled to keep on our course; the rise was gradual, so that the cattle got up without difficulty, and the defiles on each side are clothed with Pine forests to the very summit, over which is the only practicable pass, and along which we found travelling very good. Our bullocks being extremely fatigued, we encamped at the northern extremity of the range: our progress was estimated by the odometer at nearly nine miles, its reduced true southerly course at five and a half miles. On the summit of the range we observed a rock of remarkably compact granular silex, which, on examining, we found to have been lately

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55 Probably the Redcliffe kippa-ring.
56 Finnegan's side.
57 See Cunningham, Letter, June - September 1828, near Note 69.
58 Birnam Range.
59 Five miles due west of Tamborine.
split by the natives, for the purpose of fabricating tomahawks and chisels; but by what means they contrived to break this rock yet remains a secret. An extensive view is obtained from this eminence, stretching to north and south-east, where the whole of the valley of the Brisbane and the shores of Moreton Bay appear to great advantage; while to the east may be seen the valley through which the first branch \textsuperscript{60} of the Logan passes, in the direction of Mount Warning. We found on this range of hills a beautiful new species of \textit{Acacia} (\textit{A. podalyriifolia}) with glabrous leaves, and \textit{Hovea acutifolia}.

\textbf{JULY 28TH} Morning clear, and thermometer at 50°. At eight o'clock, we began to descend this range, which was named Birnam, and skirted its base through a tract of very fine forest land, where the \textit{Iron Bark} and \textit{Apple Trees} (\textit{Angophora lanceolata}) abound. Here the character of the scenery changes, the hills and vallies assuming the richest verdure upon a soil of dark brown loam. Still descending, we traversed wide flats of prodigious fertility, which seem to extend to the Logan, whose course is here in a southerly direction. A magnificent valley now opens to the view, stretching southward almost as far as the eye can reach, and named the Vale of Aris, terminating by lofty peaked mountains, supposed to be Mount Warning and the Lindsay Range. From this point, Flinders' Peak bore west by north half west, distant about fifteen miles, and the intervening country appeared low, fertile, and of easy access.

Descending into the valley, we crossed a lovely open plain \textsuperscript{61} of the richest verdure: its length we estimated at about two miles, and breadth one mile and a half. On the north and east it is skirted by beautiful open forest hills; on the west by the river Logan; and on the south by a considerable extent of low richly wooded ground, and is named Letitia Plain. \textsuperscript{62} From this situation we had a grand view of Flinders' Peak. A mile farther on we arrived at a beautiful lagoon \textsuperscript{63}, where we found a new species of \textit{Villarsia}, to which, on account of its orbicular leaves, we gave the appellation of \textit{nymphaeofolia}. Here we took the latitude, 27° 56'' South.

An eastward turn of the River Logan, at two and a half miles distance from the lagoon, intercepted our progress. It was joined by a creek, \textsuperscript{64} passing from Birnam Range, and the banks are so thickly clothed with brushes of \textit{Araucaria}, that we found it quite impracticable to effect a passage for the cattle. We were consequently obliged to cross the River Logan, which we accomplished with difficulty, not because of the quantity of water, though

\begin{itemize}
  \item \textsuperscript{60} The Albert River.
  \item \textsuperscript{61} Between Veresdale and Gleneagle.
  \item \textsuperscript{62} Named after Logan's wife.
  \item \textsuperscript{63} The lagoon adjacent to Heart Lagoon, near Gleneagle.
  \item \textsuperscript{64} Waters Creek, 2 miles north of Beaudesert.
\end{itemize}
the stream is wide, but on account of the dense thickets that fringe its almost perpendicular banks. The west bank seems to rival the east in the richness and extent of its flats, while, from the hilly nature of the former, *Grevillea venusta* shows to the greatest advantage. At half-past three we encamped, having completed, as we ascertained by the odometer, a distance of only nine miles, and but five miles directly to south-west.

**JULY 29TH** Weather exceedingly wet, with heavy squalls from the west: at noon it cleared up a little, which enabled us to ascertain the latitude, 27° 58' 03" South.

**JULY 30TH** The morning fine and clear, with wind from the south-west. We started at the customary hour, and travelled over one of the finest tracts of country I ever beheld, stretching as far as we could see on both sides of the river, and towards Flinders' Peak. Three miles from our encampment we traversed a small plain, from which Flinders' Peak bore W. N. W., distant about fifteen miles. One mile farther south, a low ridge\(^65\) approached the river, from which we obtained a magnificent view of the middle district of the vale, as it may be termed. This range, and one immediately opposite,\(^66\) dividing it distinctly\(^67\) at the extremity of the valley, appear to be a magnificent chain of mountains, whose lofty summits are capped with clouds; Mount Warning, Mounts Hooker,\(^68\) Clanmorris,\(^69\) and Lindsay,\(^70\) are among the most elevated of the peaks. On descending this lower part, (named Dunsinane)\(^71\) we crossed a creek\(^72\) of considerable width, flowing from the north-west through an extensive valley, and then continued our way in the vale, the flats increasing in magnitude, and, if possible, improving in soil. The hills by which these plains are bordered, are of gentle ascent, and clothed with a lovely verdure: they seem eminently adapted for sheep grazing. At three o'clock we halted for the rest of the day, immediately on the bank of the river, having accomplished ten miles direct south.\(^73\)

Close to our encampment we observed a number of fires, kindled by the natives, with quantities of *Chestnuts* (*Castanospermum*) and native *Tarra* (*Caladium glycyrrhizon*) in the process of roasting, and a considerable portion

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65 Three miles west of Beaudesert.
66 A spur from Mt. Mahomet.
67 Probably these words should be attached to the previous sentence.
68 Lindesay, 3918 feet.
69 Maroon, 3161 feet.
70 Barney, 4469 feet.
71 Not the present Mt. Dunsinane. Named after Dunsinane Hill in Perthshire, Scotland. See Note 77.
72 Sandy Creek, which at that place seems to flow from the north-west.
73 Actually 8 miles; they were at Round Mountain, near the mouth of Cannon Creek; see Logan, Journal, 30 July 1828.
not yet prepared. A semicircle of stones is formed round each of these fires, over which two-thirds of the fire-wood is allowed to project, evidently for the purpose of cooking the fruit in the hot ashes. On seeing us approach, the people fled. I observed much variety in the construction of their huts, all of which were covered with grass. On a small detached conical hill,\(^74\) close to our camp, the natives remained, apparently watching us. At four o'clock, we ascended this hill, which we found to be of basaltic formation; many of the columns measured seven feet of external length, their prisms perfect, both hexahedral and tetrahedral, with confused masses lying between them. Among these I found *Polypodium diversifolium*, Br.

In our descent, we surprised a native lying concealed under a log of wood, in the apparent hope of finding an opportunity to secure the provisions and implements which they had left behind in their camp. He was dreadfully alarmed, and as soon as he got clear of us, precipitated himself into the river. Latitude 28° 06' 19" South,\(^75\) being exactly in the parallel of Point Danger, and Mount Warning, and Mount Dumaresq, on the borders of the Darling Downs. Evening exceedingly cold, with stormy breezes and showers from the south-west.

**JULY 31ST** The cold was piercing this morning as we pursued our journey up the valley. I went, accompanied by Capt. Logan, to the summit of a lofty hill (Mount Edgar)\(^76\) immediately west of our last camp, from which the view was particularly grand; the supposed Range of Mount Warning, (the correctness of whose situation we now began to doubt,) showed to great advantage, as did many of the peaks in the Dividing Range. In the north and north-east appeared the vale of the Brisbane and Sir Herbert Taylor's Range, the low hills in the immediate vicinity of Brisbane Town, and the low ranges on the shores of Moreton Bay, and Birnam Hill with its pine-clad summit,\(^77\) which, from its situation at the entrance of the vale of Aris, bears some resemblance to the original hill of that name at the opening of the vale of Atholl. To the east lay the upper ward, if I may so call it, of the vale, which seems of much greater extent than any of the others; in its centre is a plain of considerable magnitude (Innes Plain)\(^78\) through a part of which the Logan meanders, this tract not being less than ten miles across from east to west. From the sudden turn which the river took, we were enabled to cut off a

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\(^74\) Round Mountain.

\(^75\) Actually they were 2 miles north of this latitude.

\(^76\) Cotter's Lookout, 1000 feet. Named after the Reverend Mr. Edgar, of Hutton, in Dumfries, Scotland, brother-in-law of Logan.

\(^77\) The summit is now called Mt. Dunsinane, 1055 feet. Fraser was born at Blair Atholl, Perthshire, Scotland, near the original Birnam and Dunsinane.

\(^78\) Tamrookum; not the present Innisplain.
AUG. 1ST  

Morning cold and frosty; thermometer at 35°. At a mile and a half from our encampment we crossed the Logan, having mistaken it for a stream descending from Mount Clanmorris, and holding a south-west course, by which our progress was shortly after arrested. The latter river, the Lyon, sweeps through a most beautiful valley, and seems to have its source at the foot of the eastern cone (Mount Hooker) of the high Range. We followed it upwards for two miles and a half till the dense forests of Araucaria forbade our farther progress. We named this romantic valley Glen Lyon. Having regained, at one o’clock, our former track along the Logan, we proceeded for two miles and a half along its banks, through a fine flat country, above which the high central peak (Mount Lindsay) rose in great majesty, so that the tout ensemble of the whole upper ward of the Vale of Aris may compare with any scenery that I ever saw. Our walk this day was short, but eight miles, and its true southward progress only two miles and a half.

The banks of the river abound here with wild turkeys, and are thickly overgrown with forests of Cedar (Cedrela Toona) and Chestnuts (Castanospermum) which, with the roots of Caladium glycyrrhizon afford the chief aliment of the aborigines. The Chestnut Trees are of rapid growth, and yield a most grateful shade.

AUG. 2D  

A hoar frost added to the chilliness of the morning, and the quicksilver, at eight o’clock, stood at 40°. Two miles from our encampment, the Logan receives a rivulet from the north, and suddenly alters its westerly to a southward course. One mile farther, on the accession of the Benvie stream, it

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79 Mt. Maroon.
80 At Rathdowney.
81 Palen Creek. The manuscript 7/2738 is more accurate here. It reads “observing a south-west course [we] intercepted another stream (The Lion) [sic] passing through a beautiful valley”. Named after Glen Lyon in Perthshire, Scotland.
82 Mt. Lindesay.
83 The village of Palen Creek.
84 Mt. Barney.
85 Burnett Creek. The manuscript 7/2738 reads “it receives another stream (The Benvie) from the WNW”. Named after Benwee Head in the north-west of Ireland. Another Irish name bestowed at this time was Erris Vale (see Cunningham, Report, 31 July 1828, and Note 146).
Fig. 34. Mt. Barney, sketched by Cunningham from near his tent. The peaks from left are: East Peak, North Peak, Leaning Peak, and Isolated Peak. In this sketch Leaning Peak is referred to as Blantyre Head, in agreement with Fraser's journal. The original is in field book SZ27 in the Archives Office of New South Wales.

Fig. 35. "A fine flat country, above which the high central peak (Mount Lindsay) rose in great majesty" (Fraser, Journal, 1 August 1828). Mt. Lindsay is now called Mt. Barney. Logan’s Ridge rises from the foreground plain to the highest peak. Photograph by author.
changes back again to the westward, and, sweeping round the base of Mount
Clanmorris, passes through a magnificent valley,86 which, to save distance,
we left on our right, the mountain bearing from us west by north. Through
hilly forests, we entered a valley of the richest and most varied character,
from which Mount Lindsay87 rises with a grandeur that baffles all description.
Downwards from its summit, which is about 5500 feet above the valley, it
presents a perpendicular front of rock at least 2000 feet high, and the whole
springs, as it were, from a base-line of fine flat land, stretching for more than
five miles, uninterruptedly, between Mount Clanmorris and McPherson's
Range.88

We halted89 on the banks of the Logan at two o'clock, having accomplished
eight miles to-day. An hour after, the Captain and I ascended a circular
range90 of hills which seemed to gird the base of the mountain, in the hope
of finding a path by which it might be possible to climb it. This range is
composed of argillaceous trap, and I discovered on its summit a new species of
Acacia, with uniform leaves. We regained our tent in the afternoon, having
met with a tribe of natives in the way, who, as usual, took to their heels on
our approach.

AUG. 3D Morning cold and frosty. At day-break, Capt. Logan, Mr. Cunningham,
two men, and I began the ascent of the mountain. On attaining the summit of
the ridge,91 over the lower part of which, as I mentioned, we had passed
yesterday, we found that it conducted to the centre of the mountain's northern
front, at an elevation, assuredly, of 2000 feet from the Logan, which flows
at its base. Here that front presents a really terrific appearance, being a
perpendicular mass of rock,92 unvaried by even the smallest trace of vegetation,
except a few straggling lichens may be so called. From the above-mentioned
ridge, we scrambled, with considerable difficulty and some risk, over masses
of detached rock, lightly studded with trees and shrubs, by which our progress
was much aided for about 1000 feet farther, till we reached the summit
of one of the defiles, where, for a while, all farther advance seemed to be
forbidden. Hence we saw Mount Warning bearing east by south, and about
twenty-five93 miles distant.

On a careful scrutiny of the fearful precipices which overhung us, Capt.
Logan detected a path by which it appeared possible, and barely possible,

86 At the mouth of Mt. Barney Creek.
87 Mt. Barney.
88 The original McPherson's Range which ran north-west from Mt. Glennie.
89 See introduction to this chapter.
90 Logan's ridge, between Rocky Creek and the Logan River.
91 Logan's ridge.
92 The east face of the East Peak.
93 Actually 35 miles.
to ascend, so, putting off our shoes and stockings, and leaving the rest of the party behind, he and I began scrambling on hands and knees to the first peak, a height of about 300 feet, with great difficulty, but having once attained a certain elevation, we had no alternative but to proceed, any attempt at returning in this direction appearing totally impracticable. To cast a glance downwards was most perilous, for a dreadful chasm, 1600 feet deep, yawned below us; while to the right extended a trackless labyrinth of detached rocks: to look forward was enough to quell the firmest courage, by displaying the dangers and difficulties that beset our path; so that all we could do was, by clinging fast with our great toes, to trust ourselves to small nodules on the surface of the crags, and thus to effect an advance by suspending our weight on slender twigs of *Casuarina* and *Metrosideros*, whose appearance scarcely warranted them strong enough to support a goat. When the summit of this peak was gained, my nerves were so much agitated that I was forced to lie down on a rock, resting myself against a bush till I recovered.

Capt. Logan now proceeded towards the next peak, and, as soon as I possibly could, I followed him, leaving my shoes and collecting-bags behind. From the size of the detached portions of rock, and the stunted nature of the shrubs of *Casuarina*, *Eucalyptus*, and *Banksia*, which start up here and there between the fissures, our progress was both difficult and dangerous; and finding it hopeless to climb far on such ground without shoes, I returned for them, and was thus thrown considerably in the rear. I hallooed continually to Capt. Logan, who always answered me while within hearing, but the number of echoes, at least five, which repeated backwards and forwards the different sounds, had such an effect in confusing me, that I knew not whence the voice came; and it would have required the speed and agility of an antelope to overtake him. I continued scrambling onwards till half-past eleven, when I perceived Capt. Logan near the summit, and then relinquished all hope of joining him; I also struck into a brushwood of *Eucalyptus mimosoides*, *Tasmannia insipida*, *Xanthorrhoea hastilis*, *Epacris grandiflora*, and several Port-Jackson Ferns, among which I observed *Gleichenia angustifolia*.

From the dampness of the earth, I hoped to obtain here some water with which to allay my parching thirst, but I was disappointed. Through this brush

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94 "Adjoining Rocky Creek is Barney's classic hard route, namely Logan's Ridge, a route on which club parties frequently come to grief. I recommend four ways out of this difficulty: (i) Start early; (ii) don't begin serious climbing until Rocky Creek is reached, and then move up the ridge on your left hand; (iii) when climbing to within about 500 feet of the summit never go to the left of the ridge when in difficulty but always go right; and (iv) on the last part (above the level of North Peak) don't get off the ridge at all but keep climbing 'chimneys' - four, one after another, will land you on the summit of East Peak." J. Minter, "Mt. Barney – for the Aristocrats", in *Heybob* (the Magazine of the University of Queensland Bushwalking Club), IV (1962), 24–29.
I at length penetrated, and advanced about 500 feet higher still, when my strength became so much exhausted, and the day so far advanced, that after waiting an hour in expectation of seeing Capt. Logan, I commenced my descent, the summit of the mountain rearing its gigantic head full 800 feet above me.

The descent proved a more difficult task than the climbing had been, from the narrowness of the ridges, in many places not exceeding six feet, with huge precipices on each side, and the danger of slipping between these masses when leaping from one to another, many of them being as slippery as a piece of ice, in which case an instantaneous death must have been my portion. After prodigious exertions, I succeeded in regaining the point where I had left my collecting-bags and shoes, and now I was still more puzzled how to descend thus encumbered; but, mustering all my courage and caution, I began sliding gently from bush to bush, often narrowly escaping being dashed to atoms, and by carefully lowering my boxes and shoes before me from one point to another, I at length got within sight of Mr. Cunningham and the rest of the party, by whose assistance I was lowered down the rocks, having almost all my clothes torn off my back.

During our journey towards this mountain, we had conceived it to be Mount Warning, allowing some considerable error to have occurred in laying down the geographical position of the latter, and not seeing any high land to the eastward of it; but having ascertained its true situation to-day, we named it Mount Lindsay, in honour of Col. Lindsay of the 39th Regt. The view from this mountain is peculiarly grand: northward lies the vale of the Brisbane River, bounded in that direction by distant chains of lofty mountains, the outlines of whose peaks we could scarcely discriminate. To the north-west, the Dividing Range of the Interior Waters, with its lateral hills projecting into the plain, appear to great advantage, as well as Mount French, and the lovely plains in its immediate vicinity. To the north-east is Flinders’ Peak, with Moreton Bay and Island, and the Glass Houses, bearing north-east, half east. Eastward rises Mount Warning, distant about twenty-five miles, (with its lateral ranges) appearing at least 3000 feet lower than Mount Lindsay, and in the same direction lie several extensive tracts of perfectly open country. A magnificent district extends to the southward, exhibiting many wide and partially cleared plains, stretching as far as the eye can behold. To the west, the ground is high and rugged. I could perceive, south of me, the meandering of a stream (the Richmond River, so called

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95 "I personally don't recommend travelling down this route without a rope but it is safe as an 'up' route." Ibid.
96 Variously spelt Lindesay and Lyndsay. Now called Barney.
97 Mt. Barney is 4469 feet; Mt. Warning is 3800 feet.
98 Woodenbong district.
by the Hon. Capt. Rous) which Capt. Logan surveyed from his loftier position, without any obstruction, and reports it to be a river of considerable magnitude. Mount Hooker, with its pigeon-house shaped summit, forms a striking feature in the landscape to the south-east, while Mount Clanmorris and Lloyd’s Hills, on the north-west, add greatly to the interest of the country in the opposite direction.

On the north-west shoulder of Mount Lindsay, there is an extraordinary projecting precipitous rock, which was named Blantyre Head.

At four o’clock we were joined by Capt. Logan, who had encountered much risk and difficulty, and we regained our encampment, passing through the forest land, at six o’clock.

The botany is not much varied, the only novelties being a species of Kennedia, with one of Calythrix, Callicoma, and Elichrysum. It is worthy of remark, that on the upper regions of these mountains, the common productions of the South-head Road and Port Jackson predominate.

AUG. 4TH

Weather cold and bleak. At eight o’clock, Capt. Logan proceeded to the base of Mount Hooker, for the purpose of examining the Pass (since called St. George’s) which we observed there yesterday, when upon Mount Lindsay. He returned at six in the evening, having advanced six miles to the south through the Pass, and reports that the path is accessible, though it requires some clearing. It may be approached either by Glen Lyon, or by the base of Mount Lindsay, and it will soon be the great entrance to the Shoal Bay Country, connecting those tracts with the Moreton Bay Country, which promises to be, ere long, the emporium of Australia. We took the height of Mount Lindsay above the valley, by trigonometrical survey, which gave an elevation of 4755 feet, and allowing that the valley itself, as calculated by the barometrical experiments, was 900 feet above the level of the sea, an altitude of 5655 feet will thus belong to the mountain; while Mount Hooker may be estimated at 4000 feet, and Mount Clanmorris at 5000.

The latitude was 28° 15’ 21” South, and allowing the centre of Mount Lindsay to be three miles south of the situation of our tent, its true position may be reckoned at 28° 18’ 21” South, long. 152° 0’ 06’.

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99 Actually the Clarence River.
100 Two hills, 1200 feet and 1050 feet, opposite the mouth of Mt. Barney Creek.
101 Leaning Peak (Fig. 34). However Cunningham sometimes referred to North Peak by this name (Fig. 41).
102 Collins Gap, through which the Mt. Lindesay Highway passes.
103 Palen Creek.
104 Mt. Barney.
105 Mt. Barney is 4469 feet (West Peak) and 4463 feet (East Peak).
106 Mt. Lindesay is 3918 feet.
107 Mt. Maroon is 3166 feet.
AUG. 5TH The morning was clear and calm, and we started at the usual hour. Our course being altered from that of yesterday,\textsuperscript{108} we were led into a ravine,\textsuperscript{109} formed by the River Logan, between Mount Clannmorris and Lloyd’s Hill, through which we found it impossible to effect a passage. Capt. Logan and Mr. Cunningham having got through on foot, I returned with the cattle by the way that we had gone on the 2d, and rejoined them on the banks of the river, which here expands into a fine stream, and in which, a few miles farther on, there is no current whatever, the whole percolating through the gravelly bottom. After crossing the river, we again turned to the north-west, and climbed a lofty range\textsuperscript{110} of forest-covered land, of easy access, and where the soil and grass are excellent. At three o’clock we halted on a tract of the same forest ground, well watered; Hughes’ Peak\textsuperscript{111} bearing from our tent north $35^1_2^\circ$, having performed a distance of nine miles, and true north course four miles and a half.

AUG. 6TH Morning clear and chilly. At a mile and a half from our encampment, we descended into a beautiful valley, watered by the Benvie,\textsuperscript{112} stretching to the south-west round the base of Mount Clannmorris, which frowns in awful majesty over the lovely vale beneath. The flats increase as we advanced, both as to breadth and fertility, and the stream winds beautifully through them. Our course lying to the north, we were obliged to quit this fertile valley, which I did with much reluctance; the magnificence of the mountain scenery, and the richness of the soil rendering this one of the most enchanting scenes in all New Holland. Again we crossed a considerable tract of high forest ground, which was of good quality, and continued for several miles. Some of the ridges seem formed of excellent lime. On attaining the northern boundary of this country, we saw a wide extent of open marshy flats, bounded by a range of picturesque hills, lying before us to the north. We named the latter Minto Craigs, and gave the appellation of the Teviot to a lovely stream which flows at their base. This tract, as well as that in the direction of Mount Lindsay, had been explored in 1827 by Capt. Logan. Hence Mount Shadforth\textsuperscript{113} is seen to much effect; this country is the commencement of Teviotdale, the stream being formed by the combined waters which descend from Mount Shadforth and the Dividing Range, and it is exceedingly fertile.

\textsuperscript{108} Actually 2 August.
\textsuperscript{109} At the mouth of Mt. Barney Creek.
\textsuperscript{110} Northern foothills of Mt. Maroon.
\textsuperscript{111} Knapp’s Peak, 2134 feet.
\textsuperscript{112} Burnett Creek.
\textsuperscript{113} Mt. Toowoonan, 2425 feet. For explanation of the original name, see Cunningham, Report, 6 August 1828. Minto Craigs and Teviot Brook were named after the town of Minto and the Teviot River, both in Roxburgh, Scotland.
and picturesque. Here the *Emu* followed us for a considerable distance, apparently fearless of any danger. At five o'clock, we encamped on the banks of the Teviot, having accomplished by the odometer eleven miles and a half, and the true reduced course being nine miles west, seventeen south.  

**AUG. 7TH**

Our bullocks having strayed this morning, we were unable to start till ten o'clock. At eight o'clock, I ascended Minto Craigs, where I found an unpublished species of *Acacia*, one of *Hovea*, *Leptospermum*, *Croton*, *Lasiopetalum*, of *Aspidium* and *Alyxia*, with the *Epidendrum proliferum*. The hills are composed of a compact silicious trap, forming large precipices. To the west is an extensive valley, containing a plain of considerable magnitude, while the Teviot meanders to the south of Flinders' Peak. On the north, I saw some large flats or plains, reaching to the base of Mount French. At the base of these Craigs, I killed an enormous brown snake, nearly eight feet long, in an almost torpid state. Our course (west by north) led us through a tract of rugged forest ranges, covered with ironstone and trap, the former in nodules, enclosing indurated clay, which rendered travelling difficult for our cattle. At twelve, we descended into the flats that I had descried from Minto Craigs (Dalhousie Plains) which proved exceedingly marshy. They abound in *Emus*, and enclose some of the largest ponds in the east coast of New Holland. Finding it impracticable to penetrate from this point to the Gap or Pass in the Dividing Range, seen by Mr. Cunningham in 1827, without rounding the eastern extremity of Mount French, (called Mount Dumaresq by Capt. Logan in 1827) on account of the impervious nature of the forests of *Araucaria* with which that mountain is clothed, though we felt most anxious to obtain a view of the country west of that Range, and to satisfy the curiosity of those persons who have been interested in the surveys of 1827 and 1828; we were, nevertheless, obliged to abandon it from that point, and to pursue a more easterly course. This determination arose from no willingness on the part of any of us to relinquish the former plan, but was forced on us by the reduced state of our resources, and the exhaustion of our bullocks, although Capt. Logan used every means that could be devised for their relief. I had been a determined enemy to the employment of those animals previous to this excursion, but I am now convinced, from what Capt. Logan has effected with them, as well as from my own experience, that celerity of movement is the only point in which they are inferior to horses.

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114 Logan's journal on 6 August 1828 has "9 West, 17 North", probably referring to the distance travelled on 5 and 6 August; however "7 North" would be more accurate.

115 Croftby.

116 Around the township of Mt. Alford.

117 Should be "Dulhunty Plains" (see Cunningham, Report, 7 August 1828, at Note 173).
At one o’clock, we encamped on the borders of the marsh. Captain Logan and two men went to ascertain the possibility of penetrating to the Dividing Range, and returned at six o’clock with an unsatisfactory report.

**AUG. 8TH**

The weather was mild and clear this morning, and we pursued our way along the flats seen yesterday, which we found to stretch round the eastern base of Mount French. Their length is about seven miles, and their breadth from one and a half to two miles. Towards the north-east they are dry and well watered, and the chain of ponds that commences at their north-east extremity soon becomes united, and forms a beautiful stream, which was named the Esk. Passing down Eskdale, the flats increase in magnitude, stretching to the hills on either side of the stream. Two miles north-east of the first flats, is a second plain, firm and dry, which was called Rattray’s Plain; and to the east again, the valley opens in the direction of Flinders’ Peak.

The brushes which commenced at Mount French accompanied us in all our day’s route, and, after considerably impeding our progress, completely arrested our intended course. The species of *Xanthorrhoea* seen to-day, with their extraordinary bee-hive tops, were truly superb. We halted at three o’clock: lat. at noon, 28° South; thermometer at six in the morning, 40°.

**AUG. 9TH**

The air mild and clear: thermometer at 50°. We proceeded directly towards the high peak of Flinders, anxiously expecting to encamp at its base; but we had not gone above two miles, when we found ourselves bewildered in dense forests of *Araucaria*, from which the only outlet was by the banks of the stream, that here, taking a sudden turn to east north-east, observed the same direction to the close of this day’s journey, passing through an exceedingly broad and fertile valley, abounding in extensive ponds. At three o’clock, stopped, as usual, having walked ten miles and a half, the reduced distance being seven miles east north-east: the latitude at noon 27° 55’ 41” South, and the thermometer at sunset indicating 60°.

**AUG. 10TH**

During the continuance of this day’s journey, which began at the customary hour, and with agreeable weather, we traversed some magnificent forest land, beautifully watered, and lying chiefly at the base of the high peak.

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118 Teviot Brook.
119 Near Boonah. Rattray is a town in Perthshire, Scotland; see Cunningham, Report, 8 August 1828.
120 About 3 miles east of Boonah.
121 On Teviot Brook, east of Mt. Joyce.
122 Near Undullah.
of Flinders' Mountain. Our halt did not take place till five o'clock, when we had travelled nearly twelve miles.\textsuperscript{123}

\textbf{AUG. 11TH} A strong desire to return by the first vessel to Port-Jackson, carrying thither the largest possible collection of living plants from the banks of the Brisbane River, induced me to quit the party this morning, and to accompany Capt. Logan back to Brisbane Town. We therefore set off at eight o'clock, and, travelling all day in a due southerly\textsuperscript{124} direction, reached the town at night, having traversed twenty-five miles of tolerably good country. Mr. Cunningham, with three men and two oxen,\textsuperscript{125} proceeded to the westward, in order to connect his former survey with the present one.

From the period of my return till I embarked for Port-Jackson, I was busily employed in securing my collection of dried plants, completing that of living ones, and laying out the rest of the New Garden.

\textbf{CUNNINGHAM'S REPORT TO GOVERNOR DARLING, 16 DECEMBER 1828}

At this period of the colony, when the tide of emigration appears more decidedly directed to its shores than heretofore, the importance of the discovery (by the party forming the expedition which your Excellency was pleased last year to place under my direction) of an extensive tract of fine pasturage at the western base of the dividing range of mountains lying in the parallel of 28 deg. S. latitude, at, moreover, but a short distance from the shores of Moreton Bay, becomes enhanced in no ordinary degree.

The considerable tracts, however, of very inferior land and absolute desert, so characteristic of no small portion of the interior lying between Hunter's river and the beautiful pastoral country above referred to, through which my exploring party penetrated amidst numerous difficulties a distance bordering on three hundred miles, presenting a barrier to all communication by the farmer with it overland from the southward, at once suggested to me the necessity of endeavouring to discover from what other point near the sea coast it could be more readily approached, to be fully available to the grazier. Its separation from the coast-line and interesting country lying on the Brisbane river, by the lofty dividing range, the summit of which has been ascertained to exceed four thousand feet of absolute height above the level of the

\textsuperscript{123} At Flagstone Creek. The manuscript 7/2738 adds "reduced course W by N 8\frac{1}{2} miles. Latitude observed at noon 27° 53’ 38’’".

\textsuperscript{124} Should be "northerly".

\textsuperscript{125} They had begun the expedition with four oxen, and Cunningham (Report, 12 August 1828, at Note 186) mentioned having arrived at Ipswich with four. It is quite certain that no bullocks returned with Logan's party, for they covered 25 miles in a day, while the bullocks were limited to about 10 miles per day.
sea, appeared at first to hold out no encouragement to the explorer to examine that formidable barrier with the slightest hope of discovering a passage over it to the shores of Moreton Bay, or country lying to the north and east.

Notwithstanding, at the head of a valley, stretching directly into the midst of this chain of mountains in a north-east direction, a gap, or hollow in the main ridge, was discerned last year, by which it was then conceived a communication might be effected with the very moderately surfaced lands lying between the eastern foot of these mountains and the sea.

Many circumstances, however, to which myself and my party were entirely subject to at that period did not allow of this mountain defile being otherwise than very partially looked at, and considering that it could be more fully and leisurely explored from the eastern side, its further and more particular examination was reserved to the period of a visit which I then contemplated making at some future day by sea to Moreton Bay.

That period at length arrived last winter, and it is the general results of my excursion in the country lying southerly from the Brisbane river, upon which I have now the honour to address your Excellency.

The occupations of Mr. Fraser, the Colonial Botanist (who, your Excellency was pleased to permit to accompany me to Moreton Bay) and myself, for some period after our arrival at that settlement upon the Brisbane, investigating those extremely interesting vegetable productions, which so richly invest the banks of that river, did not permit me to prepare for a journey suggested by the excellent commandant, Captain Logan, towards the Mount Warning Ranges, until nearly the close of the month of July.

With four weeks' provisions for eight persons, and accompanied by that gentleman and Mr. Fraser, I commenced (on the 24th of that month) my journey from the river's bank, opposite the settlement, from which point a line of road had been marked about five miles in a southerly direction, towards some very thinly and lightly-wooded lands known by the title of 'Cowper's Plains,' to which salt water flows from the Brisbane river, through the medium of Canoe creek of the late Mr. Oxley, the clearing of which at its upper part of fallen timber, to render it navigable (during the rise of the flood tide) for boats of burden to the plains, which are said to contain two thousand or three thousand acres of good available land, fit for agricultural purposes, will doubtless be at some future period worth effecting.

The country upon which we entered from the bank of the Brisbane we found to consist for the most part of rather heavily timbered forest ground,

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126 The McPherson Range and Mr. Barney were collectively known as the Mt. Warning Ranges.
127 Oxley Creek at Rocklea.
128 South Brisbane and Yeronga.
Fig. 36. Cunningham's routes in 1827, 1828, and 1829. The coastal areas shown were part of a published map of the period based on the discoveries of Flinders and Oxley; Cunningham added his discoveries and journeys. Redrawn for this book from Ida Lee Marriott, Early Explorers in Australia (London: Methuen, 1925), p. 591.
of a slightly undulated surface, productive of good grass, but (at that season) very indifferently supplied with water. The timbers were chiefly of the prevailing eucalypti - viz., iron bark, white and red gums, with an occasional inter-suspension of the casuarina, or forest oak, and a tree affecting humid situations, the density of whose laurel-like foliage cast a most agreeable shade around. It forms a species of Mr. Brown's genus *tristania*, yet unpublished. In something short of five miles, the marked track terminates at a fresh water creek, from which, having rested the bullocks a short period, and observed the altitude of the sun on the meridian, which gave us for latitude 27 deg. 33 min. 30 sec. S., we resumed our journey upon a course by compass, south, over an extensive wooded flat, bearing marks of irrigation by rains in wet seasons, Cowper's Plains lying about a mile to the westward of our line of route.

The weight of provisions and baggage borne by the pack bullocks proving so considerable as to require the utmost care not to push them in their daily stages beyond their strength, and thereby defeat the designs so fully contemplated in the plan of our journey, it was proposed to halt for the day, upon reaching (at our seventh mile) Canoe creek, at a point of it sufficiently distant from its point of connexion with the Brisbane, to afford us an ample supply of fresh water. We therefore, on crossing it, pitched our tents on the bank - our barometer at sunset showing us that we were at so low a level that our elevation above the sea shore was scarcely recognisable by the mercurial column.

[25 JULY] The country at south for about ten miles preserves a like depressed surface, and may be characterised by an alternation of tea-tree flat, exceedingly swampy in wet weather, and low hungry forest ground in which honeysuckles (*Banksia compar* of botanists) are very generally interspersed.

[26 JULY] Continuing southerly, however, the land improves, an undulation of the surface takes place, the soil becomes richer, furnishing some tolerable patches of grass. In these forest grounds several dry water-channels were crossed, and as these all dipped easterly, we were led to conclude that we were approaching some stream, the bank of which we at length reached in latitude 27 deg. 48 min. ½ S. It proved to be the Logan river, which after a course of about twenty miles to the eastward, disembogues itself on the southern shores of Moreton Bay. At the point at which we crossed, it assumed the character of a murmuring brook, hastening with a brisk current towards the sea, about ten or fifteen yards in breadth, and although fordable in many

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129 Rocky Waterholes Creek at Rocklea.
130 Archerfield.
131 Near Maclean Bridge.
parts, nevertheless bore upon its alluvial brushy banks the manifest proofs of being flooded in seasons of protracted rains to the depth of twenty feet. Upon passing some ordinary forest ground, where were observed some huts of natives that appeared to have been recently occupied, we again intersected the tortuous channel of this small river, which on being traced up southerly about two miles was observed to take a bend from the westward, in which

[27 JULY] direction the country appeared again perfectly level, but so generally covered with ‘viney brush’ as to form a jungle far too dense to allow of our attempting a passage through it with our laden oxen, with the view of avoiding an elevated rocky range of forest hills which now lay in our way at south.

By a stony lateral ridge we succeeded, beyond expectation and without difficulty or accident, in gaining the summit of this range, which declining to the westward southerly, induced us to trace its ridge in that direction to the close of the day, when we were obliged to halt on a part of the ridge destitute of water, which, however, was discovered after a diligent search at the foot of the range, distant about a mile.

In tracing this range (to which was given the name of Birnam) we penetrated some patches of brush which afforded Mr. Fraser and myself several interesting unpublished plants: and of the rocks, we gathered some fragments of a stone which the natives had been using to scrape or polish their spears. It was perfectly white, exceedingly compact, and although appearing like granulated quartz, nevertheless contained much clay.

This range would seem to be the pass used by the natives in their wanderings from the country we have already traversed, to the forest lands southerly, since on resuming our route on the morning of the 28th, we found a passage at the south base of the ridge, cut through a thick brush, in which there were abundant traces of these Indians having frequently passed and repassed. From the south-west foot of Birnam Range we prosecuted our journey over a patch of improving forest ground to an exceedingly pretty patch of plain, about a mile in breadth by perhaps four in length from east to west. Its soil proved to be exceedingly rich, and well clothed with grass and other esculent vegetables. This very interesting spot, which Captain Logan named ‘Letitia’s Plain,’ is watered on its western side by the Logan, the channel of which was perceived to bend its course northerly round the western base of Birnam Range.

In the forest ground on the south side of the plain we reached a lagoon.

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132 Birnam Range.
133 Probably in Collins Creek, to the east.
134 Between Veresdale and Gleneagle. Logan named it after his wife.
135 Adjacent to Heart Lagoon, near Gleneagle.
of considerable depth, and about one fourth of a mile in length, which ap­
peared to be entirely sustained by the surcharge of waters of the Logan in
seasons of long rains. Whilst Mr. Fraser was engaged taking up the knobbled
roots of a beautiful nymphaea-like aquatic,\footnote{This fine plant I examined on the
spot, and was with Mr. Fraser much gratified to find it was an undescribed
species of that division of the Linnaean genus menyanthes, which now constitutes
the distinct one named \textit{Villarsia}, by M. Ventenat.} which had unrolled its ample
heart-shaped leaves to the solar heat on the surface of this water, I observed
the latitude at its southern extremity, which proving to be 27 deg. 56 min.
05 sec. S., placed our position on the chart 27\frac{1}{2} geographical miles south of
Brisbane Town, its longitude by account being 3\frac{1}{4} miles west of the meridian
of that settlement – viz., 152 deg. 58 min. E. Pursuing our journey southerly
through an open forest, having the river, overshadowed by a density of viney
thicket immediately on our right, we traversed flats of good ground, liable,
however, to occasional inundation.

As the country on the opposite bank of the river appeared altogether more
open and better adapted for travelling than the one on which we were pur­
suing our way, it became desirable to cross it at any part where the investing
brush on the banks would admit of the descent of the bullocks to the bed of
the stream. This we discovered at our third mile from the lagoon; we there­
fore, passed over to the level ground on the western bank, and then finding
the day was far spent (so much time having been unavoidably occupied in
conveying the various baggage over on the shoulders of the people) it was
deeded advisable to rest.\footnote{Two miles north-west of Beaudesert.}

\textbf{[29 July]} During the whole of the following day (29th July) we were confined to
our tents by heavy rain, which had been blown over to us from the mountain
ranges by the prevailing westerly winds. Some short periods of intermission
of the falling showers, allowing the sun to burst forth, enabled me to observe
an azimuth, as also the latitude at noon. The former gave a variation of 8
deg. 35 min. east, whilst the latter showed us that we were within 2 min.
of the parallel of 28 deg. S. The results of the barometrical data gave our
encamping ground a mean elevation of about three hundred and twenty
feet\footnote{Actually 130 feet.} above the shores of Moreton Bay; and the mean temperature of the
atmosphere during the rain was 59 deg. Fahr.

\textbf{[30 July]} Fine weather being again restored to us on the morning of the 30th, we
continued our journey to the S.S.W. – a course shaped to use by the direction
from which the channel of the Logan had inclined. The flat over which we
travelled we found of a fine rich soil, and among the grasses (the usual
products of such lands) we remarked the native bird’s foot trefoil (*Lotus australis*.)

In a north-western direction, this forest-flat appeared to extend several miles towards that lofty mountain marked on the old charts ‘High Peak’—an elevated cone, forming no inconsiderable feature of the landscape of that part of the country on which it stands. Immediately before us in our course we observed an interesting hilly country, and on completing our third mile over the forest flat, reached the foot of a grassy hill, under the eastern base of which the river winds from about south.

Climbing this eminence in company with Captain Logan and Mr. Fraser, we found it commanded a very rich and extensive view, embodying perhaps as much variety of feature as is to be met with in any known part of New South Wales. Immediately beneath us an extent of grassy vale stretched to the southward, bounded on either side by elevated forest ridges, lightly timbered, and seemingly clothed with a grassy verdure to their very summits.

Through this vale we could trace with the eye the windings of the Logan several miles from a lofty country at south, in which we subsequently discovered that stream to originate; and in extending our view to the S.S.W. and S.W., a bold and singularly precipitous range of mountain peaks met the eye, distant by estimation about twenty-five miles, the interjacent country being of considerably less elevation, but broken and irregular.

It was to the base of these peaks that Captain Logan (who had considered one or other of them to be the cone of Mount Warning) had penetrated last year from Brisbane Town, and with his usual perseverance had attempted (although in vain) to gain the summit of the highest point.

A simple reference, however, to the chart of the coast and adjacent country on which I had marked our position (determined as respects latitude by astronomical observation; and with regard to longitude by a careful account kept from Brisbane Town), showed me that we were at least fifteen geographic miles to the westward of the meridian assigned that lofty peak by navigators, and that, therefore (unless we are disposed to agree with Captain Rous, who asserts that it is actually situated ‘at least twenty miles further inland than has been allotted to it in the maps,’ which cannot possibly be the case), it is abundantly obvious that the lofty points before us, bearing S.W. and S.S.W., are perfectly distinct from the range seen daily from seaward by the passing mariner, of which Mount Warning, of that great circumnavigator, the immortal Cook, is the most elevated pinnacle.

139 Cunningham has the following footnote: “Recently named Flinder’s Peak.”
140 Three miles west of Beaudesert.
141 Cunningham has the following footnote: “Vide Wilton’s Quarterly Journal, vol. I (No. IV) p. 353.”
Descending this hill, which received the name of Mount Dunsinane, we pursued our journey to the south about five miles through the valley to a small, round, rocky mount, perfectly isolated, and standing above the plane of the vale about one hundred and fifty feet. At the foot of this remarkable hill, immediately on the bank of the river, we again rested. Upon ascending this rocky mount, to take a few connecting bearings, we observed its eastern side and summit were composed of trap-rock in large irregular masses, whilst the western slopes were studded with basaltic columns of regular prismatic figures of five sides, of whom some were from four to five feet in height by about one in diameter. The original position of these columns, which was doubtless erect, appeared to us evidently to have been disturbed by some violent concussion, as many were thrown down on their sides, whilst others, by being wedged up, stood so nearly upright as not to incline more than a few degrees out of a vertical line. Finding this hill too low to allow me to make any observations of the country before us, beyond what we had already noted, we descended to the tents. On arriving upon the ground at the close of the day's stage, on which we had encamped, we perceived a rising smoke at the foot of the hill, and immediately afterwards observed two or three natives upon the summit, to which commanding spot they had with the utmost precipitation retired. On our reaching the top of the mount they had descended the opposite side, and had in all probability crossed the river to a brush on the right bank, as an old man who had concealed himself behind a tree near the bottom of the hill ran off (upon our passing the spot) in that direction, in a state of dreadful apprehension; and such was the alarm induced by our presence that it totally prevented that friendly parley which we could have wished to have brought about.

At their fires we found the bags and little paraphernalia of the women, showing clearly that the precipitous haste with which these savages had urged their flight had not even afforded them a moment to gather their few articles of economy together.

Around were quantities of the large seed of that exceedingly ornamental tree of close woods, called at Moreton Bay 'chestnut,' for which, when toasted, it is by no means a bad substitute. Upon these nuts the few natives

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142 Not the present Mt. Dunsinane.
143 Round Mountain.
144 Cunningham’s footnote reads: “This tree, than which there is no plant indigenous to the shores of Moreton Bay and adjacent country upon which the eye rests with greater pleasure, constitutes a genus perfectly distinct from any yet published; and, independent of its highly ornamental habit and refreshing shade afforded by its densely-leaved branches, its nuts are produced in pods in such abundance as to be ere long worthy the attention of the farmer, as its fruit would form nutritive food for pigs, etc. The tree affects a rich and moist soil.”
who wander through these lonely regions chiefly subsist during some months of the year, as (like the English chestnut, *castanea vesca*) they contain evidently some saccharine and much farinaceous matter, and by being well roasted are rendered easy of digestion.

**[31 JULY]** At about two miles south from our encampment the Logan bends from the eastward, watering in its course a patch of plain,\(^{145}\) originally seen by Lieutenant Innes, of His Majesty's 57th Regiment, who during his residence at Moreton Bay, frequently undertook bush excursions. Captain Logan attached that officer's name to it, and it now appears on the chart.

The valley through which we continued our journey south (named also by our excellent commandant 'Erris Vale')\(^{146}\) continues from the basaltic hill about five miles, and is then bounded on the south by forest hills of an indifferent character. Prosecuting our course southerly,\(^{147}\) we penetrated a progressively rising country, and on passing a succession of forest ridges, at length again had a sight of the river, which had wound its channel from the westward among the lofty wooded ridges which at length invested us on all sides.

**[1 AUGUST]** On the 1st August, in pushing our way further to the south, we crossed the Logan, much diminished in size, and after a fruitless attempt to continue to the southward,\(^{148}\) we found ourselves so perfectly hemmed in by steep, lofty, wooded ridges, that we were obliged to return to the river, which we traced westerly until its division into divers streamlets indicated our near approach to its source.

**[2 AUGUST]** On the 2nd August we were climbing the hills, and pursuing as steady a course to the S.W. as the difficult nature of the ground would admit of. Early in the afternoon of this day we descended to a flat or valley, where (finding abundance of good water) I directed the tents to be pitched at a short distance from the spot whereon Captain Logan had last year bivouac'd.\(^{149}\)

We had now approached within three miles of the actual base of the stupendous range of mountains (first seen from Mount Dunsinane) whose broad dome-like and conical summits, of rock for the most part, denuded of vegetation, and now fully open to our view, presented a specimen of bold

\(^{145}\) Tamrookum. Not the present Innisplain. Ensign Joseph Long Innes of the 39th Regiment was Acting Engineer at Brisbane Town in 1827. See Logan, Journal, 6 August 1828.

\(^{146}\) Named after Erris Head, in the north-west of Ireland, near Sligo, birthplace of Logan's wife. Another Irish name bestowed at this time was The Benvie (Fraser, Journal, 2 August 1828, Note 85).

\(^{147}\) Along the path of the present Mt. Lindesay Highway, to Rathdowney.

\(^{148}\) Up Palen Creek.

\(^{149}\) Logan at Mt. Barney, Journal, 13 June 1827. See introduction to this chapter, and Fig. 32.
and rugged scenery not to be found in any explored part of the country. It was originally our design to penetrate no further to the southward than the base of this Colossean Range, in which Captain Logan still considered the peak of Mount Warning was situate, and, therefore, as our bullocks required some repose, it was proposed to employ what time we had to spare in exploring the most elevated of the mountain group, and afterwards endeavour, by stages that would not distress our oxen, to proceed westerly towards the gap or hollow in the back of the Dividing Range.

Upon setting up the barometer at the close of the day, the mercurial column, I was surprised to find, had fallen only to 28·520 in., which showed us that, notwithstanding the hills we had climbed since we had left the Vale of Erris, our tents did not stand on higher ground above the level of the ocean than nine hundred and fifty-three feet.\(^{150}\)

THE EXCURSION TO THE SUMMIT OF MT. LINDESAY

[3 AUGUST] The morning of the 3rd (August) dawned on us with a singular clearness of atmosphere, and as its temperature was unusually low and bracing (33 deg.), we were induced to quit our tents at an early hour to commence the very interesting labours of the day. Having made every requisite preparation, we proceeded from our encamping ground at six o'clock on our journey to the summit of the highest mountain (the easternmost of the range) bearing from the tents south 43 deg. west about three miles.

Our direct course lay over an extent of thinly-timbered flat, recently burnt by the natives, and stretching nearly two miles to the base of the first range of forest hills, the back of which we gained by a sharp acclivity.

Travelling along the ridge about another half-mile, we ascended rapidly to the immediate base of the mountain, whence the difficulties of the ascent commenced among large masses of a compound rock, forming large blocks and shelving slabs of vast dimensions, upon, and in the intermediate interstices [of which] flourished most luxuriantly many tufty plants, from among which Mr. Fraser and myself culled several previously unknown species to enrich our respective collections. With considerable exertion, I climbed to a point in elevation equal to one-third of the extreme altitude of the mountain, when the face became so singularly precipitous, and in consequence the further advance attended altogether with so much danger, that I deemed it prudent to proceed no further, especially as I had attained a height from which I could make all the necessary observations that I could desire. I had, moreover, a barometer with me, which it was scarcely possible to avoid injuring had I attempted to have scaled some rocks (in position nearly vertical) immediately above me.

\(^{150}\) Actually about 600 feet.
Fig. 37. Country to the east of Mt. Barney, sketched by Cunningham from his station on Logan's Ridge. Mt. Warning is on the horizon at the right, and two further profiles of it are at the lower right of the sketch. The peaks on the horizon, left of centre, represent the highest points of the border between Queensland and New South Wales. The original is in field book SZ27 in the Archives Office of New South Wales.

Fig. 38. Country to the east of Mt. Barney, from Logan's Ridge. Mt. Warning is visible on the horizon at the right. Photograph by G. D. Brownlie.
Whilst I was occupied taking a set of interesting bearings to points around, not previously seen, our indefatigable commandant and Mr. Fraser, who had both preceded me in the ascent, continued their journey towards the summit, notwithstanding the alarming steepness of many parts of the mountain's face.

The cone of Mt. Warning, respecting the true situation of which we were divided in opinion, I was gratified in no ordinary degree to see distinctly, amidst a group of mountains, nearer the coast line, and bearing east by south, distant from twenty-five to thirty miles. This most fully confirmed me, in what I have already advanced, respecting its position, its bearings, and estimated distance, carrying it as far easterly as the meridian under which those truly scientific navigators, Captains Cook and Flinders, have long ago placed this most striking of all landmarks on this coast to the passing seaman. It was now that Captain Logan clearly saw his mistake in supposing one of the peaks of the mountains about us, and which cannot be perceived from seaward, to be the Mt. Warning of Cook.

A range, distant scarcely ten miles, and stretching from east by north to south-east, of elevated bold appearance, was named “Macpherson's Range,” in compliment to Major Macpherson, of His Majesty's 39th Regiment, whilst its southern extreme, a very bluff rocky head, and a rounded mount or hummock about its centre, received each respectively the names of “Coke” and “Burrough.”

Along the eastern base of Macpherson's Range I could trace a deep ravine, bounded on its eastern side by a vertical wall of rocks of very rugged aspect. This ravine was, at the suggestion of Mr. Fraser, named “Glen Lyon,” and through it ran a stream (indicated by a line of mist throughout its length) which, doubtless, falls southerly into the channel of a river seen by Captain Logan from the summit of this mountain, and which, from the direction of its course towards the sea at south-east, is, doubtless, the “Richmond” of Captain the Hon. H.I. Rous, of His Majesty's Ship “Rainbow.”

To the east of Glen Lyon the entire country, extending to the lofty ridges connected with the Mt. Warning group, appeared exceedingly broken and irregular.

A lofty mountain, bearing N. by E. five miles, received from Captain Logan

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151 See introduction to this chapter.
152 Actually 35 miles. See Fig. 37.
153 Mt. Glennie, 3169 feet.
155 But in Fraser's journal, "Glen Lyon" always refers to the Palen Creek valley.
156 Findon Creek, a tributary of the Richmond River.
157 Logan actually saw the Clarence River.
the title of 'Clanmorris,' whilst to a lofty wooded peak lying about ten miles further to the north I attached the name of my friend Lieutenant Hughes, of the Royal Staff Corps.

At S.S.E. five miles a very precipitous rocky head, in figure thus

seemingly inaccessible from any point around us, was named "Mount Hooker," in honour of the mutual friend of Mr. Fraser and myself, the very learned and scientific Regius Professor of Botany in the University of Glasgow. Far to the north points were distinctly discerned, particularly the towering peak of Captain Flinders, now bearing the name of that very accurate nautical surveyor. Having noted all the more prominent features of the country around, excepting at S. and S.S.W., in which direction my position in the mountain prevented my observation, I employed myself awhile investigating the

158 Maroon, 3166 feet.
159 Knapp's Peak, 2134 feet.
160 Mt. Lindesay, 3918 feet.
161 The small sketch included here in the manuscript is Fig. 39. The original is at the Public Record Office, London, C.O. 201/200.

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Fig. 39

Fig. 40. Mt. Lindesay (Cunningham's Mt. Hooker) seen from Mt. Barney. Mt. Ernest is in the foreground. Photograph by author.
scrubby blighted vegetable productions about me, and, among the many described well known plants, I gathered several, yet unpublished, to add to my daily augmenting collections. I also set up the barometer (which I had with much care carried from Brisbane Town), with the view of deducing the elevation of my station above our encampment, the height of which above the level of the sea I had already measured. I had, however, to regret that in the carriage from the tents to the point at which I had halted, the instrument had become deranged by some sudden jerk it had received, which had divided the column of mercury, and thus had rendered it perfectly useless.

A subsequent trigonometrical operation, however, gave the spot a height of about one thousand five hundred feet above our encampment.

Mr. Fraser had followed the Commandant up the very steep face of the mountain more than double that elevation above me, but arriving at the base of a rock nearly perpendicular, without a bush to assist him to pass above it, he very wisely stopped, and, having rested and contemplated with pleasure the grandeur of the surrounding scene from so considerable a height (verging on four thousand above the sea), he began his descent.

It was not, however, without great difficulty, and on more than one occasion at great risk of life itself, that he found his way back to my station, much bruised, and in a state of considerable exhaustion.

Fig. 41. North Peak, sketched by Cunningham from his station on Logan's Ridge. North Peak is here designated as Blantyre Head, in agreement with the compass bearings shown in Fig. 32, but in conflict with Fig. 34. The original is in field book SZ27 in the Archives Office of New South Wales.
Five hours, however, elapsed before the Commandant, who had with great
labour carried the extreme summit of this formidable mountain, returned to
us. This considerable eminence afforded him a very extensive bird's-eye
view of the entire circumjacent country. The sea was seen at S.S.E. over the
very low country lying between the southern extreme of the Mount Warning
Range and the coast line, and a fine open grazing country breaking into plains
was also distinctly perceived to the S.W., at which the traveller might arrive,
upon passing about twenty miles of broken brushy country, from the base
of the mountain, a few miles from which a river\textsuperscript{162} was observed, bending
its course to the southward and eastward, which has since been considered
by Captain Logan to be none other than either a branch or the main branch
of the Richmond, recently discovered by Captain the Hon. Mr. Rous.

About the close of the day we returned to our tents, amply rewarded for
our respective exertions by the various interesting observations each had
made.

The mountain which we had visited, which is the easternmost of the range,
was named "Mount Lindesay,"\textsuperscript{163} as a compliment to the officer commanding
His Majesty's 39th Regiment in this colony.

\textbf{[4 AUGUST]} Our bullocks requiring further rest, we determined to remain encamped
during the whole of the following day (4th Aug).

Whilst Captain Logan was absent on an excursion to ascertain how far a
communication could be opened round the eastern base of Mount Lindesay
with the apparently fine grazing country seen in a south-western direction
from the summit of that lofty mountain, I was occupied in taking the neces­
sary observations for the determination of our situation. These gave the
following results:

Latitude by a solar meridional altitude 28 deg. 15 min. 21 secs. S., longitude
152 deg. 45 min. 45 secs. E., or sixteen geographical miles west of Brisbane
Town. Variation of the needle (by azimuth) 11 deg. E. I also measured a
base of six hundred and eight yards on an extensive flat near the tents,
and observing the angles subtended by the summit of Mount Lindesay
ascertained its perpendicular height over our encampment to be four thousand
seven hundred and fifty feet. To this, upon adding nine hundred and fifty-
three feet, the elevation of the tents above the sea shore (as already determined
by the barometer), the mean height of this mountain above the level of the
sea shore is shown to be five thousand seven hundred and three feet,\textsuperscript{164}
which is by far the most elevated point (measured) that has hitherto been
ascended by any European in Australia.

\textsuperscript{162} The Clarence River.
\textsuperscript{163} Mt. Barney.
\textsuperscript{164} Actually 4463 feet (East Peak).
In the evening our laborious Commandant returned to the encampment, having fully satisfied himself of the practicability of marking a road to the country lying to the S.W., by directing its line to leave the Mount Lindesay Range to the west.

[5 AUGUST] On the morning of the 5th we broke up our encampment and, conformably with the plan of our journey, made an attempt to pursue a course to the westward with the design of penetrating to the hollow in the back of the Dividing Range, discovered in June, 1827.

Invested as we were by steep hills and lofty mountainous lands, it was with some difficulty that we pushed our way northerly through a glen bounded on the west side by forest hills immediately connected with Mount Clanmorris, and to the east by a steep rocky sided ridge,\(^\text{165}\) overhanging a brook (formed by a junction of the creek,\(^\text{166}\) at which we last rested, with others\(^\text{167}\)), which ran briskly through it northerly over a bed of large stones, so much rounded by water attrition as to render the crossing and re-crossing its channel, which was necessary, too dangerous to allow me to risk the lives of the bullocks in the passage. They were, therefore, sent round among the hills easterly, and after a circuitous route of about four miles, again joined me on a level open patch of forest ground.

[6 AUGUST] We then prosecuted our course to the north-west, climbing moderately elevated wooded ridges with an occasional flat of good soil, and observing all the watercourses uniformly dipped easterly, and therefore threw the rains that are collected in these hills in a wet season into the Logan. From several points in these hills, I took bearings to a lofty wooded mount,\(^\text{168}\) named last year by Captain Logan in honour of Lieutenant-Colonel Shadforth, of her Majesty's 57th Regiment, as also to a remarkable conical-shaped hill of considerable elevation, situate to the W.S.W. about fifteen miles, which also Captain Logan had named after a friend, "Wilson's Peak."\(^\text{169}\)

Upon penetrating about seven miles to the N.W., we gained the pitch of the hills, whence we observed at a distance of about two miles to W.N.W. a patch of plain, bounded on its western side by a ridge of craggy hills, of which the Commandant immediately recognised a point at whose base he had, in the progress of his last year's excursion, bivouached. Our oxen having descended the ridge on its western side with considerable difficulty,

\(^{165}\) Cunningham's "Lloyd's Hills" (Fig. 32 and Fraser, Journal, 3 August 1828).
\(^{166}\) Logan River.
\(^{167}\) Mt. Barney Creek.
\(^{168}\) Mt. Toowoonan, 2425 feet.
\(^{169}\) Wilson's Peak was probably named after Captain Wilson, Director of Public Works in Sydney.
owing to the steepness of the declivity from the several rocky heads and abrupt terminating bluffs it presented to that cardinal point, we soon reached the plain, which we found to be a reedy flat, without a tree, of a springy sponginess to the tread, and evidently extremely swampy in wet weather. The long protracted droughts of the year had, however, dried the surface sufficiently hard to allow our burdened beasts to cross it (a breadth of a mile) to the channel of a rivulet, washing the eastern foot of the craggy hills. On the western bank of this stream (which is a tributary to the Logan, and named "Teviot Brook"), we were very glad to encamp, as the sun had some time dipped below the western horizon. This plain or marsh flat, which lies nearly north and south, is about three miles in length, and is (as already observed) bounded on the west by a low ridge of rocky hills of singularly picturesque appearance, named at the suggestion of Mr. Fraser, "Minto Craigs."

South-westerly beyond these craggy hills, we had a peep at a part of the Dividing Range, which, with other elevated grounds at south, formed as beautiful a landscape as can be well conceived; and if anything tended to give a higher effect to the extremely pleasing scene, as it opened to us while crossing the marshy flat, it was the warm tints produced by the radiance of the setting sun, striking upon the naked rocks of the Craigs. Just before we halted, five emus, who were feeding on the plain, joined together and, as if prompted by curiosity to know what we were, stalked over the plain after us, preserving, however, a respectful distance from the dogs. We were all too much engaged to give chase to them; they, therefore, after following us some distance, filed off, and retiring with some little precipitancy to the wooded lands, as if fully apprehensive of danger, disappeared altogether.

A hill of square tabulated figure, bearing about north seven or eight miles, was last year named by Captain Logan "Mount French," and a singularly sharp-pointed cone\(^{170}\) wooded to its extreme summit, and lying to the N.E. about nine miles received from me the title of "Knapp's Peak,\(^{171}\) after an esteemed friend, at this time attached to the Department of the Surveyor-General in this colony.

[7 AUGUST] At an early hour on the morning of the 7th August we broke up our encampment with the fullest expectation of making a long stage to the westward.

Passing the northern extreme of Minto Craigs, we pursued our course to the N.W. over a hilly country until (in about our fourth mile) we reached another and more extensive patch of plain, on which I observed the meridional altitude of the sun, which gave for latitude 28 deg. 4 min. 26 secs. S.,\(^{172}\)

\(^{170}\) Sugarloaf, 1337 feet.
\(^{171}\) Not the present Knapp's Peak.
\(^{172}\) The latitude of the Mt. Alford township, and also of Spicer's Gap.
and showed us that we had arrived at about the parallel of the mountain
gap, which bore west from us.

Perceiving, however, that the plain was flanked on its west and north­
western sides by densely brushed rocky ridges connected with Mount French,
through which it appeared extremely doubtful whether we could penetrate
with the bullocks to the foot of the Dividing Range, it was proposed at once
to halt and employ the remainder of the day in determining the practicability
of effecting a passage through them to the westward. We therefore (about
one o’clock) set up the tents on the edge of the plain, near to a pond of ex­
ceedingly fine water.

Our unwearied Commandant, attended by two of the most intelligent of
the people, undertook to examine the rocky western ridge, and I in the mean­
time ascertained our position, took bearings to points around, and obtained
a set of azimuths, which gave a variation easterly of 10 deg. 3 min.

This beautiful plain, to which I had much pleasure in attaching the title
of Dulhunty,173 as a compliment to the highly respectable family of that name
residing in this colony, lies about S.S.W. and N.N.E., and in extent is about
five miles in length by three-fourths of a mile in breadth.

Notwithstanding the sad drought to which it was everywhere manifest
the entire country through which we have passed had been long subjected,
we nevertheless found this plain abundantly watered by a chain of ponds fed
from the hills at S.W., which in seasons of much rain unite, and overflowing
the flatter surfaces, eventually drain off to the N.E., and become a tributary
to the Logan. The soil of Dulhunty’s Plain is in all parts of an exceedingly
rich quality, capable of yielding heavy crops of grain, and although it appeared
scarcely sound enough for sheep pasture, the whole presented a fine range
of horse and cattle feed. At the close of the day Captain Logan returned to us,
having climbed the rocky barrier to the westward, which he found clothed
with so thick a jungle of twining plants, that it was with the utmost difficulty
he gained a commanding point, whence he saw clearly that it was quite
impracticable to penetrate westerly to the Dividing Range. He observed also
that the only course we could possibly pursue was to the northward easterly,
in which direction the country not only appeared moderate, but also unen­
cumbered by those thickets, which in many parts form a perfect jungle on
a level surface many miles in extent, and which we have repeatedly satisfied
ourselves are not to be passed by laden bullocks, until the axe has fully
affected a passage for them.

[8 August] On the 8th we stood away to the N.E., across Dulhunty’s Plain, and in

173 L. V. Dulhunty had been Superintendent of Convicts at Brisbane Town, and
accompanied Lockyer up the Brisbane River in 1825.
two miles and a-half reached the thinly-timbered forest ground, well watered by the Logan, which at length had become a connected stream.

In other two miles to the N.E. we entered a second plain of small dimensions, probably containing about seven hundred acres, to which was given the name of Rattray, after a relative of Mr. Fraser. As we continued our journey we could not but admire the landscape which the country at E. and S.E. presented, made up of gently rising forest hills, with here and there a point somewhat more elevated, having in their midst the sharp cone named Knapp's Peak, which overtopped the whole.

The forest ridges continuing to stretch to the north, obliged us to pursue our course to the eastward of that cardinal point. At noon on crossing the channel of the Logan, we found ourselves by observation exactly in the parallel of 28 deg. S., and perceiving that it was not possible to make our way to the westward from our present position, in consequence of the brushy ridges which we now perceived to stretch across the country northerly to the foot of Flinder's Peak, I was induced, by the advice of Captain Logan, (who had become anxious to return to the settlement) to relinquish my design of making the mountain gap from this part of the country, but the rather prosecute our journey to the N. and N.E., until we should pass the parallel of latitude of Flinders' Peak on its eastern side, and on effecting which no obstacle would prevent our reaching the Limestone Station on Bremer's River (a tributary to the Brisbane), whence the Dividing Range could be approached with the utmost ease, as the interjacent country was known to Captain Logan to be of very moderate surface. Thus determined, we pursued our way to the E.N.E., about three and a-half miles over a succession of forest ridge and narrow valleys, when, again intersecting the Logan at our eleventh mile, we were induced to halt, as our bullocks were much exhausted.

[9 August] At daybreak of the 9th, the Commandant despatched two of our party with letters to Brisbane Town, and by that opportunity I wrote to the officer in charge of the commissariat to forward to me at the Limestone Hills on the Bremer a further supply of rations to enable me to perform the journey I had in contemplation from that station, south-westerly to the pass through the mountains discovered in June, 1827.

On resuming our journey this day, we left the Logan and repeatedly made attempts to pass to the westward at points appearing likely to afford us a

174 Teviot Brook, a tributary of the Logan.
175 Sugarloaf (Cunningham, Report, 6 August 1828, Notes 170 and 171).
176 At Boonah.
177 Ipswich.
178 Three miles east of Boonah.
passage through. All our essays were, however, in vain, for the dense repulsive thicket soon stopping our progress, showed us that the utmost we could possibly effect would be to pursue our course to the northward and eastward. We therefore continued over low forest ridges, taking care to clear the brush which occasionally stretched down them to the narrow intermediate valleys, in which we again met the Logan, and as we had completed our tenth mile we halted\(^{179}\) on its bank. From this encamping ground we observed the hills connected with Birnam Range, the central part of which bore nearly east from us, and appeared to be distant ten miles.

\[10\] At our second mile to the north, in our stage of the following day, the Logan, which we had traced from its source, left us altogether by trending away to the E.N.E. Throughout the day we were climbing hills, with Flinder’s Peak continually in view, the base of which we were unable to approach, it being perfectly surrounded by steep and rocky ridges.

It was not until after sunset that water\(^{180}\) was discovered for the use of our exhausted bullocks and selves, and although it was found in small quantity, and in a stagnant state, we were exceedingly glad to close our labours for the day at it. Early in the morning of the 11th Captain Logan and Mr. Fraser left me for Brisbane Town, distant about twenty-four miles. As my views were entirely directed to the station on the Bremer, I directed the course of my party to the northward and westward, and after effecting a stage of ten miles over a hilly and uninteresting country, timbered chiefly with ironbark, we rested in a valley\(^{181}\) affording both excellent grass and good water to our wearied oxen.

\[12\] We had at length passed sufficiently to the north of the range connected with Flinder’s Peak to be enabled to shape a course to the westward without further interruption from a difficult country; we therefore, on commencing our last stage to the Limestone Station, penetrated directly west among some stony hills, and after some exertion in the first two miles gained a more moderate country, and at the seventh mile of our stage came out upon the skirts of a plain,\(^{182}\) on the surface of which scattered fragments of calcareous rock, flint and agate, fully announced to us our near approach to the Limestone Hills, at which we immediately arrived upon crossing the plain to the north-west, where I found the provisions I had demanded from the commissariat had already arrived by a boat under charge of my servant.\(^{183}\) Here

\(^{179}\) East of Mt. Joyce.
\(^{180}\) Flagstone Creek.
\(^{181}\) Five miles south of Goodna.
\(^{182}\) Near Swanbank.
\(^{183}\) This servant was evidently one of the two men sent to Brisbane Town on 9 August. His other personal servant had remained with him.
I reduced my establishment to two bullocks, a driver, and my two servants, sending back to Brisbane Town, agreeably to the request of Captain Logan, the other two oxen and two servants.

CAPTAIN LOGAN'S JOURNAL

July 24th 1828.

Latitude, Brisbane Town ... 27° 28' 30" South.
Variation ... ... 9° 34' East.

JULY 24TH

I left Brisbane Town at nine o'clock 24th July, accompanied by Mr. Cunningham (Botanist from Kew Gardens) and Mr. Frazer (Colonial Botanist) on a tour to the Logan, with the intention of returning by the gap in the dividing range, and thence by the river Bremer to the settlement. Proceeded by the edge of Cowper's Plains, and crossed Canoe Creek, a short distance above the influence of the tide. Latitude at noon on the ponds at edge of Cowper's Plains, 27° 33' 37"; ditto at tent on Canoe Creek, 27° 36'; longitude, 153° 3' E.; variation, 9° 34' by Azim.

JULY 25TH

Proceeded about three miles on the west side of the Creek at first S 10 E., but from the winding of its course, we were obliged to keep a little to the westward, and ultimately to re-cross the Creek. After we left the Creek the country became sandy, gently undulating, and intersected by tea tree swamps. This description extends, with very little variation, from Canoe Creek to the river Logan. Distance, by admeasurement, 10 miles 190 yards; [reduced], 8½ S. 8½ E.; latitude at noon not observed; by Azim. at tent evening, 27° 44'; longitude, by admeasurement, 153° 5' East.

JULY 26TH

Again set forward, and after four miles walk reached the Logan, which, after some little difficulty, we crossed with the bullocks. Found the latitude by observation 27° 48' 14". The country considerably improved, though still sandy. In consequence of some delay from Mr. Cunningham endeavouring again to cross the river, we only gained one mile and a-half after crossing. Distance, by observation, 8½ miles; 6½ mile reduced South, 26½ East; 188

184 The driver was one of the "five convicts" (Fraser, Journal, 22 July 1828).
185 James Swainsborough and Simon Mahoney. The former had been with Cunningham in 1827 on the Dividing Range (Cunningham, Report, 24 August 1828, at Note 38).
186 No mention is made here of the soldier, so he must have been the other man who went to Brisbane Town on 9 August.
187 The Mitchell Library text has "reclined", evidently a misreading of Logan's writing. Many such errors occur in this text, and wherever the original reading can reasonably be inferred, the corrected words are enclosed in square brackets.
188 This number cannot be correct; many such errors occur in the Mitchell Library text.
latitude, at noon, 27° 48' 14" South; at 1 [p.m.], 27° 49' 30" South; longitude, 153° 3' 30".

JULY 27TH  The soil a good brown loam; the face of the country beautifully undulating. On leaving the bank of the river it again became sandy. Intersected two dry Creeks, and came to a pine brush, which obliged the party to keep to the east and ascend Birnam range. Towards evening we were obliged to alter our course to the north\textsuperscript{189} to regain the valley. We halted on the summit of a hill, and after some difficulty found water. This range is good soil, and we here found a remarkable specimen of [silex], of which the natives make axes and other weapons. Distance, by admeasurement, 8\frac{1}{2} miles; reduced, 5\frac{1}{2} South, 4 West;\textsuperscript{190} latitude, at noon, 27° 52' 38" South; longitude, 153° 2' 30" East.

JULY 28TH  Descended the range in a north-west\textsuperscript{191} direction, and after two miles walk, got into the vale of Erris, and resumed a southerly course, the soil a rich brown loam, and the country beautifully undulating; crossed a beautiful plain, one half mile in width, and one and a-half or two miles in length, called "Letitia Plains," High Peak - [bore ...].\textsuperscript{192} After proceeding about one and a-half mile further, came to some large ponds. On the banks of the river found the latitude 27° 56' 5". In the afternoon our route was interrupted by a Creek, having its banks covered with viney brush; we, therefore, crossed to the west side of the river, and halted for the night. The country to the west of the river is here thinly wooded, and excellent rich soil. Distance, by admeasurement, 8\frac{1}{2} miles; reduced, 5 South 12 West; latitude, at noon, 27° 56' 5" South, [at tent], 27° 58'; longitude, 153°. Observed next day. Variation, ob. 8° 38' E.

JULY 29TH  Remained encamped, in consequence of rain.

JULY 30TH  Again set forward; the country exceedingly rich; a large plain on our right. High Peak - [bore ...]\textsuperscript{193} and the rich flat country appeared to extend nearly to its base. After proceeding some time, [we crossed] a low ridge in the parallel of 28°, which approached the river, the point of which was named "Dunsinane Hill." To the south of the ridge, a brook, from west, supposed to be the Teviot,\textsuperscript{194} unites with the Logan. The vale again extends to about six miles in width, and presented a magnificent appearance, and after some distance

\textsuperscript{189} Probably should be "south".
\textsuperscript{190} Probably should be "East".
\textsuperscript{191} Probably should be "south-west".
\textsuperscript{192} Flinders Peak; the bearing is missing from the text.
\textsuperscript{193} The Mitchell Library text remarks "Here the writing was accidentally obliterated".
\textsuperscript{194} Actually it was Sandy Creek, not the Teviot.
again contracts to about three miles, thus dividing the valley into convenient
districts or wards. We stopped at 3 o’clock at the foot of a conical shaped
hill,195 situated on the west [bank] of the river. From its commanding an
extensive view of the valley, it was named Mount Look-out. Distance, by
observation, 9 miles 7 furlongs, reduced, 8½ South, 14 West; latitude, noon,
28° 2' 19"; [at tent] 28° 6'; longitude, 152° 57'.

Bearings from Mount Look-out: – Mount Lindsey,196 South 20° West;
Mount Hooker,197 South 9° West; Mount Edgar,198 South.

JULY 31st On commencing this day’s journey, I left the party and ascended Mount
Edgar, on the west side of the valley; from this I had an extensive view to the
north. [Glenmorriston] range199 bears N. 5° W., and [Box]-hill200 North,
Mount French W. 10°S. Our course, leaving the river to the east, was rather
hilly, but occasionally crossed rich valleys, and the hills were good pasturage.
Towards evening we came on the river, and passed a small plain, on which
were grazing about eight or ten Emus. We halted on the banks of the river.
Distance, by observation, 11½ miles; reduced, 10½ South, 12 West; latitude,
noon, 28° 10' 9" – tent, 28° 12'; longitude, 152° 54' 30''.

AUGUST We crossed the Logan about one mile from last night’s encampment, and
1st proceeded up Glen Lyons, but meeting with a viney brush, at 12 o’clock
the party were obliged to return to the river. I ascended a high range, and
found that there was no passage for bullocks except the valley of the Logan;
the country was hilly, but the soil is excellent. The banks of the river and
creeks were well stocked with red cedar and chesnuts; the latter were in
abundance, and appear to be a considerable article of provision to the natives.
Distance, by observation, 5 miles 3 furlongs; reduced, 2½ West, 15 South;
latitude, noon, not observed; tent, 28° 15'; longitude, 152° 51'.

AUGUST Proceeded up the valley of the Logan for two miles, and then ascended a
2nd ridge to the east, which brought us to the valley in front of Mount [Lyndsey].
After setting up the tents, we proceeded to reconnoitre the mountain, with the
view of ascending next day: and as on a former occasion I had been un­
successful on the north and west sides, I determined to make an attempt on
the east. Distance, by [observation], 6 miles 3 furlongs; reduced, 4½; latitude,
at noon, 28° 16'; in tent, 28° 15'; longitude, 152° 47'.

195 Round Mountain.
196 Mt. Barney.
197 Mt. Lindsay.
198 Cotter’s Lookout.
199 Taylor Range.
200 The Mitchell Library text has “Boa-hill”, probably a misreading of Logan’s
writing. See Note 203.
AUGUST 3RD

Started at sunrise, and after two miles walk up the valley, commenced the ascent seven minutes past 7 o'clock, and, after considerable difficulty, I succeeded in reaching the summit at 12 o'clock: the rest of the party failed in the attempt. Mount Warning bore E. 3° S., distant about 30 miles. To the South-West I discovered a beautiful and extensive country, with a river meandering from the South-West, and bending its course to the coast line South-East by South, through some extensive plains. The country, as far as the eye could reach to the South and South-West, was beautifully diversified with plains and moderate hills, many of them rising in the form of a cone, gave a picturesque effect to the scene; and there appeared to be a pass from the valley of the Logan by the base of Mount Hooker. Bearings from Mount [Lyndsey]: - Mount Warning, East 3° South; High Peak, North; Lake, or Lagoon, South by South; [Glenmorriston] Range, North 3° East; [Box] Hill, North 6° East; Bearings from tent, Mount [Lyndsey], South 52°, West 3 miles; longitude, 152° 45' East.

AUGUST 6TH

Again set forward and soon came into a fine valley, through which flows a brook, running into the Logan, and rises behind Mount Shadforth. The route then became hilly; and about sunset we arrived on the Teviot, and encamped under Minto Crags, on the same spot where I stopped on the 11th June, 1827, accompanied by Lieutenant Innis, 39th Regiment. Distance, 11½ miles; reduced, 9 West, 17 North. Latitude at noon, 28° 9'; do. tent, 28° 8'; Longitude, 152° 38' 30''.

AUGUST 7TH

The cattle being astray, we did not begin the day's work till 10 o'clock, and kept westerly to make the gap, but on account of pine [brushes], we were obliged to descend into [Dulhunty's] Plain, and encamped, with a view of exploring a passage. I ascended a mountain, and found it would be necessary to go still farther east, and get round Mount French. Distance, by [observation] 5½ miles; reduced 4½. Latitude, noon, 28° 4' 26''; tent, 28° 3'; Longitude, 152° 38''; variation, 10° 3' 30''.

AUGUST 8TH

Left [Dulhunty's] Plains, and steered S. East in the Valley of the Esk, which passed through a beautiful plain, which was named [Rattray's] Plain, having Mount French on the left, and a low range on the right, which separates

201 Flinders Peak.
202 Probably the Clarence River; see the introduction to the present chapter.
203 Cunningham called this "Telegraph Hill"; see the list of "Bearings taken by Captain Logan from the extreme summit of Mt. Lindsay [Barney]" in the introduction to this chapter. According to Cunningham's field book SZ29, Telegraph Hill is identified with Campbell's Range (now called Mt. Petrie). From the bearing given, Logan's Box Hill was only 3 miles east of the Taylor Range, which is hard to reconcile with Mt. Petrie.
204 Probably should be "N. East".
the Esk and Teviot – our course was S. East.\textsuperscript{205} Through the day the country beautiful and the soil excellent. Distance, by observation, $10\frac{1}{2}$ miles; reduced, $9\frac{3}{4}$ North, 57 East. Latitude at noon, $28^\circ 01' 13''$; do. tent, $27^\circ 58'$.

\textbf{AUGUST 9TH}

Set out again, and as we could not get a passage into the valley of the Bremer, we were obliged to continue N. E. towards the vale of Erris. The brooks expanded into reaches of considerable size. Towards evening the soil became sandy, somewhat resembling the country between Canoe Creek and the Logan. Distance, $10\frac{1}{2}$ miles; reduced $7\frac{1}{2}$ E., 34 North. Latitude at noon, $27^\circ 55' 41''$; tent, $27^\circ 54'$; Longitude, $152^\circ 47' 30''$.

\textsuperscript{205} Probably should be "N. East".
Cunningham set out from Ipswich on 18 August 1828, to explore a route to the Darling Downs through Spicer's Gap, which he had discovered on 11 June 1827. He travelled past Mt. Walker on its eastern side, and on arriving at the Dividing Range at 28° S. latitude, he discovered Cunningham's Gap. He rightly suspected that this was not Spicer's Gap, so turned north to search for it. Failing to find it, he returned south to Cunningham's Gap, and on ascending Mt. Mitchell on 24 August, he recognized the country to the west, and became convinced (erroneously) that this gap was Spicer's Gap.

He returned to Ipswich along the western side of Mt. Walker, stopping for a day to take bearings from that mountain, and arrived at Ipswich on 30 August.

In early September he surveyed the Bremer River from Ipswich to its junction with the Brisbane, and also made a short excursion north from Ipswich to the Brisbane River.

He returned to Brisbane Town, and continued his botanical research until his departure for Sydney on 21 October.

The main text of this chapter is a continuation of Cunningham's report to Governor Darling, 16 December 1828, the first part of which was given in the previous chapter, where details of sources were indicated. Additional material, used in footnotes, was obtained from the field book SZ26, in the Archives Office of New South Wales.

An extract from Cunningham's letter to Charles Telfair is included. This was written at Brisbane Town on 16 September 1828. Parts of it were included in Early Explorers in Australia by Ida Lee Marriott, and the version given here has been obtained from Mrs. Marriott's notebooks in the Mitchell Library, ML MSS 337. The original manuscript is probably at the Royal Botanical Gardens, Kew, England.

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1 Ida Lee Marriott, Early Explorers in Australia (London: Methuen, 1925), pp. 609-10.
THE CONTINUATION OF CUNNINGHAM'S REPORT

As I shall have frequent occasion to refer to this station in what I have further the honour to communicate for your Excellency's necessary information, I take leave to make a few brief observations on its situation and general productions.

In the course of the last year Captain Logan, in tracing the Bremer (of the late Mr. Oxley, who merely passed its mouth in 1824) from its junction with the Brisbane, discovered at ten miles through its many windings from that point, the calcareous hummocks on its right bank, now named the "Limestone Hills."

Landing, he was much struck with the singular appearance of the lofty Xanthorrhoea or grass trees, which abound on the open flats, low hills, and forest grounds at this particular part, and which the Commandant had not inaptly compared to bee-hives elevated on stools, thus:

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2 Limestone Station, now Ipswich.
3 19 September and 25 September 1824 (Oxley, Field Books).
4 Cunningham's footnote reads: "As this extraordinary plant (the genus of which gives a peculiarity to the vegetation of New South Wales) was not in a flowering state during my stay at Moreton Bay, I had no opportunity of determining its species, but from the length of the decayed last year's scapus or flowering stem, in respect to the amentum or spike, I am disposed to view this plant as distinct from both X. arborea of our colony, and X. Australis, hitherto found only in Van Dieman's Land, each having an arborescent caudex."
5 The sketch included here in the manuscript is Fig. 42. The original is at the Public Record Office, London, C.O. 201/200.
To protect the lime-burners from further molestation from these savages, a corporal and three privates were stationed on the spot, and from that period no natives have ventured to approach the huts of either soldiers or people, although they have been repeatedly seen prowling through the adjacent woods.

From three hundred to three hundred and fifty bushels of excellent lime (I was informed) are burnt weekly at this station, which is regularly conveyed down by boat to Brisbane Town, and there used in the buildings in progress. The limestone of Bremer’s river is very different in appearance from the calcareous rocks of Argyle, Bathurst, or Wellington Valley. From these it differs, not simply in colour, which is either yellowish brown or brownish white, but also in its quality, it containing much earthy matter, without impressions of shells or organic remains.

As far as the hills have been opened, no stratification has been observed; on the contrary, it appeared in irregular masses mixed with reddish earth and large blocks of a blackish flint.

In some specimens of the latter rock, which I caused to be broken, I found beautiful specimens of chalcedony, containing cavities filled with groups of minute crystallized quartz.

Chalk is also found among the hills, in which are nodules of flint. A stratum or seam of coal has been observed on the Bremer, both immediately above and below the station, and as that mineral was noticed three or four miles to the north, in the steep banks of dry creeks dipping to the Brisbane, and again in another mile in the bed of that river, it is highly probable that the seam extends nearly horizontally throughout. The soil of these hills and adjacent country is of a black colour, and, if one might judge from the luxuriant growth of vegetables cultivated in a small patch of garden-ground, belonging to the soldiers, is of a rich quality. The flats and undulated grounds are well clothed with grasses, and as they are not under any circumstances of season, other than of a dry character, they form a sound range of sheep pasture, at present supporting a small flock belonging to Government.

During a stay of five days at this station, in which period the rest and good pasture afforded my bullocks most materially benefited them, I determined its geographical position as follows, viz.: - mean latitude by meridional altitudes of the sun, 27 deg. 37 min. 00 sec. S.: longitude by the mean of distances of the sun and moon – on both sides of the meridian: distances of the planet Jupiter and moon, and distances of the star Fomalhaut and moon, mean 152 deg. 47 min. 20 secs. E.: variation by azimuths, 9 deg. 45 min. E. Its distance from Brisbane Town by water has been estimated at about forty-eight miles, whilst its bearing from that settlement is S.W. by W. (true) only eighteen statute miles.
From a hill in the immediate vicinity of my tents I took the following bearings to points in the south-western country about to be examined: – Mount Forbes, of Mr. Oxley, a remarkable hill rising from a level country, and in shape ridged like the roof of a house, S. 48° W., about sixteen miles; mountain gap, S. 38° W., perhaps forty miles; Wilson’s Peak, of Captain Logan, S. 12° W., forty-five or fifty miles; Flinder’s Peak, S. 19° E., twelve miles.

Journey to the Gap in the Dividing Range

On the morning of the 18th August we proceeded from the Limestone Hills south-westerly, towards the hollow in the ridge of the principal or Dividing Range.

Immediately on leaving the limestone base, and entering the closer-timbered forest, the land gradually rises and the soil changes to a hungry grit, productive only of small and stunted timber and brushy plants. At our second mile an open moderately undulated forest ground, appearing at S.W. by S., we pursued our course in that direction through a variety of nearly level country, the rock formation of which was chiefly a coarse sandstone – quartz and very fine specimens of jasper being here and there strewed in the forest ground.

Occasionally the land became more thinly and lightly wooded, the soil of which was of a dark rich quality, strewed with small fragments of calcareous stone, the general appearance altogether inducing a conclusion that we were approaching open downs.

Almost immediately, however, the more lofty timbered forest succeeded, continuing for several miles level and of monotonous feature. Passing at length a tea-tree flat bearing obvious marks on the surface of partial inundation in seasons of protracted rain, we came upon the bank of a narrow but deep creek, falling north-easterly towards Bremer’s river, which, although at this season a mere chain of stagnant pools, exhibited on its banks traces of floods twenty feet above its then low level.

Crossing, we left this creek winding from the southward, and continuing

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6 From the bearings that follow, it can be deduced that Cunningham was in what is now Queen’s Park, near Griffith Road, about a quarter of a mile east of the quarry. However in this report Cunningham has made an error. Mt. Forbes (Walker) was S. 38½° W., and the gap was S. 28½° W. The values given are 10° too large, suggesting that Cunningham had added the magnetic variation.
7 Mt. Walker.
8 Churchill.
9 Near Purga Creek.
10 Just east of Warrill Creek, and 2 miles north-east of Ten Mile Swamp.
11 Warrill Creek.
our route to the southward and westward to our eleventh mile, I despatched a man to search for water in the direction of the remarkable level-topped hill seen from the Limestone Station, and named12 by Mr. Oxley in 1824 "Mt. Forbes." Such had been the lengthened period of dry weather that we were obliged to extend our stage beyond the strength of the bullocks to the thirteenth mile,13 ere we found a sufficiency of water for our consumption.

No natives were met with in this stage, although patches of the forest grasses had been very lately fired, and the recent traces of these people were noticed on the trunks of the tea-trees, from which they had torn off the outer paper-like bark to roof their huts.

[19 August] 

After some heavy showers of rain in the night accompanied by thunder, the morning of the 19th (August) broke upon us exceedingly clear, pleasant, and cool, the mean temperature of the atmosphere at six o'clock being 61 deg.

Our route to the southward and westward was resumed about seven o'clock, and having traversed a level patch of open forest on the eastern side of Mount Forbes, abounding in grass, we reached some hilly ground at our third mile of very rugged stony surface. On gaining the summit of a ridge,14 a most pleasing and extensive view was laid open to us from S.W. to S., and thence to E and E.N.E.

At E.N.E., and thence to E.S.E., a large patch of plain lying N. and S., appeared beneath us, at a distance of about three miles, in many parts very verdant, and watered evidently by a large creek,15 the course of which was marked by a line of swamp oak winding through its centre. To this plain I attached the name of Bowerman, as a compliment to my friend, the officer in charge of His Majesty's Magazines at Parramatta.

The elevated irregular ridge connected with Flinder's Peak still further to the eastward was very conspicuous, presenting four16 distinct pinnacles; and to all the more distant points in a southerly direction, extending as far as Mount Lindesay, which was distinctly recognised, bearings were taken.

On quitting the ridge, we descended to a grassy vale, and then continued our journey to the S.S.W., through a forest tract, plentifully clothed with grass, but as far as our observation extended, destitute of water. As every

12 At Mt. Crosby, 22 September 1824 (Oxley, Field Books); now called Mt. Walker.
13 On Mt. Walker Creek, near The Sugarloaf.
14 Between Mt. Walker Creek and Warrill Creek.
15 Warrill Creek, near Churchbank and Harrisville.
16 Mt. Blaine (1496 feet), Mt. Goolman (1490 feet), Mt. Perry (about 1300 feet), and Ivory's Rock (about 1000 feet). Probably Mt. Elliott (1425 feet) was hidden behind Flinders Peak (2229 feet).
part of the timbered lands, through which our course led us, bore manifest proofs of the long existing droughts that have prevailed through this, and other parts of New South Wales, I began to be apprehensive that we should not readily meet with water for our evening's use. On completing our tenth mile at the pitch of a low ridge, the ground appeared on its S.W. side to dip easterly. I therefore sent one of the people to make a diligent search for water in that direction. This was almost immediately met with in deep holes, and as there was abundance of good grass around for our oxen I again halted.\textsuperscript{17}

At night a wind from about S.S.W. sprang up, which freshening to a hard gale, obliged us to secure our tents by strong wires, to prevent their being blown down. The wind continued with unabated violence throughout the night, and until about sunrise of the following morning (20th), when it moderated considerably. Being by estimation about twelve\textsuperscript{18} miles to the N.E. of the Pass through the Dividing Range, it was my fullest intention to have penetrated as near to its immediate base in the course of the day as the nature of the interjacent country would permit us. We therefore quitted our encamping ground, soon after sunrise, but soon had to regret the inability of the bullocks to travel over some stony hills, which lay in my course in the earlier part of our journey, owing to the extreme tenderness of their feet, increased probably by the stages of the preceding days, which the circumstances of the country had obliged me to lengthen in our search for water. In consequence, I was obliged to halt\textsuperscript{19} in a valley among the hills, having made only four miles towards the Pass. At noon I found our latitude to be 27 deg. 56 min. 48 sec. S., and in the afternoon observed an azimuth, which gave a variation of the compass of 10 deg. 3 min. E. The smoke of natives' fires was seen curling above the trees a little to the eastward of us, but these people kept themselves very quiet, not a voice was heard, or a person seen.

\textbf{August 29th [21st]}\textsuperscript{26}

About 7 a.m. we made another attempt to penetrate to the foot of the main range. Climbing a forest ridge at S.W. without difficulty, the bullocks descended (by the care of my people) amidst much fallen timber and loose stones, to a valley\textsuperscript{21} stretching north and south, which we crossed, continuing towards the range over an irregular surface of forest ground to our fifth mile, when we intersected the stony beds of a mountain torrent,\textsuperscript{22} twelve

\begin{itemize}
\item \textsuperscript{17} On Warroolaba Creek, 2 miles north-east of Bald Hills.
\item \textsuperscript{18} Actually about 16 miles from Spicer's Gap, but he had been misled by his erroneous compass bearing of 1827 (see introduction to Chapter 10).
\item \textsuperscript{19} Two miles south of Bald Hills.
\item \textsuperscript{20} Should be 21.
\item \textsuperscript{21} Frazer Creek.
\item \textsuperscript{22} Warrill Creek, which flows in a south-easterly direction where they crossed it below Tarome.
\end{itemize}
yards in width, at this season perfectly dry, but evidently at other periods filled to the depth of six feet. The position of the drift wood on its shallow bank showed us that its fall was to the south; it, therefore, most probably pours its rapid waters into the Richmond of Captain the Hon. H.I. Rous, the trunk of which it doubtless meets at a much lower level.

Passing the stony channel of this watercourse, we traversed an apple-tree flat, pursuing our way over some hilly ground to a narrow valley, where meeting with fine water, we again halted within four miles of the actual mouth of the Gap. As it was early in the afternoon, I despatched an intelligent man to look at and examine (in a partial way) the hollow in the mountain ridge directly open to our encampment.

After an absence of five hours he returned, having failed in his attempt to climb to the pitch of the Gap—a wall of perpendicular rocks rising from a ravine stopping his progress after he had advanced in direct distance about three miles.

From the precipitous aspect of this hollow in the Main Range, its elevated appearance, its breadth between the boundary heads, added to the total impracticability of gaining its level from the spot on which our tents stood, I was induced to conceive that the Gap, into which I had simply looked from its western side in June, 1827, and which certainly did appear to offer a very practicable passage through to the eastward, was very distinct from the one now before us, and as the Dividing Range to the north of us trended out easterly, I felt disposed to believe it was to be discovered a few miles in that direction. With this impression on my mind, we left the spot on which we had rested on the morning of the 22nd, to proceed round the extremes of the lateral ridges, a day's journey to the north; intending to observe attentively as we travelled along the grassy valley we had crossed every indentation of the main range. We immediately entered the valley, and in five miles reached its head, which to the eastward is bounded by rather elevated open forest hills. On passing a very moderate grassy ridge, stretching E. and W., I observed the latitude. Continuing about two miles, we descended to an apple-tree flat, watered by a creek running to the northward, on which we encamped.

The low grassy ridge, above-mentioned, although of exceedingly moderate

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23 Actually it is a tributary of the Bremer.
24 Gap Creek. (Not the one in Fig. 27.)
25 Cunningham's Gap.
26 The Ramparts, on the eastern side of Mt. Cordeaux.
27 The gap seen in 1827 was Spicer's Gap.
28 Mt. Fraser, 1958 feet.
29 Between Warrill Creek and the Bremer River.
30 Boyd Creek.
rise above the plane of the country on either side, is nevertheless sufficiently elevate
to give opposite directions to waters discharged on our east coast, but at points widely separated from each other. We remarked that those streams falling on the northern side (its direction being east and west) eventually joined the Bremer, whilst those descending southerly meandered through a length of valley to an open country lying south-westerly from Mount Lindesay, and without doubt are received into the Richmond, the embouchure of which Captain Rous has recently discovered upwards of one hundred miles to the south of Moreton Bay.

[23 AUGUST] As I had determined to remain encamped during the 22nd [23rd], I despatched two of my people at daybreak to the summit of a very steep forest ridge immediately to the westward of us, with directions to penetrate to the highest point of the Dividing Range from which they would be able to make such remarks on the western country as would enable me to form a just idea of the situation of the Pass of the last year, and especially by any bearings that might be taken to the extensive downs, then discovered on the western side of this formidable range. Meanwhile, I ascertained our situation, latitude by observation 27 deg. 55 min. 45 sec. South; longitude, deduced from the meridian of the Limestone Hills, 152 deg. 27 min. 30 sec. S. Among the brushes that overshadowed the creek on which we were encamped, grew most luxuriantly, the native bignonia and a fine clematis, and being inter-twined and abundantly in flower, formed the richest festoons.

Whilst on the subject of the flora of this fine country, so generally interesting in all its features, it may be observed that leaving the viney banks of the Brisbane out of the account, the whole line of the country through which we have travelled since we left Brisbane Town, important as really certain portions of it are to the grazier, has nevertheless proved by no means so interesting to the botanist.

The grasses are chiefly those of the colony, the richer flats and alluvial grounds being adorned with that blooming vetch called by botanists Swainsona, with Lotus australis or bird’s-foot trefoil, as also a geranium and a senecio frequent in the Bathurst country. The collections of dried plants that were found were therefore detected on the barren rocky ridges and stony mountains that lay in the way of our expedition.

In this place I will merely notice the singular association of our common eucalypti with the tree of a genus whose splendid scarlet flowers renders it very conspicuous among even the more brilliant subjects of the flora of inter-

31 Actually they flow into Warrill Creek, a tributary of the Bremer.
32 Should be 23.
33 Should be E.
tropical countries. The tree I allude to is a species of *erythrina* or coral tree, which I first observed in an excursion\(^{34}\) to the foot of Flinders' Peak. Under the Dividing Range I frequently met with it, in a forest of blighted uncomely ironbark forming a tree thirty-five feet high with a smooth trunk, but thorny branches, and during the winter months without leaves.

Its last year's pods continued hanging at the extremities of the branches, and although pigeons (which abound in these woods) and other faboevorous birds had eaten most of the seeds, still many of a brilliant red colour were found among the grass beneath each tree.

It was late in the afternoon ere my two men found their way back to the encampment, when I learnt from them that from the grassy ridge which they had ascended in front of the tents, they had gained a lofty point of the Dividing Range,\(^{35}\) to the south-west, from which they observed among the very elevated mountains bounding their view at west, a valley\(^{36}\) extending through them in the direction of N.N.W., to a very low declining country at that bearing, but as no appearance of plain could be perceived, and as there did not appear any part of the main range to the north worth the examination for the Gap, so obvious in the winter journey in 1827, it was rationally concluded that either the hollowback we had just left was the identical pass of the last year, or that it was in its immediate vicinity. With this view I concurred, and therefore on the morning of the 24th we returned southerly towards it, with the fullest determination to examine leisurely the main range about it from the extreme points of which I felt quite certain the last year's gap would be discovered.

About one o'clock we passed a mile to the southward of our last position, and entering a valley, we pitched the tents\(^{37}\) within three miles of the entrance of the Gap, now suspected to be the Pass of last year's journey.

It being early in the afternoon, I sent one of the people (who having been of my party on that long tour, knew well the features of the country lying

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34 Probably the excursion recorded by Fraser (Journal, 12–13 July 1828), although Fraser does not mention the coral tree.
35 It was actually the Little Liverpool Range. The Main Range veers west for about 12 miles at this latitude, as Cunningham was to observe from Mt. Walker on 28 August.
36 Laidley Creek.
37 On Rocky Creek, about half a mile west of Clayton Creek. The position of the tents is given by bearings in the field book SZ26 as follows (see Fig. 27):

| South Head of Mt. Mitchell | 217 |
| Station on N. Head of Mt. Mitchell | 227\(\frac{1}{2}\) |
| N. Head of Gap | 246 |
| Centre Pass | about 235 |

These bearings are included in this report towards the end (near Note 62), but there the two latter numbers have become interchanged.
to the westward of the Dividing Range) to trace a series of forest ridges which appeared to lead directly up to the foot of the hollowback of the range. To my utmost gratification, he returned at dusk, having traced the ridge about two-and-a-half miles to the foot of the Dividing Range, whence he ascended into the Pass, and, from a grassy head immediately above it, beheld the extensive country lying west of the main range.

He recognised Darling and Canning Downs, patches of Peel’s Plains, and several remarkable points of the forest hills on that side, fully identifying this hollowback with the Pass discovered last year at the head of Millar’s Valley, notwithstanding its very different appearance when viewed from the eastern country.

Resting my oxen on the 25th, I determined to occupy the whole of the day in the examination of this very important passage from the coast lands through a formidable main range of mountains to a vast, and for the most part, undefined extent of pastoral country on their western side. Accompanied by my servant, with an odometer or measuring wheel, we commenced our interesting labours of the day at 7 a.m.

From the valley in which we were encamped we immediately ascended a low forest ridge at south, trending S.S.W. and S.W. throughout the first mile and a-half. The acclivity proved most gradual, and the surface of the ridge, although occasionally rather rugged, was rendered so by small fragments of rock easy to be removed. Continuing to trace the leading ridge, we found an ample passage between detached masses of sandstone, which were covered with parasites (of ferns and *dendrobia*, or rock lilies) of species heretofore only found within the tropical circle.

In another half-mile the ridge takes a decided bend to the westward, and its surface becoming wider presented an open patch of forest ground, timbered chiefly with oak and apple tree, in quantity sufficient for a small farm. The ridge at length narrows again, but the acclivity continues most progressive. Patches of brush now clothe the sides of the ridge, as also the gullies falling from it, leaving its back clear of wood, open and grassy.

At about two and three-quarter miles the ridge bends to the northward of west, and immediately the summit of the Pass appeared broad before us, bounded on each side by most stupendous heads, towering at least two thousand feet above it.

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38 James Swainsborough was the only convict-servant to accompany Cunningham in both expeditions (Colonial Secretary Letters 27/1972 and 28/3420, in the Mitchell Library).

39 This is incorrect; the pass of 1827 was Spicer’s Gap.

40 Just north of the course of the present highway.

41 Cunningham has this footnote: “I had at the time great pleasure in giving names
Fig. 43. A page from Cunningham's field book showing a profile of Cunningham's Gap, sketched at his campsite at the foot of the range. The original is in field book SZ26 in the Archives Office of New South Wales.

Fig. 44. Cunningham's Gap profile, showing Mt. Mitchell on left and Mt. Cordeaux on right, photographed from near Cunningham's campsite of 24–26 August 1828. Photograph by author, December 1970.
Here the difficulties of the passage commence; we had now penetrated to the actual foot of the pass without the smallest difficulty; it now remained to ascend by a steep slope to the level of its entrance. This slope is occupied by a very close wood, in which red cedar, sassafras, palms, and other ornamental intertropical trees are frequent.

Through this shaded wood we penetrated, climbing up a steep bank of very rich loose earth, in which large fragments of a very compact rock (a white stone) are bedded. At length we gained the foot of a wall of bare rock, which we found stretching from the southward into the Pass. This face of naked rock we perceived (by tracing its base northerly) gradually to fall to the common level, so that without the smallest difficulty, and to my utmost surprise, we found ourselves in the highest part of the Pass, having fully ascertained the extent of the difficult part from the entrance into the wood to this point not to exceed four hundred yards. We now pushed our way westerly through this extraordinary defile, and in less than half-a-mile of level surface, clothed with a thick brush of plants common to the Brisbane river, reached the opposite side of the main range, where I observed the waters fell westerly to Millar’s Valley, beneath us.

Climbing the northern summit of Mount Mitchell, which bounds the Pass on the south, it was with no small pleasure that I passed my eye over the beautiful tract of country, at which my labours of the last year had closed. Portions of Canning and Darling Downs, with patches of Peel’s Plains were distinctly recognised at distances of twenty and thirty miles. The entrance to Logan Vale, indicated by the table-topped hill named last year ‘Mount Sturt,’ was also observed, as was the forest ridge overhanging that rich valley beneath which my tents stood several days at that period. My elevated situation on Mount Mitchell enabled me to take bearings to points whose positions are fixed, as well on the western as the eastern sides of the Barrier Ranges, and thus most satisfactorily affording me the amplest materials to connect on the map of the country the northern points of my last year’s

to these very elevated points of the Dividing Range, which are very distinctly seen over fifty-four miles of wooded country from Brisbane Town. The south head, which forms a long-backed mount with a lofty point at each extremity I have named Mount Mitchell, in honour of the Surveyor-General of this territory, whilst the north head was entitled Mount Cordeaux, as a compliment to Wm. Cordeaux, Esq., of the Surveyor-General’s department.” See Fig. 54, in which Spicer’s Peak is also named.

42 3757 feet.
43 Tannymorel and Glengallan Creek respectively. Canning Downs, discovered by Cunningham in 1827, had been named after the Rt. Hon. George Canning (1770–1827), Prime Minister of England. Canning’s daughter had married Lord Clanricarde, cousin of Mrs. Patrick Logan.
44 Allora.
45 Swan Creek.
journey with the penal settlement on the Brisbane River. The day was considerably advanced by the time we had effected these truly interesting observations; we therefore descended to the Pass, and making the best of our way along the eastern forest ridge, reached the encampment about eight o'clock, having been occupied in severe exercise about thirteen hours.

This passage through the Dividing Range is geographically situated in latitude 28 deg. 2 min. 40 sec. S., and longitude (reduced from the meridian of the Limestone Station) 152 deg. 24 min. 20 sec. E., and lies S.W. from Brisbane Town fifty-four miles, being also in direct distance from the sea coast near Point Danger (of Captain Cook) about sixty-four geographical miles.

The weather had favoured our operations throughout the whole of the day, but we had scarcely been seated within our tents half-an-hour, before the sky became overcast, and heavy clouds passing over us to the eastward in a rapid succession, presaged the storm that was gathering in and beyond the heights above us. I had timely taken the precaution to direct the securing of the tents by extra guys, and, therefore, felt fully prepared to meet the impending tempest. The thunder (which the otherwise stillness of these solitudes had allowed us to hear in the distance) at length approached in rolling peals, and, accompanied by the most vivid lightning and a deluging rain, commenced a storm as awful, at the same time as grand, as any that are to be witnessed in elevated intertropical countries. With unabated violence the tempest continued until after midnight, when, as if suddenly exhausted, the wind moderated, the clouds broke, gradually sinking down towards the horizon, and a bright moon, just past the full, now burst forth with many a brilliant
Fig. 46. Sketch of Cunningham's Gap, referred to as "Sketch C" in Cunningham's report to Darling. Redrawn in 1970 by the Survey Office, Brisbane, from an original, MT 57, held by them.
star, to assure us, by affording us light to observe the extreme pinnacles of
the mountains perfectly divested of clouds, that at length calm, serene, and
settled weather was again restored to us. During the whole of this thunder­
storm the temperature of the atmosphere continued without variation: the
thermometer stood at 64 deg.

On the 26th (August) we commenced our journey back to the Limestone
Station, distant something under forty miles. The surface of the soil felt
to the foot quite saturated with the rains of the last night, and vegetables,
generally speaking, assumed a lively verdure, evidently refreshed by the
showers that had fallen. We soon reached our last encampment on the
creek46 that ran northerly to the Bremer, and thence pursued a course
to the north, with the design of passing to the westward of Mount Forbes.
This line of route led us over some exceedingly moderate forest ridges,
clothed with a luxuriant carpet of grass, and timbered with loftier and statelier
irontark than we had for some time previous remarked.

In two miles these undulated grounds, which furnish excellent sheep and
cattle pasture, dip to the level of an apple-tree flat of very rich soil, which
appeared to extend northerly several miles, and forming, by the gentle hills
on its eastern side, and the forest ridges47 connected with or fronting the
Dividing Range westerly, a most beautiful valley, well watered by the creek,
on which we had rested on the 22nd.

Continuing north about three miles, through this very level valley, a patch
of plain48 opened on our view, round the skirts of which the creek, which we
had just previously crossed, bent its course. This plain, to which I feel
gratified in attaching the name of Lieutenant Bainbrigge, of His Majesty's
57th Regiment, and at present the very active engineer at Brisbane Town,
measured a mile and a quarter in diameter, and is of an irregular square
figure. It contains about eight hundred acres of beautiful land, of as truly a
level as it is possible to conceive any patch of ground could be, untouched
by the hand of man.

Nothing can possibly exceed the richness and mellowness of its fine black
soil, and, certainly, there is not in any explored part of New South Wales
a more beautiful subject for the pencil of the artist than the landscape presented
to the traveller from the centre of Bainbrigge's Plain, to which no description
of mine can possibly do justice. On its north-western side Bainbrigge's Plain
is bounded by a hummocky ridge of thinly wooded forest hills,49 forming a

46 Boyd Creek.
47 Little Liverpool Range.
48 Between Rosevale and the junction of Boyd Creek with the Bremer River.
49 Proctor Range.
Fig. 47. “There is not... a more beautiful subject for the pencil of the artist than the landscape presented to the traveller from the centre of Bainbrigge’s Plain” (Cunningham, Report, 26 August 1828). Photograph by author.

chain of pretty grassy mounds, behind which the more colossean main range uprears its bold and towering heads, stretching its rugged outline far to the southward. Immediately on the S.E. low forest ridges, and some detached hills, meet the eye, and one rather elevated and of remarkable figure I named Mount Fraser, after my friend and fellow-traveller. Whenever this country is thrown open to the grazier, and a public road is constructed through the mountain defile just explored to the exterior western pastures, then will Bainbrigge's plain become a stage, being nearly equidistant from the Lime­stone station and the Pass, from each, when a well beaten road is formed, not exceeding a day's journey.

In about six miles further to the N.N.E. we made the foot of Mount Forbes, where I determined to rest a whole day, as well to fix its geographical position as to obtain from its commanding summit a full set of bearings to all points around, and by them to connect and close the sketch of my journey.

From this elevation, which is certainly five hundred feet above the plane of the circumjacent country, the eye surveyed an interesting and varied panorama, consisting of every description of country to be met with in New South Wales, brought fully within the reach of vision. I set up an excellent Schmicalder’s compass, and, beginning at a point, took bearings to every eminence of moment on the circumference of the circle. As these

50 1958 feet.
51 The Cunningham Highway actually passes 8 miles east of this.
52 Field book SZ26 has three pages of “Bearings taken from the North head of Mt. Strombo” on 28 August 1828. Cunningham called it Mt. Strombo until he realized that it was Oxley’s Mt. Forbes, now called Mt. Walker.
bearings were to points, already frequently mentioned, no observation need again be made of them. I would, however, simply remark that from this situation I was at length enabled to fix the true situations of two lofty hills marked on the chart of the country to the southward, which I named Mount Edwards and Mount Greville, the latter in honour of a very distinguished Scotch botanist.

Of certain parts of this curiously diversified country it may be important to know that, upon passing to the eastward of the range of Flinders Peak, the land appears a perfect level to the coast, which an eastern line would intersect about the southern extreme of Stradbroke Island, so that if it should at any period be deemed expedient to order a road to be formed from this hill direct to that part of the coast, when perhaps, shipping might ride in safety in what is termed the Southern passage, there appears no difficulty on passing the line of ridge stretching southerly from Flinders Peak to prevent its being fully effected.

The seeming valley through which the Brisbane river flows easterly from the sources at N.W., is bounded on the north by an elevated range of forest hills, in which I perceived, at an estimated distance of forty miles, a break, through which I could discern a very distant low country to the north of it.

Tracing this northern range in a westerly direction, it was observed to decline at W.N.W., and at length to soften down to the distant blue line of horizon.

The principal or Dividing Range, so formidable a barrier as it really is, in and to the southward of this parallel of latitude, was observed from this hill to bend its lengthened ridge to the N.W. and west, and in about thirty-five or forty miles to terminate, leaving a space between to the western extreme of the northern forest range above mentioned, so truly level that the sight is lost on the vast levels that meet with no visible boundary to the westward.

Here, then, is an opening between the ranges through which a fully equipped, well-directed exploring party might pass, with the view, not simply of carrying on the sketch of the interior from these points to the tropical circle, but also of acquiring more precise notions of the aspect and capabilities of the distant internal country bearing in a W.N.W. direction, than we at present possess.

53 This mountain was discovered by Oxley in 1824 (Field Books, 22 September 1824), and called Mt. Bannister. Cunningham named it after (probably) Lieutenant George Edwards of the 57th Regiment, stationed at Brisbane Town. Mt. Greville was named after Robert Kaye Greville (1794–1866) of Edinburgh, a colleague of W.J. Hooker, but not the Greville (Charles F.) after whom the genus Grevillea was named.

54 D’Aguilar Range and Taylor Range.

55 The Brisbane Valley.

56 Cunningham himself fulfilled this wish in 1829.
The summit of Mount Forbes presents a narrow level ridge at its southern extreme, from which it gradually contracts northerly until it becomes a sharp ledge of rocks, having on the eastern and western sides precipitous falls of two hundred feet. The rock is an ironstone, upon which the decomposing effects of the elements were everywhere obvious, and which, doubtless, has given the mountain its sharp figure, when viewed either from the north or south thus: its appearance from east being thus:57

![Sketch of Mount Forbes](image)

Fig. 48

29TH

Having ascertained the situation of Mount Forbes as follows, we prosecuted our journey to the north, along a continuance of the valley traversed on the 27th: – latitude, 27 deg. 47 min. 00 sec. S.; longitude, 152 deg. 35 min. 00 sec. E. At noon our latitude (observed on the bank of the Bremer), placed us five miles south of the Limestone Hills, which bore from us E.N.E. about fifteen miles. This distance we effected through a level open forest country early in the afternoon of the 30th, after having been absent from that station twelve days.

I have now laid before Your Excellency a detail of all the leading circumstances of the journeys of geographical research which I had undertaken during my visit to Moreton Bay, and I now close this lengthened communication with a few remarks on the future importance of Bremer’s river as a navigable stream, and the direction to be taken in the construction of a line of road from the Limestone Hills, southerly, to the Pass and Great Western Downs. During my stay at the Limestone Hills, and just previous to my return to Brisbane Town in September last, I traced the Bremer, through its various windings, to its junction with the Brisbane, measuring on its bank the length of each reach; and from the material I then collected I have now constructed the accompanying outline, to which I beg to refer your Excellency.59

57 The two sketches of Mt. Walker are Fig. 48. The original is at the Public Record Office, London, C.O. 201/200.
58 Bremer River.
59 The manuscript has in the margin “See Sketch B”. The sketch is reproduced here as Figs. 49 and 51. See Note 65.
Fig. 49. Sketch of the Bremer River, portion of "Sketch B" in Cunningham's report to Darling. From an original, MT 56, in the Survey Office, Brisbane.
Bremer's river, which at its mouth is about forty yards wide, preserves an uniformity of breadth of thirty and thirty-five yards throughout its tortuous course of ten miles to the Limestone Station, which point may be considered the head of navigation, for, almost immediately beyond, ledges of rocks occupy the bed of the river, which at length rises and separates the fresh water from the salt. To this station (up to which the tide flows) the Bremer is of sufficient depth to be navigable for boats or craft of thirty or forty tons, and as it expands and forms a natural basin a short distance below the station of upwards of one hundred yards in width, and with a depth of water sufficient to float a large ship, the importance of building a wharf on the right bank at this basin, to which the produce of the interior might be conveyed to be embarked, will be at some future day seen. The circumstance, moreover, of this river being thus far navigable for craft of a certain class, and the consequent saving to the farmer of that expense which is necessarily attendant on the wear and tear of a long land-carriage of internal produce to the coast, cannot possibly fail, when this country becomes settled on, to be duly considered.

It is therefore highly probable that upon the site of these Limestone Hills a town will one day be raised.

With reference to the direction of a line of road from this station southwesterly to the Pass through the Dividing Range, I observe that, in order to avoid the stony hills, among which my outward bound course led me, on the eastern side of Mount Forbes, the road should be conducted on a line drawn from the Limestone Hills south-west, by compass, eighteen miles, which will not only pass through an open country of slight undulation, in which one bridge will be required to be thrown over a creek, but it will extend fully to the valley along which I travelled north in my return from the Pass, leaving Mount Forbes to the eastward: after which it might be continued through this vale south to Bainbrigge's Plain, at which may terminate the first stage.

The road may then be carried on without the slightest difficulty south twelve miles to the spot (distinctly marked on chart), on which my tents stood on the 24th and 25th of August last, and which may be easily recognised by an intersection of the following bearings to points in the vicinity of the pass: south head of Mount Mitchell, S. 37 W. magnetic; north head and station on Mount Mitchell, S. 47 W.; centre of Pass, W. 24 S., distant 2 1/2 miles; Mount Cordeaux, W. 35 S., distant three miles. The main range

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60 At East Ipswich.
61 These hills can equally well be avoided by following Warrill Creek, as the Cunningham Highway does.
62 The latter two bearings have been interchanged; see Note 37.
The particular spot being ascertained from which the above bearings were taken, the forest ridge leading to the base of the Pass will be immediately seen. In continuing the line of road along the ridge little labour will be required, as the stones and masses of rocks that lie in the way are detached, and may be easily removed.

In the formation of a practicable road through the last quarter of a mile to the pitch of the Pass, the skill of the practical engineer will be called into action. There are abundance of materials of stone and large timber on the spot at his command, and there is sufficient room to avoid the abrupt face by which we ascended, by taking a sweep round so as to intersect the wall of rocks further to the southward, and then by tracing it northerly to the point at which it terminates in the Pass.

The passage through the Pass westerly to the head of Millar’s Valley requires simply the brush to be cut away, the construction of a small bridge over a narrow water channel, and the ground (otherwise quite level) smoothed, by a removal of some rounded stones from the surface, which have evidently rolled down from the overhanging heights. Although time was not afforded me to trace Millar’s Valley down to Darling Downs, still I feel fully satisfied from the observations I made from Mount Mitchell that no difficulty exists in the fall of the vale, which appeared in every part exceedingly moderate. The distance from Darling Downs to Brisbane Town by the nearest line of communication overland is about seventy-seven miles; in consequence, however, of there being a sufficiency of water in the Bremer to navigate small craft of forty tons ten miles to the Limestone Hills, the land carriage from the Western Downs is reduced by the above projected line of road to sixty statute miles.

An excursion made in September last (upon my return from the Pass) from the Limestone Station, north to the channel of the Brisbane, which I intersected in five miles at a point visited by Mr. Oxley and myself in 1824 and which I clearly recognised, has enabled me to connect most satisfactorily (as regards geographical position) the westernmost point to which our late very able Surveyor-General had penetrated on his second visit to the Brisbane.

63 The sketch is Fig. 50. The original is at the Public Record Office, London, C.O. 201/200.

64 The manuscript has in the margin “See Sketch C”. This sketch is now MT 57 in the Survey Office, Brisbane, reproduced here as Fig. 46.
Fig. 51. Sketch of part of the Brisbane River, portion of "Sketch B" in Cunningham's report to Darling. From an original, MT 56, in the Survey Office, Brisbane.
with what I have now attempted to effect. The tortuous course of the river is therefore carried on upon the accompanying chart to that point. 65

Beyond this spot the river was subsequently (in 1825) traced up in a north-western direction by Major Lockyer, of which boat excursion a notice has appeared in a late number of Wilton's Quarterly Journal. 66 It is to be regretted that possessed of so much zeal and perseverance, this gentleman had not provided himself with the requisite instruments for the determination of the positions of his several stations, and more particularly of the extreme point to which the means he possessed had enabled him to reach. Its latitude (which I am fully disposed to believe would have placed him had it been observed — considerably to the southward of 27 deg. S.) would have been very important to the geographer.

Being thus aware that this excellent gentleman had no means of ascertaining the geographical situation of this point, and as he has not furnished us with a single bearing of any one known fixed point, I have left the river just where my late friend Mr. Oxley did, rather than add to it the trace of its channel by Major Lockyer, which I observe marked on a badly engraved chart of the colony recently published by Cross.

I beg now to close this communication, which I have the honour to lay before your Excellency, accompanied by a reduced geographical sketch, and two plans of portions of the country traversed: and I respectfully trust that your Excellency will feel fully satisfied, upon a perusal of this report, that I have endeavoured, to the utmost of my ability, to render perfect my journey of the last year, overland from the colony, by carrying on my sketch through the Dividing Range to the banks of the Brisbane river and shores of Moreton Bay, and thus filling up the map of the country by the very ample material collected in the progress of my several excursions to the parallel of 27 deg. S.

TO CHARLES TELFAIR, ESQ. 67

Brisbane Town, Brisbane River, Moreton Bay
16th Sept. 1828.

My Dear Sir,

A very favorable opportunity being at this period afforded me to communicate you from this Penal Settlement where I have been occupying myself

65 The manuscript has in the margin “See Sketch B”. This sketch exists in several original copies, two of which are in the Survey Office, Brisbane (MT 56) reproduced here as Figs. 49 and 51. The sketch gives 1 September 1828 as the date of the excursion.
67 Telfair was a botanist at Mauritius.
with much success in several branches of science since 1st July last, I rejoice
to avail myself of it. It occurs in consequence of the Boradino having landed
a number of convict felons at this place of secondary transportation in her
passage to Mauritius, where, I understand, the Captain of this fine roomy
ship has a cargo for the London market awaiting him. I rejoice, moreover,
to write you at this time although hastily, because my excellent friend Dr.
Nesbott of the Navy, who is returning to England, is a passenger on board,
and who has kindly taken charge of this letter to you, together with a
small paper packet likewise bearing your address of which I shall speak
presently.68

I left the colony for this settlement in June last, accompanied by our
mutual friend Mr. Fraser the Colonial Botanist who also informs me that
he has not received letters from you for a lengthy time past. We have been
botanizing on the River together with varying success since last July, and
although our collections of specimens are not extensive, still those we have
detected in flower and fruit are highly interesting as they belong to genera
not at all known at Port Jackson or the circumjacent country, but to parts of
the coast of this ample continent far remote from us within the tropic.
We have however taken up many living plants which it is our design to
transport to the colony. Those collected by Mr. Fraser, who has left me for
Sydney, being intended for his Botanical Garden, whilst mine, when fully
established, will be transmitted to the Royal Gardens, Kew, by the wool
ships of February next. To Mr. Fraser the whole has been a new scene and
to myself the leisurely examination of the forests that densely invest the banks
of the Brisbane has proved most interesting, and even beneath their shade I
have met with many plants the daily subject of our admiration when attached
to the voyages of Captain P. King on the distant intertropical shores of this
continent.

Among the plants of this River, our attention has been particularly directed
to the timber trees: *Flindersia australis* of that able botanist Mr. Brown who
discovered it, I think, at Broad Sound on the coast in 1802, where it rises to a
small tree under 20 feet. I have met with here [a specimen] 80 to 100 feet
high and 3 feet diameter at its base; its wood, however, having been tried,
is not used, being soft. At this season it bears its echinated fruits fully matured,
which have supplied us with abundance of well-ripened seeds.

A second timber of close grain, and from its colour named yellow wood,
is however in general estimation, being applicable to all the purposes of
house carpentry, ship building, etc. It is of the same natural class (Cedreleae
of Brown) as *Flindersia*, next to which it will stand in the arrangement.

68 Here follows a long plea for Telfair to reply to his correspondence.
Another timber recently discovered and which proves to be a fine wood for cabinet works is the tulip wood, which I have not succeeded in detecting in flower or fruit. From habit, however, I am satisfied it is of the Meliaceae, and it is probable to be a congener of the rose wood of our Colony, the *Trichilia glandulosa* of Smith. The tulip wood forms a tree 60 feet high, and in bulk is from 1 to $\frac{1}{2}$ feet in diameter.

Another timber not in use, but I think would prove an acquisition to cabinet makers when better known, is what is here called the silk oak. It is of Proteaceae, and of the genus *Grevillea*, but of a species yet unpublished. I have called it *G. excelsa*; it rises to a height of 80 or 90 feet and I have measured trunks at their base, which gave a diameter of 2 feet 9 inches.

The pine, a third species of *Araucaria*, towers over all other plants. It exceeds 100 feet in height, and is fully 4½ to 5 feet in diameter. It is so truly cylindrical in the barrel that it preserves such a width from its base up to 50 feet, when it begins to branch off and gradually to taper upwards. It furnishes fine spars for masts, and its planks are in general use.

I have seen and examined a tree bearing a fruit here called the Lime, which has been lately discovered in the woods and in consequence of its acidity been held up to general notice, having proved useful as an antiscorbutic. It forms a tree 30 to 75 feet high with small myrtle-like leaves, and with branches furnished with spines. From several that had been cut down for my examination, I have collected specimens bearing young fruit... it is most clearly of *Aurantieae* of Correa (*Annales de Mus. Vol. VI*), but whether a *Citrus*, or a *Limonia* I am just now unable to say. This can only be determined by its flowers.

Of the new *Calostemma* (a genus related to *Pancratium*) of these woods I have collected a few bulbs. This interesting plant I forwarded to Kew four years ago from these forests, where alone it has been sparingly met with; and as it flowered in the Royal Establishment, Dr. Hooker has, through a brother of mine, made acquaintance with it.

Of parasitical orchideae the old Linnaean *Epidendrum* I have now discovered several new and beautiful plants which belong to the genera *Cymbidium* and *Dendrobium*.

Whilst on the botanical researches of this part of our Colony, I will just mention one more plant of which I send you a few seeds. It is what is not inaptly called here the Chestnut which is eaten, when roasted, by the aborigines as well as the runaway convicts. Its branches and foliage form a beautiful shade and the tree altogether is highly ornamental...

I have collected some interesting geological specimens and have prepared several skins of rare birds, and with the skin of a woman an aborigine which I have obtained with the design to send home to Sir Everard Home. I have in my possession some curious and novel facts respecting the natives, of
their custom of flaying persons of some rank among them who have fallen in battle. The mode of performing this operation was witnessed by a runaway convict, who had been living with them for two years; and the method of drying the skin previous to its being carried about with them in their wanderings to remind them that a great warrior once lived among them.

With geographical views, I climbed soon after my arrival here the heights adjacent to the settlement, and with infinite pleasure and gratification at once recognized many remarkable features of the country lying East of the Dividing Range and seen in June 1827 from the points of these mountains to which my party had then penetrated and of which I wrote to you by Dr. Wilson twelve months ago! On that long journey of mine, on which I employed 11 horses and 6 convicts, you may recollect that on approaching the parallel of 28° S under the meridian of 152° E, I reached the base of a primary or leading range of mountains lying nearly in the direction of the meridian and dividing the waters of the interior from those flowing into the Brisbane on our East coast. You may recollect that I told you that we discovered a sumptuous pastoral country lying on the Western side of these mountains, of unknown extent, as time was not afforded me to explore more than I did. That we at once saw that this fine country was alone accessible, if at all, from the Brisbane River, as in consequence of the extreme difficulties of the country through which we passed from the colony, no one would for a moment think of driving cattle or sheep overland from it to them. Therefore the discovery of a passage over the Dividing Range easterly to the Brisbane River and Moreton Bay was the thing to be desired. This I partially then effected upon finding a gap or pass or hollow-back thus through which a road might apparently be constructed, but my time would only allow me to look at it and take a few bearings of remarkable points by which I could at once recognize the spot, should I have an opportunity from this settlement to visit the range. This opportunity I have found, and availing myself of it about a month ago I equipped myself with the necessities for travelling, and accompanied by 8 men with 2 bullocks bearing our luggage, I determined to visit the hollow-back, and in a careful examination of it from the eastward, determine how far it would be practicable to construct a road through it by which a direct communication would be opened from the sea.

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69 He is probably thinking of Finnegan, who was a ticket-of-leave convict but not a runaway. Finnegan lived about seven months as a castaway (see Fight Witnessed by Finnegan, November 1823). Fraser’s journal for 27 July 1828 refers to Finnegan’s story, and also describes the skin obtained by Cunningham.

70 Mt. Coottha. See Fraser’s journal for 6 July 1828.

71 Darling Downs.

72 Here is given a sketch of Mt. Mitchell, Cunningham’s Gap, and Mt. Cordeaux from the eastern side, a copy of Fig. 50.
coast and River Brisbane and Great Western Downs. To my utmost gratification I found a beautiful open level thinly-wooded grazing country, tolerably watered, stretching from the point from which I started, 73 south-westerly to within three miles of the mountain gap, and as 2 3/4 miles of this distance was along a ridge of forest hills of singularly gradual rise to the very base of the gap itself to which you could drive your carriage without danger, only 1/4 of a mile or about 1200 yards remained to surmount all difficulty of the route. At that distance would carry the traveller into the mouth of the gap which is very level for half a mile, and then the ground gradually falls westerly to the Darling Downs, distance 15 miles. In the 1/4 of a mile exists all difficulty of the route, and in the construction of a public road up into the gap, the skill of an experienced engineer, the labours of a strong gang of men, and a little money, will be called into action. There is no rock to blast, for the difficulty is in the steepness of the acclivity, which is of a loose rich soil and stony, the sharpness of which may be taken off by winding round the side of the mountain instead of doing what I did – ascend the very face of it at once.

The distance of this pass from Brisbane Town is 54 miles, and in consequence of a tributary 74 of the Brisbane River being navigable several miles from its confluence the land distance is reduced to 38 miles, in which space there are several very beautiful spots at which a day’s stage might terminate, where there is abundance of fine grass and running water through the year.

The results of this little excursion are simply these:– The opening of a vast undefined range of pastoral country lying on the Western side of the Dividing Range in 28°S. to a growing agricultural community, by ascertaining the facility by which a road could be made through a hollow back of the range, by which, as far as our research has extended, the grazing lands seen last year are alone accessible from the sea.

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73 Ipswich.
74 The Bremer River.
Cunningham revisited Brisbane Town in May 1829. As he had been curious about the origin of the Brisbane River since his visit with Oxley in 1824, he now set out on an expedition to determine its source. He left Ipswich on 14 June, but was prevented from tracing the river northwards by the high water level at the fording places and the thick bush on the hills. He therefore followed the present route of the Western and Southern Railway, through Rosewood, Laidley, and Gatton, and up Lockyer Creek to Lockyer. He then turned south and climbed Mt. Davidson (2019 feet). Returning eastward, he discovered the mineral salt deposits of Helidon, and followed Lockyer Creek to the Brisbane River.

He then followed the Brisbane north, and climbed Mt. Esk. At his northernmost point (near Moore) he climbed a peak (his "Lister's Peak"), and thereby satisfied himself that the Brisbane has its source east of the Dividing Range. He returned to Ipswich on 21 July.

He remained at Brisbane Town until 10 September or later, preparing a plan of the settlement, making astronomical observations to determine its precise latitude and longitude, and adding to his botanical collection in preparation for his return to England.

The text of this chapter, hitherto unpublished, is Cunningham’s report to Governor Darling of 12 December 1829. The original is A1751 in the Mitchell Library. Further information has been taken from Cunningham’s field book SZ32 in the Archives Office of New South Wales; his letter to Sir Thomas Mitchell of 12 December 1829, in the Papers of Sir Thomas Mitchell, the original of which is A291 in the Mitchell Library; and Cunningham’s “Observations made at the Penal Settlement on the Brisbane River, Moreton Bay in 1828 [and 1829]”, which is *D79–4 in the Mitchell Library.

CUNNINGHAM’S REPORT TO GOVERNOR DARLING

Parramatta, 12th December 1829.

Sir,

I did myself the honour, twelve months since, to lay before your Excellency, the results of a journey I had undertaken in the winter of 1828, to the southward of Brisbane town Moreton Bay, chiefly with the view of connecting
with that penal settlement the point (at the western base of the Dividing Range in the parallel of 28° South) to which I was enabled to penetrate northerly from the Colony in my long journey of 1827. In the progress of my last year’s excursion from Bremer’s River to the “Pass” through the Dividing Range, I made such observations (from elevated stations in my line of route) on the aspect of the country lying to the North and Northwest, as led me to the conclusion that, notwithstanding the evident undulations of the ground, it would present no insurmountable difficulties to the traveller, to prevent a penetration to the northwestern interior — the principal or dividing range, so bold and precipitous between the parallels of 27° and 29°, appearing apparently of smaller elevation to the northward of those latitudes.

During my second visit to Moreton Bay last winter, an opportunity was afforded me to look into that curiously featured country.¹ I therefore, having previously attended to my own particular duties,² as far as the season favoured me, prepared myself for an excursion, northwesterly from the Limestone Station,³ Bremer’s River, avowedly to ascertain not simply the capabilities and character of the vegetation of the country lying in that direction, but with the view also of acquiring more certain information than we already possessed respecting the origin of the Brisbane River, by which it is watered, and which was at one period⁴ supposed to be chiefly supported by the overflow of our internal marshes, during seasons of long protracted rains.

[14 JUNE] Accordingly, with an equipment (promptly afforded me by Captain Logan, the very able Commandant) of three pack-bullocks, two extra servants and provisions for five weeks, I proceeded on the 14th June last on this excursion from the Limestone Station and I have now the honour to communicate for your Excellency’s information, extracts from notes made during its progress, accompanying these by a geographical sketch, exhibiting the diversified features of the country traversed, and marking the line of route pursued.⁵

It was originally my intention to have prosecuted my journey to the N.W. by tracing the Brisbane up, as far as it might be found practicable to travel on its immediate banks, and accordingly, we shaped our first course to the North over a patch of indifferent forest ground examined last year, and in about four miles, came upon the river at Red Cliff Reach, where I intended

¹ The expression “curiously featured country” was used in Cunningham’s “Observations made at the Penal Settlement on the Brisbane River”, which Cunningham wrote at the same time.
² Duties as H.M. Botanical Collector.
³ Ipswich.
⁴ 1824, Oxley and Cunningham (Oxley, Field Books, 19 and 23 September; Cunningham, Journal, 21 and 23 September).
⁵ See Fig. 52. Cunningham (Letter, 1829) wrote to Sir Thomas Mitchell, the Surveyor-General, informing him of the sketch.
Lofty main range, densely timbered, supposed to divide the Eastern and Western Waters; pines on the summit.

A broken hummocky country with deep narrow intervening valleys; pines on the ridges.

Forest-hills of steep activity grassy to their summits.

Clear open forest ridges lightly wooded.

Lofty forest ranges grassy to their summits and very thinly wooded.

Lofty mountainous country.

Rich pasturage abounding in game.

Thinly timbered forest ground.

Elevated forest ranges lightly timbered.

Basaltic.

Elevated forest ranges; Pines on the summits.

Level country covered in part with dense brushes.

Broken elevated rocky country; deep ravines of sandstone rock.

Lofty main range, densely timbered.

Lofty forest ranges.

Level country, covered in part with dense brushes.

Broken mountainous country; the ranges very rocky, irregular and precipitous, as observed from the summit of Hay's Peak; 27 June 1829.

Fig. 52. Cunningham's route in 1829. Redrawn for this book from the original, MT 55, in the Survey Office, Brisbane.
to have crossed to the opposite or left bank, by the hard gravelly ford I had formerly observed in that particular part of the river. This however we could not effect, there being a considerable flood in the river, which, occupying the entire breadth of the channel to the depth of several feet, swept with irresistible force over its pebbly bed. We were therefore obliged to stand off to the Westward, in order to avoid the rocky ridges on its bank, before we could continue our course northerly. Upon effecting seven miles (by the odometer) we reached, in the midst of sterile forest ground, a patch of sound grass, when finding the stowage of our baggage required some alteration, I was induced to halt and encamp.\(^7\)

[15 June] Upon resuming our course to the N.W. on the morning of the 15th with the fullest expectation of again gaining the bank of the river, early in the day, we were not a little disappointed to find our progress northerly effectually stopped at our third mile by brushes, twenty feet high, of great density, and rendered the more difficult of penetration by the twining shrubs, with which these thickets were matted together.

Repeatedly we attempted to push our way through them, at several apparent openings (being satisfied, from the appearance of the hills\(^8\) at east, that the river was not above three miles from us in that direction), but as often were we repulsed, after penetrating upwards of half a mile. We then found these brushes, which appeared of considerable breadth, and stretched several miles to the westward were perfectly impervious; in no part to be penetrated by heavily laden bullocks. The plants of these jungles were chiefly of the same species as those that occupy the brushes on the Brisbane in the vicinity of the settlement; I however gathered some few specimens of plants not previously detected in flower.

[16–17 June] During the two succeeding days we continued our journey, on the outer skirts of the brush which trended in a South and Southwesterly direction, and in our progress attempted on reaching a range of hills of moderate elevation to pass over to the Northward. Close thickets on their summits again defeated our endeavours, obliging us to regain the level barren forest ground at South.

At the close of our stage of the 17th we perceived we had passed to the Westward of these jungles, and on continuing South-westerly over an extensive flat, heavily timbered with Blue Gum, at length reached a deep

\(^6\) At the present Kholo Bridge, 1 September 1828 (Cunningham, Report). See Fig. 51.
\(^7\) Near the present Pine Mountain railway station.
\(^8\) Pine-covered hills like Pine Mountain and Mt. Araucaria (Oxley, Field Books, 23 September 1824).
channelled creek9 dipping southerly to Bremer's River, where, on meeting with water in a stagnant state, we again rested our bullocks.

The position of this encampment, reduced from the meridional altitude observed at noon, was in latitude 27° 39' South, showing that in consequence of the brushy character of the country we were actually two miles to the South of the station on Bremer's River, whence we had some days previously taken our departure, and which bore from our tents E\^N not more than twelve miles. The flat on which we had halted, furnished some range of cattle pasture, although in general the country we had traversed proved of a very inferior description, both in point of soil and vegetable products.

[18 JUNE] From this encampment, the open character of the country at length enabled us to pursue a western course towards the base of the Dividing Range, the dark towering heads of which, appearing distant about fifteen miles. Our line of route (W. by S.) led us through a continuation of the grassy flat, equidistant from the creek which meandered through it from the westward,10 and the brushy base of a range of rocky hills, bounding it on the North and Northwest, upon the summits of which we here and there remarked the lofty heads of the pine.

A number of natives, whose march before us to the Westward, we had observed the very recent traces of, we at length passed, whilst proceeding onward through the centre of the grassy flat. These Indians, who were in the brushes at the foot of the range immediately north of us, appeared very actively employed with their hatchets, procuring food from the trees, and as they made no advance towards us, we passed by quietly without molestation. On reaching the head of the flat at our fourth mile, we climbed a succession of forest ridges, and soon found ourselves surrounded by lofty hills, constituting a lateral dividing range,11 separating those waters that fall into the Bremer, from others that we afterwards discovered took a northerly course.12 Having made our usual stage, and as our cattle showed fatigue, I was glad to descend to a narrow valley beneath us, where, readily finding water, we rested on the afternoon of the 18th.13 Portions of the country around us were either in flames or smoking, and the natives, who had fired the dry grasses, which had spread far and wide among the hills, we heard in the confined vale, where we had encamped.

Whilst we were in the act of selecting a spot on which to pitch our tents, we unexpectedly came upon two women and some children, who were sitting

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9 Western Creek at Rosewood.
10 Western Creek.
11 The Little Liverpool Range.
12 Laidley Creek.
13 Near Grandchester.
over the trunk of a tree on fire. They instantly ran off, with their children on their shoulders, and setting up a loud cry immediately brought the men to them. This small group of Indians, after recovering from their alarm, took a distant peep at us, and then retiring to a remote part of the vale, led us to conclude we should see their faces no more.

After dusk however, these savages called out to us from a ridge immediately at the back of our tents; to which we replied by signs, inviting them to approach us in a friendly manner, which (after some hesitation) they did; and in order to assure them of our peaceable dispositions, some bread was given to them, and a pair of scissors, the use of which was just previously shown them by clipping their hair. This proved a most acceptable present, but I soon discovered that if encouraged, they would soon become exceedingly troublesome, since everything they saw about our persons, they coveted; particularly our hats, which, by signs they signified, would be very useful to them to carry wild honey in, which they obtain in abundance from hollow trees in this part of the country.

I therefore gladly dismissed them, by making signs for their departure, we ourselves retiring to our tents, which they would not approach on account of our dogs, who were not without difficulty restrained from attacking those defenceless Indians who consisted of five persons - two men of middle age, two boys, and a young woman apparently about twenty-one years of age.

[19 JUNE] Having the preceding evening ascertained how far we could pass northerly over the lateral ridge of hills, which stretch to the Eastward from the main dividing range, we, with the utmost confidence, and at an early hour of the morning of the 19th commenced the labours of the day, before the natives, whose encampment we concluded was not far distant, were stirring. We had scarcely left our fires, and began the ascent of the hills on the western side of the vale, before we were hailed by these savages, and immediately we perceived four persons following us. The acclivity we found exceedingly gradual, and as the ridges were grassy, and free for the most part from loose stones, our bullocks travelled on at a good brisk pace.

In three miles, we gained the pitch of this secondary dividing ridge, and on looking westerly beheld an apparently fine open country, with a plain and thinly-timbered woodland. The declivity westerly proved equally easy, the only care required was to observe to keep upon the declining back of the principal ridge - all others dipping into narrow, rocky, and difficult ravines.

Noon found us again on the common level, in a valley leading out to the open country before us, the observed latitude of which was 27° 38' 30" South. Another mile carried us on the skirts of a strip of plain, lying North and South, apparently four miles in length. Distant about half a mile, we observed the line of course of a creek shaded by Swamp Oak, bending
northerly through the plain; we therefore crossed the latter tract and again
rested, opposite a hole of stagnant water of nevertheless a good quality.
This water-course, which originates in a part of the neighbouring main
dividing range, bore evident marks of being in wet seasons a considerable
creek; since traces of the rise of floods were observed twenty feet high;
but from its present dry appearance, it was clear no water of any moment
had fallen into it during the last two years.

We had scarcely pitched our tents, before the four natives, who had followed
us over the range, appeared on the opposite margin of the plain, where we
perceived they made a fire, with probably the intention of roasting some
game, which we remarked (whilst passing the ridge) they had taken from the
hollow trees. Fearing to approach us, they called out, but we had determined
not to encourage, or even appear to notice them. As the grass of the plain
had been of luxuriant growth, and was at this time so exceedingly dry that
when once fired, it would be impossible to arrest the progress of the flames,
I conceived it possible that these savages might, from malicious motives set
the whole on fire, with the view of destroying our baggage, no part of which
they clearly perceived from our reserved conduct towards them, they could
possibly become possessed of. With this impression, and as a precautious
step, I directed several large branches of sapling trees on the creek to be
cut ready to beat out any fire that might be advancing over to our side of the
plain, which moreover, on the change of the wind, happened to be to leeward.
All remained tranquil for about three hours; occasionally they hailed us but
received no reply. At length we perceived their numbers had become increased
to seven persons, and as they had begun to separate from each other, as if
with the design of surrounding us, I was convinced they were bent on mis­
chief. Watching the opportunity when my people had sat down to get their
dinners, the eldest native set fire to the dry grass, and then stooping down,
that he might not be seen, he ran along the opposite skirts of the plain,
carrying a fire-brand, and igniting as he went; the others did the same in an
opposite direction, and thus, in a few moments (the wind having materially
freshened in their favour) an extensive line of flame appeared to windward
of us, making rapid advances, towards our little encampment.

Instantly I ordered a semicircle of smaller dimensions to be burnt round
us, one hundred yards from the tents and about twelve feet broad. Such
was the violence of the wind, and the dry nature of the grass and herbage,
that we had very great difficulty in beating out the inner margin of the fire
we had made; in effecting which, with the branches I had fortunately got
previously cut, my people were sadly scorched. However, our lives and baggage
were at stake, and under my direction and encouraging cheers, my servants

14 Laidley Creek, near Laidley.
behaved admirably. Meanwhile the enemy's flames were with an appalling noise and rapidity approaching us. The heat was excessive; the columns of black smoke that were driven before the wind almost stifled us, whilst the red hot flakes of burnt stubble flew about us in a most terrific manner.

Such was the force of the wind that it required our utmost exertion to prevent our own flames from approaching the encampment, and before we could put them out, the natives' fire had joined a patch of them, and having spread within fifty yards of my tent, beat back my people who were labouring seemingly in vain to check its progress. When I observed my people were forced for the moment to retire before the flames, I conceived destruction to our baggage as inevitable, and was just in the act of directing them to tear up my tent, and drag it, with certain portions of the baggage over to a neighbouring burnt patch, when (as by a kind interposition of Providence) the wind veered round more to the Southward and Eastward, and freshening, blew the body of flame past us into the creek, where, meeting with much green herbage and grass, it was soon extinguished. In a few minutes, the smoke was also blown past us, and although we beheld what had been a short period previously a matted grassy sward, now a blackened waste, we nevertheless congratulated ourselves on being delivered from what at one moment we viewed as certain destruction. All was tranquillity again, with the exception that occasionally the natives (again collected round their little fire on the opposite side of the plain) gave us a yell of disappointment, that their diabolical purposes had been thus defeated. Conceiving from our exposed situation that we were rather open to the further attacks of these Indians under cover of the night, we placed ourselves in a perfect state of defence. Our guns and pistols were loaded, and placed ready to meet any sudden attack that might be attempted, and in order to prevent surprise, I directed a two-hour watch to be kept among the people until daybreak, and having planted my first sentry at a Gum tree immediately behind the tents, retired myself to rest. During the night the natives were not heard, and at six o'clock in the morning of the 20th, having partaken of a hasty breakfast, we broke up our encampment, and crossing the creek, prosecuted our journey to the N.W. over a small patch of the plain to a piece of forest ground. As my intention was only to make a small advance from the presence of these treacherous savages, and the ground, that by reason of its blackness, and the circumstances connected with it, had cast a gloom over us, the moment we reached an open piece of dry forest land convenient to waters, which we did at our second mile on the edge of the plain, I halted, directing the tents to be again set up.\(^{15}\) During the day, we were upon the lookout on all sides, but the natives did not again make their appearance.

\(^{15}\) Probably about 1 mile north-west of Dyers Swamp.
The situation of our encampment was as follows; the observed latitude was 27° 36' 58" South which placed our tents due west from the Limestone Station and as the difference of the meridians of the two spots, by bearings to points geographically fixed last year was 23° 30", our longitude was 152° 24' 00" East.

[21 JUNE] Having afforded our bullocks ample rest,

[22 JUNE] we broke up our encampment to commence the labours of the week. Quitting the forest ground, we stood N.W. across the plain, and in two miles, on passing the deep but dry channel of a creek, again reached the wooded land. We perceived whilst on this fine plain, its larger portion stretched upward of three miles to the N.E., its length from north to south being not less than five miles.

The soil appeared of a rich description, partaking of a loam, with a decomposition of the Trap-rocks of the neighbouring hills. This fine patch of timbered land, which I have named Laidley's Plain (as a compliment to our present Deputy Commissary-General) would therefore produce very heavy crops of maize and other grain, and is naturally clothed with abundance of excellent pasture.

We now traversed an indifferent forest country about eight miles, when we intersected the deep bed of a river, containing water however, only in stagnant pools, but from the marks of floods and the distance of its outer banks (from 100 to 120 yards) it evidently constitutes the leading drain of this tract of country. Its steep grassy banks were shaded by large and graceful specimens of the Native Chestnut (*Castanospermum australe*). As the course of this stream was observed to be from the westward towards the ENE, I had no doubt of its being (as it afterwards proved to be) Lockyer's Creek of Cross's Chart, that being the only tributary stream worthy of notice that was seen by Major Lockyer, whilst on his boat excursion up the Brisbane in 1825, between the Bremer and the extreme point (under Mt. Brisbane) at which that officer's voyage had terminated.

Some few traces of natives were remarked on the small timber in the country through which we passed, and on reaching this creek, their hatchets were heard below the spot on which we had rested.

[23 JUNE] On the following morning, we crossed the channel of Lockyer's Creek and resuming our course to the N.W. passed over, about two miles of good forest pasture, watered by a chain of deep ponds which eventually drained

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16 Sandy Creek.
17 In the vicinity of Laidley Creek and Sandy Creek.
18 Lockyer Creek, about 1 mile upstream from Gatton.
into the creek. The succeeding three miles of this day's stage extended in a WNW direction through a barren and frequently brushy country to the base of a range of grassy wooded hills bounding us at North and Northwest. This forest ground was undulated and broken by dry water courses, the soil exceedingly poor, in quality partaking much of the debris of the rocks of the adjacent hills, which I remarked to be a coarse-grained Sandstone.

Meeting with a sufficiency of water for ourselves and cattle in a rocky gully from the hills, I halted for the day, and having observed the latitude (27° 32' 10" South) which still placed us South of Brisbane town, I climbed a rocky head of the range, the base of which we had reached, with the intention of obtaining from its summit a set of bearings, and make at the same time observations on the country before us to govern me in my future movements. Elevated as the ridge really was, such was the wooded character of other branches of these hills about it that but a limited view was afforded me. Southerly however, bearings were taken to several remarkable points, of my last year's journey, to assist me in determining my present situation, its latitude having been observed.

At East a vast extent of flat wooded country appeared, with a patch of plain, distant about ten miles. Through this level tract, Lockyer's Creek was observed to wind in a Northeastern direction towards the Brisbane.

At North and Northwest the view was intercepted by lofty ranges, on which the Araucaria or Pine was very conspicuous. Directing the eye to the S.W. towards the Dividing Range, which at that bearing retires, and forms a recess behind, or to the Westward of some very remarkable mounts, we could perceive (over its main ridge) a most extensive tract of level country, bounded only by a very distant faint blue line of horizon.

These observations being made, we descended to the lower lands, and in our way to the tents, suddenly alarmed some women and children, who instantly retired to a distant part of the forest towards others, whose stone hatchets we had previously heard about a mile from our encampment. On the forest ridge we had ascended, which was grassy and very level on the summit, I stood a moment to admire my Acacia podalyriaefolia, discovered last year on the Birnam Range. This sumptuous mimosa now bore a most rich profusion of flowers, in panicles of large size, which nodded to the breeze and diffused an agreeable odour over every part of the range; and being of a splendid yellow colour, formed a striking contrast with the mealy-hued foliage. With this truly ornamental plant, the range afforded me specimens of several

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19 Three miles north of Grantham.
20 Between Gatton College and Lake Clarendon.
22 Branches bearing two or more flowers.
other shrubs, particularly of a *Hovea* — a genus of the extensive family *Leguminosae*, with blue flowers.

The rock formation was a sandstone, which in many places on the slopes of the range was so far decomposed as to crumble away, on being trod on.

**[24 JUNE]** Early on the 24th we continued our journey to the Westward, observing, as we pursued our way, immediately beneath the northern hills, the land although sandy on the surface, had a good subsoil, which nourished a heavy clothing of luxuriant grass and herbage. Our line of route intersected at right angles several water-courses, two of which were very stony, and all at this season perfectly dry. These served to convey the rains from the hills on our right, to Lockyer's Creek, but like the channels of all mountain torrents, the moment the rains cease, they immediately drain off to the lower grounds, and soon exhibit a bare bed.

In some of these channels, we remarked shrubs that usually grow in arid situations; this fact afforded us another manifest proof of the many we have had in each day's stage, of the very long period of drought, to which these, in common with other parts of New South Wales, have been subjected. It was truly astonishing nevertheless to observe, in parts of this day's stage beneath the hills the verdant aspect of vegetation generally, which could only receive that support from absorbed dews at night, which the solar ray evaporates by day.

Continuing, through an open wooded country to our eighth mile, we found water in the midst of a small swamp, bounded by a crescent of low thinly-wooded hills, where, as our cattle were much fatigued, I again called a halt.23

Of the several kangaroos seen in this day's march, our dogs assisted us to secure one — the largest we have ever seen. It proved to be an old buck, of great courage and strength, on whom our dogs made several ineffectual attempts to close, but as often were beat off. One of the most resolute, an animal of considerable power and weight, this kangaroo caught up in his forepaws and held off the ground, and but for one of my people coming up at the moment, and lodging the heavy contents of a musket in his body, which killed him, the poor dog would in all probability have been severely injured. We observed at this stage of our journey no new birds; the green parrots and parroquets procured last year are in flocks in these uninteresting forests, and are particularly noisy in the morning.

Native dogs gave us a doleful yell at night, and by their disposition to prowl immediately around our tents, appeared as if they would fain have made friends with our own, for a piece of kangaroo flesh.

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23 Two miles north-west of Helidon.
[25 June] We now found ourselves environed by ranges of considerable elevation, but trusting from their broken irregular appearance, that we might succeed in effecting a passage among them to the N.W. we prosecuted our journey in that direction on the morning of the 25th. At our second mile, we again reached the bank of Lockyer's Creek, at a part where it was about sixty yards in width, and formed a handsome reach. As it had taken a bend from the N.E. towards the South, and interrupted the further prosecution of our course to the N.W. we examined its bank upwards for a ford, but its waters were everywhere of considerable depth and full of weeds. Another mile to the N.E. brought us to a very difficult rocky country, and a succession of deep precipitous ravines of sandstone, falling one after another into the creek, effectually put a stop to our further progress. Seeing that we had penetrated into a broken elevated country immediately connected with the Dividing Range, and that there was no possibility of advancing further, either to the N.W., N, or N.E., we retired Southerly and in two miles came upon a bend of the creek, lower down than we had previously met with it, where we found a ford, by which we passed to its right bank and encamped.

In front of the principal or dividing range, which here (in 27° 35' South) recedes some miles to the Westward, and as before remarked, forms a remarkable recess or crescent, we observed four mounts, of which one bearing S.W. about five miles formed a cone of sufficient elevation apparently to overlook the surrounding highlands.

[26 June] I therefore determined to climb its summit, to make further observations on this irregularly-featured country, before we quitted it altogether. With this intention we quitted the creek on the 26th and pursued our way S.W. towards this conical mount, which subsequently received the name of Hay's Peak. At our third mile, having previously passed over some tolerable grazing patches in the forest ground, the land began to assume a barren cast, and jungles again occupied the surface, among which we managed to advance another half mile, when these brushes uniting formed one dense mass, and obliged us to stop on the margin of a rocky gully, in which fortunately, sufficient water for our consumption was discovered, of a good quality, although stagnant, in excavations in the sandstone rock.

[27 June] At six o'clock of the following morning, I proceeded from our encampment accompanied by one of my people, to ascend Hay's Peak, which bore S.W. about two miles.

24 At Lockyer.
25 Two miles south-east of Lockyer.
26 Mt. Davidson (Sugarloaf), 2019 feet.
27 Puzzling Gully.
Immediately on quitting the tents, we entered thick brushes from fifteen to twenty feet in height which, on penetrating their dense skirts, we found within sufficiently open and free from vines, as to allow us to travel forward by means of our compass, direct, and without difficulty. Continuing on the acclivity, we climbed (in about a mile) the summit of a leading ridge, occasionally having a peep at the peak through the thickets. At length the ascent became difficult, not simply by reason of the angle of the acclivity and the density of the jungle, which we observed, alike clothed every part of the mountain, but in consequence of the fragments of loose whin stone, which form patches on its more elevated slopes, giving way, every step we trod. By dint of great exertion we gained the apex of this cone, the area of which we found not to exceed seven yards in breadth, from which we remarked it fell nearly at the same angle on all sides. This peak, although it overlooked all other elevations of the ridge of which it now appeared to form a part, proved to my disappointment to be lower by perhaps 500 feet than the crescent of dividing range west of it.

We were therefore prevented making any observation on the aspect of the country from N. to S. by the way of West from this eminence; but excellent bearings were taken to Flinders' Peak and Mount Forbes, which with other observations enabled me satisfactorily to fix the geographical situation of this commanding station and adjacent points, on the chart. I now clearly saw, the only direction in which I could possibly travel during the succeeding week was to the Eastward, along Lockyer's Creek to its junction with the Brisbane, up the bank of which river, if not further interrupted by thicket, I determined to pursue my journey to the Northward.

A singular flat-topped hill, without a tree on its summit, but clothed with grass, as yellow as ripened wheat, and bearing N.W. two miles, was named Twiss' Table-mount, whilst another woody, with many a craggy rock, distant also two miles, to the S.E. received the title of Mount Meyer, in compliment to gentlemen belonging to the Colonial Office.

Having made all the observations we could, from the pinnacle of this mountain, we descended to the tents, which we reached sufficiently early in the afternoon to allow of our return to our last encamping ground on Lockyer's Creek about sunset. In the jungles that clothe not only Hay's Peak but the neighbouring hills, we shot several of the large Wonga pigeons (Columba

28 Mt. Walker.
29 Mt. Tabletop, 2000 feet.
30 Rocky Knob, 1850 feet. As Twiss and Meyer were at the Colonial Office, it is probable that Hay's Peak was named after Robert William Hay (1768–1861), Under Secretary at the Colonial Office, 1825–36.
picata Latham), and observed the traces of the brush turkey, a genuine species of Meleagris, were very numerous and recent. These latter birds, run with such fleetness through these close woods, that without a dog trained to such service, they are not to be seen, much less shot. I was surprised to meet in the dark shades of these brushes, with numbers of land or fresh-water shells, forming two very distinct species of the Genus Helix; one of which I had not before met with.

It was of large flat depressed form, having many whorles like H. cornea of Conchologists, but of larger size, and in shape exceedingly like the fossil Planorbidis (see Ure’s new system of geology) found in Marl in France. I sought diligently for inhabited specimens, but found all were dead shells around me, nor did it appear that they had been otherwise for a considerable length of time. It therefore seemed probable that these brushes are not the native places of the species, but rather wet situations in the hollows in the base of the hills, from which birds may have carried them to these more elevated thickets, where, upon eating out the Limae inhabiting them, the shell is left to bleach, and eventually decompose.

The flora of these shades is identically that of the Brisbane River and one shrub not before seen in any state of fructification now afforded me specimens in flower. It proved to be a new species of Pilocarpus—a genus of the natural family Rutaceae. We also met with a bulbous plant of the Amaryllideae or lily kind, and of the genus Calostemma, which from the acutely elliptical shape of its leaves, may, when it flowers, prove to be C. album, a plant originally discovered by that able botanist Mr. Brown upon the coast within the Tropic, during the Investigator’s voyage of survey in 1801.

In our way back from encampment under Hay’s Peak to that of the 25th on Lockyer’s Creek, my attention was arrested by the snowy-white salt-like appearance of the ground, at a spot clear of trees, a little to the Westward of our line of route. On examination I found an area, of probably the eighth of an acre of surface, coated with an alkaline salt, the incrustation of which in many parts being fully a quarter of an inch in thickness. Immediately beyond this remarkable spot the land rose in moderate easy undulations, and it appeared to me very probable that this mineral, which had evidently been brought to the spot by water, which had evaporated, might be found in quantity in the adjacent higher grounds as it is in other countries where a like crystallized crust on the surface has marked its presence in the neighbourhood. It had a disagreeable taste of Ammonia, and might be combined with an acid. I gathered a quantity of this mineral, of which, on my return to the Colony, I gave small packets to several intelligent friends, for the

31 Part of the Helidon mineral salt deposits.
purpose of analysis, but have not yet learnt its component parts.

The geographical position of the cone of Hay's Peak, which eventually proved to be the westernmost point to which I was enabled to penetrate in this tour, I determined with precision as follows. From a good solar meridional altitude observed at its base I deduced the latitude of its summit to be 27° 35' 45'' South; and longitude, by an excellent set of bearings to points of my last year's excursion, and a careful admeasurement of the interjacent country, 152° 8' 00'' East.

Having rested on Lockyer's Creek the preceding night, we crossed it at our old ford at sunrise of the 28th and travelling down its left bank about eight miles again encamped for the day (being Sunday) on a spot so clear and open as not to allow the natives, whose hatchets we heard around, to surprise us in our tents. At noon our observed latitude placed us in 27° 34' 35'' South.32

The morning of the 29th (Monday) opened to us with a very sharp keen atmosphere. Our thermometer at 6 o'clock stood at 27° Fahrenheit and ice to the thickness of one fourth of an inch crusted water that had stood during the night in our cooking vessels. At eight, we began the labours of the week with the fullest hope of being more successful in our endeavours to penetrate Northeasterly (by tracing in the first instance the creek to its discharge into the Brisbane) than we were in our attempts to advance westerly and northwesterly.

The course on which I directed my people was E.N.E. which we pursued about seven miles through an indifferent forest country, without water; in parts brushed with Dog-wood (*Jacksonia*) the certain proof of a poor hungry soil. Here and there were patches exhibiting a tolerable covering of sound dry sheep pasture, but these were very inconsiderable. Meeting with the creek again at our ninth mile, we rested.33

Throughout the following day's stage, the country assumed upon the whole a less monotonous aspect, although during our first three miles, our course to the Northward easterly led us through a line of flat forest country as level as 'tis possible to conceive, and therefore liable in seasons of long rains to be extensively irrigated; of which fact we had occasionally the clearest evidence. The creek had taken a bend to the Southward of East, and therefore until we sought it, to encamp on, we did not meet with it during the day's stage.

At our fourth mile we came upon the margin of a fine patch of plain about

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32 On Lockyer Creek, 3 miles west of Grantham.
33 About 1 mile east of Gatton.
one and a half miles in diameter, which we crossed to its northeastern angle, where, in consequence of a fall of the level a considerable body of water was collected, on which were remarked numbers of water fowl of the Duck kind, and in the shoal parts, several large birds of the Ardea or Crane genus were stalking, with the utmost leisure, and seemingly without observing us. On the drier parts of this very fertile plain (which I named Hansord’s) we observed several emus feeding amidst a most exuberant growth of vegetation. These gigantic birds were too far distant, and altogether in too open a situation, to allow the fleetest of our dogs the chance of securing one of them. At this, northeastern extremity of Hansord’s Plain, I was again gratified with the sight of several of my last year’s points in the southern country, and to these, bearings were taken, which have proved of value to me.

Hansord’s Plain forms an area of at least one thousand acres, of which the greater portion might be reduced to cultivation by draining, and as the soil itself is remarkably rich it would yield heavy crops of maize. Onward, the forest ground bounded the view for about a mile and a half, when we reached the margin of a second plain, about a mile in length, by half a mile in breadth, the central parts of which were found underwater. Passing this, and on penetrating the wooded lands, we immediately came to a third plain, apparently perfectly dry in every part, of circular form and about a mile in diameter. On its northern edge I ascertained its latitude to be 27° 29' 35” South which still placed us (a mile) south of the parallel of Brisbane Town, and about 35 geographic miles west of that settlement. Our cattle having performed their stage I altered my course to the S.E. and on passing another patch of plain, made the creek, and on halting found we had made good a course E. 20 N. 7° miles. The three last patches of flat, clear of wood, I named Kemp’s Plains – these like the greater portion of the line of country passed over in this day’s stage, afford fine horse and cattle pasture, although certainly too level and moist for sheep. The only trace of natives observed to-day, were on the edge of Hansord’s Plain, near the small shoal-lake there formed. We numbered upwards of twenty frames of huts, which from their dismantled appearance had not been occupied for some months. The timbers of this tract of country at a distance from the creek are in general small and blighted, of Gum, Box and particularly Ironbark. On the creek however, the Blue Gum was observed of large growth; frequently to be seen five feet

34 Lake Clarendon. Hansord’s Plain was named after S.E. Hansord, Deputy Assistant Commissary General at the Moreton Bay Settlement in 1829.
35 The lagoon 1½ miles north-east of Lake Clarendon.
36 On Lockyer Creek, south of Morton Vale. The course referred to is the total mileage from the campsite of 26 June near Mt. Davidson. Kemp’s Plains were probably named after the Commissariat Clerk in charge of the stores at Dunwich from about July 1828.
[1 JULY] diameter at the base. Our advance to the N.E. on the 1st July was eight miles through a continuance of flat country. In five miles, we had the creek immediately on our right, the land on each bank being a succession of grassy meadows, singularly level and occasionally so thinly and lightly wooded, as scarcely to furnish two or three trees in the area of an acre; indeed in some parts, patches of plain broke upon us, without a tree or shrub for half a mile. At this point of our stage, we passed to the southward of an extensive flat, clear of these, but evidently flooded in wet seasons, as the whole appeared covered with reeds.37 After crossing a deep dry ditch dipping Southeasterly (the drain of the flat in wet weather) we passed through a well timbered forest, and then came upon the prevailing thinly wooded lands, verging on the creek, when we again afforded our animals rest.38

I had fully expected in this day's march to have met with the Brisbane, since we were sufficiently advanced to the Eastward to be on the tract of country through which Major Lockyer marks that river to wind.

[2 JULY] However, it was not until we had made five miles further to the N.E. through a level country, that upon reaching the base of some forest hills,39 abounding in grass and stately timber (of Gum and Stringy-bark) we were led to the conclusion that we were in the vicinity of it. The course we had pursued led us away from the creek, the point of confluence of which, with the river, I was desirous of ascertaining the position of. Our course was therefore altered to the S.E. and on intersecting its winding channel, trended easterly, through an undulated tract of timbered land about a mile, when it dropped into the Brisbane, which immediately opened to us, presenting a fine reach to the N.N.W. Selecting a clear grassy spot on the immediate bank of the river above the junction, we pitched our tents, and found this our first encampment on the Brisbane to be situated as follows. Latitude 27° 24' 48" South, Longitude 152° 38' 30" East, the point of junction of the creek and the river being in 27° 25' 20" South,40 the longitude being that of our encampment.

Looking up the river, a range of lofty mountains distant about five or six miles bore N. by E.,41 and on their ridges we could discern the gigantic Araucaria or Pine.

37 The Seven Mile Lagoon.
38 On Lockyer Creek, 2 miles upstream from Watson's Bridge, Clarendon.
39 Wivenhoe Hill and Pine Hill.
40 This is precisely at the present mouth of Lockyer Creek, showing that, even though Cunningham (Fig. 52) and Lockyer (Fig. 25) drew sketches that implied that Lockyer Creek entered the Brisbane River near Lowood, and Lockyer's journal (17 September 1825 at Note 38) also suggests it, they were both mistaken.
41 North of Mt. England.
This morning we began our journey up the river, and as the land on its bank was a grassy open forest, perfectly clear of brush, we were not impeded in our advance to the Northward and Westward. To avoid some small creeks, which near to their points of discharge into the river, formed deep gullies, we found it necessary occasionally to pursue our way at some distance from its bank, again approaching it as the ground favoured us.

At our seventh mile, we intersected the river at right angles, its channel having taken a bend from the Westward, and passing round the elbow formed by the curve it had again made from the Northward having previously crossed a deep creek shaded with the Chestnuts, we again stopped on a spot of dry forest ground, where a small native family were resting at their little fires, but who, on our approach, fled with the utmost precipitation.

Our whole stage was through an excellent tract of grassy country, sufficiently watered by small creeks falling into the river, but indifferentely wooded. The river beneath our encampment formed a fine broad piece of water, apparently of some depth but quite stationary, the fresh that had lately existed having altogether subsided.

The channel at this part appeared at least 100 yards in breadth, yet we observed with surprise the traces of floods twenty-five feet above the then level. The rock formation of this part of the country was remarked to be a sandstone, and in the bed of the river we observed a mass of conglomerate or Breccia in which large rounded pebbles of Quartz and Jasper were cemented. A continuation of fine open moderately hilly country afforded us easy facility to pursue our course to the Northwest on the morning of the 4th.

Upon accomplishing five miles, we found ourselves approaching a beautiful range of mountainous land at N.W. consisting of lofty thinly-timbered forest hills of steep acclivity, and evidently grassy to their summits. This range presented several hummocky heads or projections, commanding

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42 Near Bellevue.
43 This was undoubtedly Logan Creek. As Logan roasted chestnuts on the day he was killed, it seems likely that his last campsite was at Logan Creek. See Logan in Brisbane Valley, 10 - 18 October 1830, and the introduction to Chapter 14.
44 Near Tea-tree Creek.
45 Cunningham has a footnote: "This group of hills was visited by Captain Logan in an excursion which that officer made some time since on the Brisbane, and who named it 'Irwin's Range'." The range is Mt. Esk and the associated hills. In his Report, 5 July 1829, at Note 51 Cunningham stated that Logan's excursion was "some few weeks previously", and as it was probably a week or so prior to Cunningham's excursion from Brisbane Town, it must have been about May 1829. It seems likely that Logan was absent from Brisbane Town when Cunningham arrived, as that would explain why Cunningham was lodged at the hospital instead of (as in 1828) at the Commandant's house (see Observations, 1828 and 1829).
doubtless extensive views, and altogether collectively formed an interesting feature of the landscape.

Along its southern base, a deep wide creek bent its course to the N.E. which after receiving the numerous rills that are formed in the range in a wet season, discharges itself into the river near to a point at which we found it convenient to cross it. Our observation at noon on the margin of this creek gave us for latitude 27° 15' 30" South.

On passing it, we continued to the N.N.E. about two miles over an extensive heavily timbered flat, and on again making the river, rested, our bullocks having performed their usual stage. Our dogs secured a very fine buck Kangaroo, and my people were successful with their hooks, several of the "Cod" of the western rivers and some large eels were taken.

The wandering natives were heard in the evening on the river above us, but they did not make their appearance, nor did we perceive the glare of their fires. Our oxen having travelled for an average ten miles per day during the last week, I was glad to give them repose on the 5th, especially as the pasturage was excellent. This gave me an opportunity of ascending Irwin's Range, the foot of which was about two miles from our encampment to the West. At an early hour of the morning (and accompanied by one of the party) I reached an eminence upon its irregular summit, which we found of sufficient elevation to afford us an extensive prospect of the country at several points of bearing. A broken mountainous country, extending from about East towards the North, proved too lofty to allow us to observe beyond it, otherwise we should have seen those remarkable pyramidal rocks on the coast called the Glass Houses, their distance being (according to the charts) about twenty-nine miles to the N.E. At a distance of not more than eight miles to the N.N.E., and apparently on the opposite side of the river, I recognised the dark-hued mountain upon the back of a range stretching southerly from the Northwest, at the foot of which Major Lockyer (who named it the "Brisbane Mountain") had terminated his boat excursion in 1825. A very irregular hummocky country was observed to extend in W.N. Western and Northwestern directions from the base of Irwin's Range for about twenty-five miles, at which distance (and verging on a flat country) appeared a most remarkable ridge of three distinctly rounded hummocks, to which I gave the

46 Esk Creek.
47 That is, to cross the creek (not the river).
48 Cunningham has this footnote: "The range which this mountain surmounts was traced by the eye (from my station on Irwin's Range) as far easterly as E.N.E. where it appeared to terminate; and along its southern base we observed a dense line of mist which clearly indicated the course of either the Brisbane River itself, or a considerable stream falling into it from the Eastward." The line of mist indicated the Stanley River; see Fig. 52.
name of Craig’s Range. Beyond this very undulated tract, the line of sight intersected the same uniformly level country as was seen from Mount Dumaresq (in 28° 6' South) in my journey of 1827. The eye wandered over a vast internal region, apparently a perfect plane, which (like the ocean) appeared bounded simply by a distant line of horizon.

At Southwest, I took bearings to Hay’s Peak distant about thirty-five miles, having also an extensive view of the entire line of country through which we had penetrated from Laidley’s Plain, and from other stations on this range we recognised all the principal points of the southern country, in the direction of my Pass, Flinders Peak, etc., explored last year. Having completed my observations and gathered some specimens of plants, making at the same time a remark on the rock formation, we returned to our encampment about two p.m. The rock of Irwin’s Range is Trap of which fragments everywhere traced the surface, and its decomposition, producing a rich black soil, sustained a considerable grassy covering even on its highest points. About the southern side of this range, Captain Logan who had, some few weeks previously ascended one of its rocky heads, met with Basaltic columns in nearly a vertical position, forming for the most part three-sided prisms from eight to twelve inches in length, by an inch and a half in diameter.

In our journey to this part of the river, especially in the forest grounds, where the prevailing timber was Ironbark, we frequently observed a species of Parrot, which had not before been noticed, in any other part of the country. They were usually seen in pairs (probably male and female) flying with great rapidity, with a sharp shrill note; and as they were observed very seldom to rest on a tree, no fair opportunity, in their flight over us, was afforded to shoot them. This afternoon however, their well known note gave us notice of these rare birds being in the vicinity. They were immediately seen, and the male bird was shot.

It proved to be a new species of Parrot, about the size of a Blue Mountain bird, but with the plumage of the head, body, and part of the wings, a green, of very different hues, that of the back and part of the wings, a jet black, whilst other portions again of the wings about the shoulders were a bright scarlet, the rump being a rich azureau blue. The female returned soon after,

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50 Mt. Davidson.
51 Probably in May 1829; see Note 45 above.
52 Logan returned to collect specimens of these columns on 17 October 1830 (Logan in Brisbane Valley, 10 – 18 October 1830). Cunningham seems to have carried with him in 1829 some account of Logan’s recent expedition, as well as Lockyer’s journal of 1825 as published by Wilton in the Australian Quarterly Journal; see Notes 59, 73, 74, 86.
in search of her mate, but she was too shy to allow us to approach her, within range of gunshot.

6TH

Pursuing our route to the W.N.W. over the grassy flat, we again met with the river in two miles,\textsuperscript{53} bending from the N.W. and preserving the same character in point of magnitude and depth of water that it had in every part from Lockyer’s Creek. As we were approaching some brushy ridges, clothed with stunted Pine, which stretched from the Westward to the immediate bank of the river, and appeared likely to interrupt our progress, I availed myself of a pretty rapid, and crossing over to an open forest, continued our journey N. by E. about three miles,\textsuperscript{54} when we again made the channel of the river, which had curved from the Eastward, winding at the foot of the hills immediately connected with the Mount Brisbane range. Not being able to recross it, we travelled up its left bank, in expectation of meeting with a shallow by which we could pass to the opposite side, which was bounded by steep grassy ridges extending round the base of the back mountain, the brow of which, overhanging the river, appeared at least 1200 feet in elevation above us.

At noon, I again directed the tents to be pitched, since as far as we had advanced, the river continued broad and deep, with no indication of either fall or shallow being in the neighbourhood. Upon again encamping, and whilst I observed the meridional altitude which placed our encampment in 27° 9’ 50” South, I dispatched a man along the bank to examine the river above us and search for a crossing-place. This was soon found, at a point where there was however a depth of three feet water, but the bottom was hard and not rocky. I therefore, on examining its banks, directed the passage to be cleared of drift timber etc. and early on the 7th we crossed over\textsuperscript{55} without difficulty, and on gaining the rising ground, resumed our course Northwesterly, with the design of endeavouring to obtain (as far as the condition of my oxen and the reduced state of my provisions would allow me) a further knowledge of the stream which flows from the hilly country in that direction, and which Major Lockyer was induced (in 1825) to consider the main river, it being at that period very considerably flooded. Pursuing our way about two miles over an irregular tract of hilly ground, we came to the channel of this stream,\textsuperscript{56} which although at this season nearly without water, its sandy bed being in patches perfectly dry, we nevertheless perceived by the wreck of the freshes on its bank, the direction of its current when charged

\textsuperscript{53} At Murrumba.
\textsuperscript{54} Across Mt. Esk Pocket.
\textsuperscript{55} About 4 miles downstream from the junction with the Stanley River.
\textsuperscript{56} Near Caboonbah.
with floods was easterly, at the foot of the lofty range\textsuperscript{57} above us, to its junction with what I afterwards satisfactorily ascertained to be the trunk\textsuperscript{58} of the Brisbane. As far as may be gathered from the printed narration\textsuperscript{59} of the boat voyage of Major Lockyer above referred to, the point at which we had met with the dry bed of this north-western branch (as my further examination of it suggested the propriety of terming it) was about the actual spot whereon that officer, after attempting in vain to continue his voyage of 26th September 1825, against the sweeping impetuous force of a mountain torrent, “directed everything to be landed under the mountain,” previous to making arrangements to walk further “to explore the river.” Tracing its sandy channel about a mile, it took a bend from the Northward under the range (in which direction that chain of elevated hills appeared to trend); we therefore continued our course W.N.W. through a patch of grassy forest, and in something less than two miles again met with it,\textsuperscript{60} at a curve it had made northerly towards the base of the range.

Passing round the elbow it had formed at this particular part, we continued our journey to the N.W. through an uninteresting level grassy flat, the surface of which (formed into shallow cavities) showed the irrigated state to which it is subjected in a season of protracted rains. The latitude observed on this flat was 27° 7’ South, and upon continuing northerly about two miles, we came upon the skirts of a small but handsome plain, watered by the branch, which passes through its centre, and backed to the East by a continuation of the chain of hills from Mount Brisbane.

Upon reaching a creek\textsuperscript{61} on the Northwestern angle of the plain (to which I attached the name of Major Lockyer) and finding it supplied abundance of water, I was induced to stop on its bank, the bullocks having travelled nine miles. The natives had very recently fired the grass of the plain, but as its herbage was generally very young and verdant, only small patches of it had become ignited. Both on our East and West, our view was circumscribed by a lofty range of hills, but to the North the country appeared apparently open to moderate surface for several miles. The channel of the N.W. branch at this part was 80 yards in breadth, and on the southern side of Lockyer’s Plain, where it trends to the Eastward, we remarked it formed a handsome continuous reach of water, seemingly three and four feet in depth; more generally however, its pebbly bed was partially occupied by small shallow stagnant pools, filled with Confervae, and other vegetable substances in a

\textsuperscript{57} Pt. Deception, Mt. Somerset, and Mt. Brisbane.
\textsuperscript{58} The Stanley River, which Cunningham decided was the main river.
\textsuperscript{59} Cunningham has the footnote, “Vide Wilton’s Quarterly Journal p. 359.” See Lockyer, Journal, 26 September 1825.
\textsuperscript{60} Near Mt. Beppo village.
\textsuperscript{61} Cressbrook Creek.
decomposed state—these shallows being frequently separated from each other by considerable patches of dry gravel.

[8 JULY]

Resuming our course to the N.W. on the 8th we traversed an open level uninteresting country, watered however not only by the creek on which we had rested, but also by a chain of small ponds dipping easterly towards the bed of the branch.

We had scarcely been an hour from our morning’s fire before we perceived we were followed by natives, who having visited our resting place, and there picked up some Kangaroo bones, which our dogs had left, were probably induced to follow us, in the expectation of obtaining for themselves something to eat. As I had directed my people on no account to reply to their frequent calls, we continued our journey over the flats, without seeming to notice them; recollecting well, that the affair at Laidley’s Plain (see pages 5 and 6) was partly brought about by our attentions to those savages. Finding we did not regard them, but continued advancing forward before them, very leisurely and in profound silence, they at length came up with us, and when abreast of our bullocks, set up a most hideous yell, evidently to alarm them, and which had nearly the effect of doing, had not their leaders (who had previously suspected the diabolical intentions of these people) been fully prepared to check the cattle at the moment.

This attempt to interrupt us determined me at once to direct a musket to be fired over their heads, which so alarmed these Indians, that, taking to their heels, they were soon out of sight— their flight back to Lockyer’s Plain being in no ordinary degree accelerated by our dogs, who pursued them for a short space at full cry. These natives (three in number) were young men of the ordinary stature of the Aborigines of Moreton Bay (viz about six feet), appeared very athletic active persons, of unusually muscular limb, and with bodies (much scarified) in exceeding good case. They were perfectly naked and without arms, having simply each a firestick, which on being accidentally dropped in their hasty retreat from us, partially fired the dry grass of the forest behind us. Passing the flat, we at length reached the base of a transverse chain of hills, extending easterly from the western range, and ascending a ridge by a very easy acclivity, observed our latitude which gave 27° 1’ 8’’ South. We found ourselves in the midst of a broken irregular ridgy country, and upon winding our way down a stony ridge in a Northeasterly direction, again came upon the branch river, which here formed a serpentine figure among the hills. Notwithstanding its breadth exceeded 100 yards its spacious

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62 These page numbers refer to Cunningham’s manuscript. See Report, 19 June 1829.
63 Near Yimbun.
bed of water-worn pebbles was nearly laid bare by the drought of the season—a very feeble rill, a few inches deep, occupying a narrow strip in mid-channel.

Crossing its channel, we traversed a patch of barren land, interspersed with Dog-wood brush, about a mile to a second bend, which the steep boundary hills, crowned with the picturesque pine (Araucaria) again obliged us to cross. In this confined nook of land, we passed within a few yards of a native encampment, and at the fires observed three women and several children, who looking steadfastly at us, appeared so much struck with surprise at our very sudden and strange appearance that they remained perfectly silent, and I did not deem it at all prudent to approach to alarm them. Not so, with a very aged, haggard, infirm female, who we immediately overtook as she was creeping down to the bed of the river for roots. For, although the very appearance of my little party, on their approach to her, had, in the first instance, so paralysed her with fear, and thrown her whole frame into apparently a most distressing tremor, so as to render her perfectly incapable of crying out or moving from us, still, we had scarcely left her (again ourselves to cross the channel of the river) than recovering the use of both voice and limb, she retired towards the encampment and setting up a shrill outcry immediately gave the alarm around. In a moment, the screams of the group we had first passed were joined by the yells of the others in the bed of the river, and as we were justly apprehensive that the alarm spread around, even to the surrounding hills, would bring down the men about us, we lost no time in hurrying over to the opposite bank, which we had scarcely gained before we were hailed by a very able-bodied native man, who, armed with a spear, approached within 200 yards of our cattle, and with much menace and vociferation appeared to bid us defiance. Although our fire arms were all charged with either ball or buck shot, I nevertheless deemed it prudent not to molest him, but, directing one of my people (carrying a musket) to walk behind us, to watch more particularly the movements of the savage, pushed forward myself, with the rest of the party, to another bend of the river from the westward, where I determined to encamp. The Indian followed us a short distance with his spear on his shoulder, but, throwing it aside, upon being joined by two women, a grown boy, and three children, at once satisfied my mind that no offensive movement was designed by him. Just before we reached the spot on which we pitched our tents,64 our dogs gave chase to several large Kangaroos, and as the ground was open, short-grasped, and perfectly unencumbered by timber, we all had a fine view of the hunt, which so much delighted the natives, that they (one and all, man, women, children) joined my people in the chase, which however did not last long.

64 Opposite the mouth of Gregor Creek.
for these Indians set up so horrifying a yell that a fine buck, who was closely pressed by our dogs, became so perfectly bewildered that, repeatedly making a double on the side of the hill before us, soon fell a prey to his pursuers. The women and children were now sent back across the river, whilst the man (something above thirty) and a boy about seventeen years of age, in a friendly way, accompanied my people with the Kangaroo, towards the tents, to which they would not approach until invited — such were their fears of our dogs, whose powers in killing a forest kangaroo outright appeared to them a subject of inexpressible astonishment.

They remained with us until sunset, when having eaten to a state of perfect satiety of roasted Kangaroo, they very quietly took each a firebrand and left us to join their family, for the members of which each carried such large pieces of Kangaroo flesh in their hands as they themselves were perfectly unable to devour. Just at parting, my people gave each a common knife, which they appeared to value exceedingly; but we gathered no information from them, either respecting the country before us to the Westward, or on any other interesting subject. In the bed of this tributary to the Brisbane, we noticed the spots, where these people had been grubbing up roots for food, particularly those of a species of wild Yam, named by botanists Calladium macrorrhizon, which when sufficiently roasted to destroy the violently acrid quality of the plant in the raw state, becomes probably a nutritive aliment. The soil in which these plants were growing in great luxuriance, and in the utmost abundance, was observed to be a loose alluvial grit, in which appeared a considerable admixture of decayed vegetable matter, rendering it a compost that would produce great crops of potatoes and other vegetables having tuberous roots. The geographical position of our encampment reduced from an observation at noon, placed us half a mile north of the parallel of 27°, and under the meridian of 152° 25' or thereabouts — the Glasshouse bearing nearly east of it about 27 miles.

[9 JULY] Not wishing for further communication with the natives, who I had reason to conclude formed here a numerous body, I was exceedingly anxious to push forward on our next stage westerly, at an early hour of the 8th, but at daybreak my people discovered the bullocks had strayed; it was therefore nine o'clock before we could break up our encampment. Immediately on resuming our journey, it became necessary again to cross the channel of the river to avoid some very steep hills, which dipped upon its right bank at a considerable angle. Our travelling through a dry level poor Ironbark forest was excellent for the first two miles, when a deep channelled creek

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65 Actually 9 July.
66 Neara Creek.
with very steep sides induced us to recross the gravelly bed of the river to an apparently less broken surface on the right bank. The country appearing open I ventured (upon crossing) to quit the river altogether, with the view of pursuing a more direct western course. However upon accomplishing four miles of our stage, steep rocky ridges, divided by deep narrow valleys, put a stop to our further advance in that direction, and before we could regain the more moderately surfaced lands on the river, our bullocks had suffered considerably from the sharpness of the stones on the hills and the harassing undulations of the ground.

In the earlier periods of the morning, we heard the yells of natives, and whilst among the western hills, eight of these people, who had followed up our track, overtook us, and the utmost confidence in their own strength would soon have made themselves exceedingly familiar with each of us. Of their number, seven were strangers, men of strength and evident determination; the other proved to be the boy we had entertained the preceding evening. As these Indians had neither spears or any other weapon of defence with them as far as we could perceive, it was considered probable, that having heard from the two (who had enjoyed themselves so much at our last encampment) of the Kangaroo we had caught, they had overtaken us in a body to obtain each some articles from us, and generally to partake of our hospitality. However that might be, or whatever might have been their ultimate designs, I at once saw we were in some danger by permitting them to follow us closely; I therefore (by signs) desired them to retire, which they were exceedingly unwilling to do, until a musket was pointed at them, the effect of which they had learnt from the two who, the preceding evening, had seen a Kangaroo shot. Instantly they ran off a short distance, and for a moment disappeared. We had now good reason to apprehend their intentions were bad, seeing that we had been mistaken in supposing they had approached us in a defenceless state, for on their hasty turn to retire, we perceived five of the party had each a short but heavy hand club, fixed behind them within their belts, parallel with their back-bone, which, while they faced us, we could not possibly suspect they possessed, as their hands were at perfect liberty. Upon again appearing on the hills, they were each armed with long spears, the points of which, being of a very light colour, showed us clearly that they had been very recently scraped sharp, and probably with the knives my people had imprudently given to the two natives whom we had treated with so much kindness.

Their hostile intentions were now obvious, we therefore pushed on to the river, which having crossed, and gained again the left bank (without allowing these savages, who were pressing close upon us, an opportunity of throw-

67 Near Harlin.
ing their spears at either ourselves or bullocks), I took up a commanding
position, and pitching our tents, determined to show them no quarter, should
they dare to approach within range of our fire-arms.

They immediately crossed lower down, and soon made up toward us,
dodging behind the trees. Observing this, I instantly dispatched two men
with muskets and several rounds of buck-shot, to scour the woods. The
report of one of our guns immediately started the whole of them off, with the
utmost precipitation down the river, and on again returning and observing
our determination, they at length retired altogether before dusk to a part
where they met their families, distant apparently not above a mile from us,
as we repeatedly heard the voices of the women and children.

We kept a watch until midnight, after which finding all was quiet, we
retired to rest, getting off again very early on the morning of the 10th with
the intention of making as long a stage to the N.W. as the strength of our
cattle would admit.

At our second mile, the channel of the river was divided into two streams,
which again uniting in half a mile beneath a very steep grassy ridge, the
insulated spot thus formed proved to be a rich apple tree flat of perhaps 300
acres.

At the reunion of the streams,68 the river exhibited merely a bed of gravel,
one hundred yards in width, and although the water it contained was simply
in small detached pools, we nevertheless observed that in a wet season the
floods had swept over its pebbly bottom to the depth of fifteen feet. We
continued our journey to the Northward and Westward about four miles,
when we were necessitated to halt,69 as the bullocks could be pushed no
further. In this space, the points of ridges extending from the boundary hills
to the immediate banks obliged us repeatedly to cross the stony channel
of the river, which proved exceedingly harassing to our burdened cattle.

This tributary river (that is its channel, for throughout, since we left the
Brisbane, we have only met with a few short reaches, and more frequently
with small, shallow, detached pools, full of aquatic weeds, the intermediate
spaces being beds of water worn pebbles of quartzite of considerable extent) –
the channel of this branch of the Brisbane (to continue) was observed still to
preserve an uniform breadth of 100 yards, the whole of which is occupied
in seasons of protracted rains by a depth of water from six to ten feet, but
from the appearance of the traces of these floods, their dry and crumbly
nature, as well as the vegetable slime observed suspended in the shallow
waters of the pools, it was obvious no fresh had taken place in the branch

68 At the mouth of Spring Creek.
69 Near Moore.
during the last twelve or eighteen months; and that there had been a consider­able period of dry weather in the undulated hummocky country around us (which of itself would soon gather a flood, had it rained but a few days) is proved by the very sandy state of the beds of all the deep tributary creeks passed on either side, as also by the extensively parched condition of the vegetation around, at all exposed to the action of the sun. The boundary hills about the spot on which we had encamped appeared more elevated than those we had passed, and as they were thinly and very lightly wooded, and grassy to their very ridges, they had an exceedingly picturesque appearance. As the bases of these hills extended immediately upon this tributary channel, and considerably circumscribed the breadth of the wooded flats on each side, which again exhibited a small interspersion of brush, I began to be apprehensive that our journey to the N.W. would soon terminate. Some large Fig trees, as also a few fine specimens of red Cedar were met with in these thickets, in which however I detected no new plants different from the vegetable productions of the Brisbane near the settlement.

This part of the country furnished us with no Kangaroos or other game, and with the exception of the Turkey of the Brush (a genuine Meleagris), a small kind of Magpie and the noisy risible Alcedo (Dacele[?] of Dr. Leach) we observed no birds worthy of mention, nor remarked the recent trace of the native.

[11 JULY] My bullocks showed so much debility and lameness upon being got up on the morning of the 11th that in order to ensure our return safely to Brisbane town (by easy stages) I felt myself obliged to come to the determination immediately to close our journey on this branch; but as the spot on which we had rested was too much confined by heavy timber to allow me to take such observations as became necessary to enable me to fix satisfactorily the geographical position of the extreme point of our journey, I was resolved to urge the cattle onward a short stage to a more desirable situation for these purposes. Accordingly the tents were removed a mile and a half higher up the branch to a more commanding spot within two miles of a very elevated ridge of hills to the Northward, whence a series of valuable bearings might in all probability be taken, to assist in closing my journey. Another consideration of some moment, independent of those of the weak and crippled condition of my bullocks, and the confined mountainous character of the circumjacent country onward, which obliged me to close my excursion at this spot, was the reduced state of my provisions, of which I discovered I had lost of salt Pork, two full weeks' supply to my party by drainage, as I was obliged to carry that important article of ration in bags! A lofty conical hill upon the back of a leading range, bearing from our tents N|E about two miles, appearing to overtop the surrounding country, invited me to ascend it to make the
observations I required. About eight o'clock of the morning of the 12th (and accompanied by one of my party) I set out to climb this commanding point, which was named at the time Lister's Peak.\(^7\) Crossing the dry but spacious channel of the river, below our tents, we entered a thick wood matted together with vines, in which I observed the red cedar of very large robust growth, with Figtrees, the native chestnut and silk-oak (Grevillea robusta C.) of equal magnitude and gigantic stature. Passing through to the open forest-land, we began to climb the lower grassy hills to a leading ridge of easy acclivity, and in an hour gained the summit of the peak, the considerable elevation of which, we found commanded an extensive prospect of several points of the compass. At Southwest, West, and thence to North, very lofty precipitous narrow-backed ranges crowned with Pine, extending in the direction of the Meridian, and distant about fifteen miles, bounded the view, evidently constituting a continuation from the Southward of that principal chain of mountainous land, which separates the waters that fall internally from those that are discharged on our East coast: this main range of mountains, which may justly be termed the backbone of the continent, our elevated station enabled us to trace northerly, without a break at least thirty miles.

Between the North and East, the eye surveyed elevated forest-ridges of exceedingly steep acclivity, clothed with a grassy vegetation to their extreme points. These were backed by loftier ranges, which effectually shut out from our view those remarkable cones on the coast called the Glass houses, the bearing of which from us was (according to the charts) about E.S.E. distant scarcely 35 miles.

Tracing the bed of the river about three miles above the spot on which our tents stood, along a narrow confined vale between the ridges, we remarked it bent round the foot of a Pine range from the N. West, in which direction the entire country up to the Dividing Range exhibited the wildest scenery, made up of broken, lofty, unconnected, precipitous ridges, wooded with the prevailing Eucalypti, with here and there a Pine of scrubby stunted aspect—the whole being a very difficult tract to travel over, and with bullocks perfectly impracticable.

More westerly and southwesterly, the eye wandered over a curiously featured country, presenting beyond the forest ridges above our encampment a tract of elevated rounded hummocks for about fifteen miles, seemingly detached from each other, lightly timbered, and with narrow and apparently deep valleys intervening. A more singularly formed tract of country I never before witnessed; the extreme irregularity of the surface of which (like that

\(^7\) About 2 miles south-east of Linville. David Lister was an Assistant Surgeon of the 57th Regiment on temporary duty at Brisbane Town in 1829.
of an extremely agitated sea) rendered it impossible to be traversed either by horse or cattle. Craig’s Range (of three remarkable hummocks) first observed to the Westward, from my station on Irwin’s Range,71 we again recognised, bearing nearly S.W. (true) and distant about twenty-five miles. Immediately beyond, in the same line of bearing, the surface acquires a more moderate outline, which gradually softens down to a perfect level, and having no other limit or boundary westerly than the distant azure-coloured horizon.72 With respect to the river, which we traced thus far among the hills, the remarks made upon it during the journey proved these facts. — That its bed, which, nearly up to our Northwesternmost encampment on it, was observed to preserve a breadth bearing from 80 to 100 yards, is nearly horizontal throughout its entire course, without a single fall or rapid. — That, from all the appearances of the drift lodged on the branches of those small trees that occasionally occupy portions of its channel, as well as the decomposed vegetation in its pools, and length of bed in patches entirely laid bare, it appeared very evident there had been no running water in this branch during the last eighteen months, and therefore little or no rain had fallen in that period among the neighbouring hills — that the floods (of which we daily observe the wrecks) which have at various periods occupied its bed to a depth varying from five to fifteen feet (as the channel was less or more confined by high grounds) have been caused simply by the rains that are collected in a wet season in the broken irregular country lying East of the Dividing Range, and not by any overflowing of “the large Swamp”73 (our internal marshes), the waters of which, future explorations towards our Central Interior will one day show us, have rather taken an opposite course, viz in the direction of which it will be found the continent dips — to the North-west.

This principal tributary to the Brisbane (itself evidently originating in the broken country nearer the coastline) appears to possess all the characters of a mountain torrent. In a wet season it has its ample channel filled by the rains from the hills, which collectively sweep over its even pebbly bed with a velocity which no bark74 could resist, but no sooner does the weather again take up, than its waters fall, and eventually drain off to the level of the surface,

71 See Cunningham, Report, 5 July 1829, at Note 49.
72 Cunningham has a footnote (on p. 27 of his manuscript) which probably refers to this: “The same level monotonous featured tract of internal region was observed from the summit of Mount Dumaresq in June 1827, on the western side of the Dividing chain, in Lat. 28° 6’ South.”
74 Cunningham has the footnote, “See Wilton’s quarterly Journal p. 359”, referring to Lockyer’s boat. See Lockyer, Journal, 26 September 1825.
leaving but a small portion indeed to be disposed of by solar evaporation.

At this extreme point of our journey, the breadth of its channel was about sixty yards, and it appeared probable that its source might be ten or fifteen miles distant in the hills and broken country north of us. The observations made during the two days we continued encamped on this spot placed our tents as follows; viz: Latitude, by the mean of results of two meridional altitudes, 26° 52' 30" South. Longitude by bearings and survey 152° 19' 00" East. Variation of the magnetic needle by azimuth 9° 36' East.

Having in some measure recruited the strength of the bullocks, we commenced our journey down the N.W. branch to its junction with the Brisbane, on the morning of the 13th, and by pursuing a course over a range of forest-ground above the flats on the immediate bank, avoided not only a frequency of crossing its channel, but also the difficult passage over deep creeks falling into it, which had before proved so exceedingly harassing to our burdened cattle. By thus proceeding, we reached, at an early hour in the afternoon, the encamping ground of the 8th which our tents again occupied, having in the day's journey, crossed the bed of the branch but twice.

Little did we apprehend, when we proceeded on our day's travel, that the natives, who had troubled us the preceding week, were immediately about us. We had not advanced down the river two miles before we perceived several small columns of smoke were curling above its lower bank, and immediately we observed several of these people, with their women and children on the higher ground.

Taking no notice of them, we passed on quietly, not wishing them to follow us; however they soon broke up their encampment, and came shouting after us, keeping a respectable distance from the range of our firearms, the destructive effects of which, some of them had, the preceding week, witnessed. Just before we crossed the river to our resting place of the 9th, we suddenly surprised a second group of men and women, who fled the instant they saw us, leaving behind them at their fires their little paraphernalia, which we, in passing, simply looked at without disturbing. There were Dellies or baskets of rushes; a Hellaman or shield, several skin cloaks, with some pointed sticks, with which they grub up roots. These Indians soon joined the others on the rising ground, back from the river, and making a body of about twenty-four persons, crossed its channel and continued to follow immediately behind us, under cover of the Dogwood brushes with which the forest ground was here and there interspersed. At length they gained upon the slow pace of

75 This latitude is about 2 miles north of Moore.
76 The Brisbane River.
77 The Stanley River.
78 See Cunningham, Report, 8 July 1829, at Note 64; near Gregor Creek.
79 See Cunningham, Report, 9 July 1829, at Note 67; near Harlin.
our bullocks, and as I could form no other idea of their attempts to approach near to us than that of being the better able to spear us, as an opportunity might offer, whilst crossing a creek or hollow, I effectually checked their further advance on us by discharging a musket at the boldest, a powerful active man, who, in a menacing manner, repeatedly hailed us, brandishing his spear in his hand, ready to discharge it. The contents (rough heavy slugs) tore up the ground at his feet, and at the same time wounded him in the legs. This second proof of what our weapons could effect even at some distance (for there was a considerable hollow between us and the native) so astonished the Indian, that he ran off in a monstrous fright, leaving his spear behind him, and when the rest, who were scattered through the forest, beheld their champion retiring precipitately, they one and all (following his example) took to their heels and we saw no more of them. We had not been long at our resting place before we heard the voices of others at the encampment we had passed on the 8th between the bends of the river. These we concluded, were aged women, whose travelling days had long since gone by.

[14 July] The following morning (14th) we again pushed our way along the valley to the fords of the river, which we had to pass twice, ere we could reach the open forest country stretching southerly to Lockyer’s Plain, our next stage. We had not gained the river at the first ford, before we came to an encampment of natives, of whom several were busily engaged procuring roots for food. In passing, which we did to their astonishment, in perfect silence, within 150 yards of their fires, they all stood up so that we had a distinct view of the whole group, which amounted to about twenty persons, among whom were several tall able-bodied men. The proportion of women appeared small, we only noticed three of whom, one, a young female bore a child on her shoulders, and appeared perfectly ready to start off should necessity require a hasty retreat. There were several boys and fullgrown children, who, evidently by their expression of wonder, appeared just as much lost in surprise at the sudden appearance of white men with covered bodies, and the laden bullocks, as their parents. After we had passed on beyond them, they ventured to call after us, and one man, with a body reddened with ochre, who had had a spear in his hand, threw it down, and holding up a Kangaroo-skin, signified by signs his wish to communicate and barter with us. However I had resolved to hold no communication with them on any terms, but in passing through their country near to their encamping grounds, to observe a profound silence; being at the same time fully prepared to repel, with the utmost firmness, with our arms, any attack they might be disposed to make upon us. In this way we crossed the first bend of the river, and immediately on reaching the open forest nook between it and the second, were not a little surprised to find a much larger party encamped in a brush of Dogwood — those we
had passed setting up a shout on the river's bank (to which they had followed us) which gave these new strangers timely notice of our advance towards them. In an instant, all was alarm and confusion at their camp. The women and children were seen flying from their fires to the distant recesses of the woods under the boundary range, whilst several men came forward towards us, and putting themselves in defensive attitudes, used vehemence, and evidently by their action, threatening language. Observing their spears, we passed on quietly at a quickened pace, having our firearms ready to meet any attack on us which their superiority of numbers might give them a boldness to attempt. Apprehensive that something serious might ensue before we again made the river before us, as these savages were closing upon us under cover of the brushwood around, I promptly directed two of my people to proceed smartly on with the baggage bullocks to more clear open ground, whilst myself and my other two men (all of us well armed) would cover them, and beat off the natives notwithstanding their numbers; for we soon discovered that even pointing a gun at them had the desired effect of scattering them; we therefore, having made several attempts to fire at them, at length induced them to return to their encampment, with the exception of three, who continued to follow us, but at too great a distance from us to admit of our guns, much less their spears, being effective. Availing ourselves of the moment, we descended to the bed of the river, and soon gaining the opposite bank, continued our journey through the very thinly wooded country, extending more or less southerly, throughout the day's stage.

We now congratulated ourselves on our good fortune in having passed without molestation in a narrow confined valley between the hills, two bodies of natives, whose numbers together amounted at least to fifty persons, of whom about one half appeared young and middle-aged, stout, well-conditioned men. Had we been a day later in crossing the bends of the branch, there would have been an accession to their numbers of at least twenty persons, as those with whom we had previously been skirmishing would have joined the two groups, to whom (on their learning what had already taken place higher up the river) we should in all probability have fallen a sacrifice!

The weapons of these poor Indians appeared to be simply rude spears about eight feet in length, scraped to a point, but without barbs; long hand clubs, and shields of a soft wood and of small size. The spear appeared to be the only missile weapon they used, and this we remarked they discharged without the aid of the wommarah or throwing-stick, so generally in use among the various tribes around Port Jackson and elsewhere. Little therefore was to be apprehended from them, excepting at close quarters, when the club

80 North-east of Yimbun.
would become a dangerous weapon. Early in the afternoon we accomplished
our stage to Lockyer’s Plain,81 without distressing our bullocks; and just
previous to pitching the tents, our active dogs caught two fine Kangaroos,
one, a buck weighing upwards of 160 lbs. These afforded ourselves and
dogs a very acceptable meal, as we were travelling upon a half ration; and
our dogs had had no meat for two days. Pursuing a S.S.E. course for five
miles, early on the 15th we crossed the channel of the Brisbane River, con­
tinuing up its left bank to the Eastward, passed our encamping ground of the
6th82 and again halting at the bend of the river from the Northward easterly,83
proposed to occupy the remainder of the day in visiting the spot at which
the junction of the N.W. branch and the river takes place.

Immediately above our tents the river takes a bend from the N.E. under
a rocky ridge; this myself and one of my people (who accompanied me)
climbed, and in about 2 1/2 miles descended to the point of confluence of the
Brisbane and its tributary from the N.W. which latter here exhibited a bed
of gravel of rounded pebbles at least 180 yards in breadth, but with the ex­
ception of a very small contracted rill in mid-channel was perfectly dry.
The Brisbane itself,84 immediately above the junction, bends round the
ridge we had passed over, easterly, and in that direction we traced up, for
about a mile, a fine reach of deep water, apparently with little motion, about
forty yards in breadth, the outer banks however being at least one hundred
yards from each other. From the many observations that have been made
during this journey on the character of the river, it appears quite evident
that it originates altogether on the eastern side of the Dividing Range, and
that probably its principal source is in that chain of hills which appear, on
the chart, stretching (parallel to the coastline) northerly from the Glasshouses,
from which direction it is obvious the trunk of the river bends its course
southerly, and afterwards westerly to the base of Mount Brisbane. A course
pursued west from the Pumicestone River would doubtless intersect its
channel in less than 20 miles.85

The Blue Gum which Major Lockyer had caused to be cut down at the
junction on the 24th Sept. 1825,86 we observed the trunk of, lying along
the river’s bank – its butt, which was three feet high from the ground, we
remarked to be perfectly dead, and it had cast its bark.

81 South-east of the mouth of Cressbrook Creek.
82 See Cunningham, Report, 7 July 1829, near Note 55.
83 About 2 miles downstream from the junction.
84 Actually the Stanley.
85 It was this journey (in reverse) that Logan hoped to make in October 1830
(Logan in Brisbane Valley, near Note 4).
86 Cunningham’s footnote: “Wilton’s Quarterly Journal p. 358.” See Lockyer,
Journal, 24 September 1825.
This remarkable spot (the only one indeed, on which we discovered, during our journey along the banks of the Brisbane, any trace of Major Lockyer or his party) is situate as follows: Latitude about 27° 9' 00" South, Longitude 152° 33' 30" East. The western shore of Moreton Bay to the North of Red Cliff Point, bearing direct East about thirty-five miles.

[16 JULY] The exceedingly reduced state of our small stock of provisions not permitting us to trace the river up further to the Eastward among the hills, we lost no time on the morning of the 16th in resuming our journey southerly, intending to pursue as direct a course as the country might allow me, down the left bank of the Brisbane. We passed over a good grazing flat in a South Easterly direction, and after traversing some slightly rising ground between some stony forest hills, at length again reached the river at our fourth mile, at a bend it had taken southerly from the westward. We then pursued our course more to the Eastward to avoid the deep channels of some creeks which we observed to dip from the hilly country to the Eastward into the river. We accomplished other four miles through a moderately timbered country abounding in pasturage, and on again meeting with the river,87 we halted upon a high bank on which stood several native huts, which although of ancient construction, appeared to have been recently occupied. At this point, the river formed a handsome reach with outer banks 200 yards wide. My botanical collections have gone on augmenting through this journey, by a very slow ratio of progression; but to my dried plants I this day added another, a beautiful species of Grevillea, yet undescribed. I found it on some stony ridges near the river, where it formed an ornamental tree 12 feet in height, and at this season producing abundance of sulphur-coloured flowers of large size.

[17 JULY] On the 17th we quitted the bank of the river, and resuming our course to Southward and Eastward, in about 1 ½ miles, reached the foot of a ridge of forest hills88 of easy acclivity, which furnished abundance of sheep and cattle pasture. These were backed to the Eastward by a very formidable range,89 the blackened summits of which rose in abrupt and apparently rocky heads of considerable elevation.

Climbing the ridge, we continued among the hills about seven miles, when we (at once) descended to a bend of the river90 immediately beneath the lofty perpendicular rocky face of a pine range, where we were again induced to stop until a passage could be discovered through a patch of brush investing

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87 Near Macfarlane's bridge, near Bryden.
88 Varley's Hill.
89 The D'Aguilar Range.
90 East of Northbrook Bridge.
the river, which we immediately perceived it was necessary to cross in order to pursue our way southerly.

The remaining part of the day was occupied in examining this thicket, and on the following morning (18th) by occasionally using our axes in its denser parts, we managed to lead our cattle to the river’s bank, where, meeting with a pebbly ford, we crossed the channel and continued our journey South Easterly over a patch of forest flat, having the river immediately on our left, running directly at the base of a range of elevated forest hills which extended Southerly, as far as could be perceived.

About our second mile from the morning’s encamping ground, we observed with surprise the river bending west, and again N.W. under a ridge of low stony hills, and as the reach which ran to the S.S.E. was parallel with the succeeding, which had taken an opposite direction, the river described a curiously formed patch of grassy forest land, in figure like the human foot, which it bounded on all sides, excepting on the N.W.

Continuing to the Southern extremity of the bight thus formed, where a small but exceedingly fertile patch of plain opened to the view, we repeatedly examined the river for a ford to pass it; but throughout its western and northwestern bends, deep water on a rocky bottom appeared.

At length, we succeeded in crossing over a bed of gravel in the Southern reach, and having gained a spot on the left bank, abounding in young grass, I again directed the tents to be set up— our wearied cattle, requiring repose, having travelled, during the preceding six days, over an irregular tract of the country. A forest ridge immediately above our encampment afforded me a valuable set of bearings to points southerly, fixed with precision last year. These were Mount Forbes; the Pass; Mount Lindesay; and near us, Flinder’s Peak, the upreared rugged head of which, with the lesser cones of the chain of hills to which it belongs, formed a singularly bold feature in the outstretched landscape south of us. Looking westerly and northwesterly, the eye ranged over the diversified country through which we had traced Lockyer’s Creek to the Brisbane; whilst at East and North East, and distant scarcely two miles, a most romantic ridge of hills, surmounted by two peaked and craggy mounts, rose from a very narrow valley beneath us, of which the northern was named Mount Sampson, whilst the more Southern was

91 Cunningham called this pocket “The Pedal Bight”, and in his field book SZ32 drew a careful sketch of the river’s course (see Fig. 53).
92 One mile west of Mt. England.
93 Mt. Walker.
94 Cunningham’s Gap.
95 Mt. Barney.
96 Pryde Creek.
97 Mt. England, 1007 feet, discovered by Oxley in 1824 (Oxley, Field Books, 22 September 1824, Note 62).
Fig. 53. "The Pedal Bight" in the Brisbane River, sketched by Cunningham. The original is in field book SZ32 in the Archives Office of New South Wales.
The rock formation of this ridge appeared evidently a coarse friable sandstone, which, from its excavated cavernous character, was clearly in an advanced state of decomposition. These hills were backed by the stupendous chain of blackened mountain, which were already observed to stretch from the Northward many miles in a southeasterly direction.

[19 JULY] The situation of our tents on the bank of the Brisbane was found to be as follows—viz. — Latitude (the mean result of two meridional altitudes) 27° 23' 35" South. Longitude by an observation corrected by bearings to points formerly fixed, 152° 39' 45" East — variation by azimuth 9° 20' East.

[20 JULY] At an early hour of the 20th we were again in motion along a narrow confined valley through which we prosecuted our route to the Southward. The river which (as before remarked) had taken a considerable bend to the N.W., afterwards curved southerly, and in the reach it formed in that direction, Lockyer’s Creek falls into it. Upon passing over a stony ridge which we observed swept round westerly, we, in our second mile, after penetrating some brush land of good soil, again came upon the river, which had now taken a decided bend to the N.E.

Fording it, our course southerly led us through a level uninteresting heavily-timbered country, in which we were frequently interrupted by patches of brush, but as these proved fortunately not to be of any depth or extent, we either penetrated through them, or passed round their extreme points by altering our course to the East or West, as best favoured our progress southerly.

These intricate jungles at length obliged us to pursue an Eastern course, during the last two miles of our stage, which brought us to a clearer tract of forest land, well clothed with grass and tolerably watered. On a small creek, we again halted, being satisfied from the features of the country before us, and the bearings of the “Pine Hills” seen from the Limestone Station, that the Brisbane was in the vicinity. As the latitude of our encampment (27° 29' 30" South), reduced from the observation at noon, placed us only 7½ miles north from the above-mentioned station, which bore by compass S.E. by S. about ten miles, I was determined if possible to push my bullocks through this our last stage, in the course of the following day. Accordingly,

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98 The D’Aguilar Range.
99 At Fernvale Bridge.
100 Fernie Brook.
101 Pine Mountain.
on the morning of the 21st we rose with the sun, and had the tents struck before the hour of seven. It was a sharp bracing morning, the thermometer had sunk to 28° Fahrenheit and vegetation had put on a hoary look. In half a mile, we once more intercepted the channel of the river, which having meandered through a very irregular and broken country at North-East, had again bent its course Southerly. To avoid the broken ground immediately on its bank, we stood somewhat off, and pursuing a steady course through a very indifferent but open ridgy tract, arrived, at an early hour of the afternoon at the Limestone Station on the Bremer, after an absence of upwards of five weeks, in which period, my little party had made a tour of two hundred and fifty miles, in part through tracts of country previously untrodden by Europeans.

In conclusion, I beg to remark to your Excellency that from the above details of my last excursion two facts are to be gathered. The one, that the Brisbane River (at one period conceived to be connected with the waters of our Interior) originates on the Eastern side of the Dividing Range, its chief sources being in elevated lands lying almost immediately on the coastline between the parallels of 26° and 27°. The other, that the main ranges, which separate our coast waters from those that fall internally, continue northerly in one unbroken chain as far as the eye could discern, beyond the parallel of 27°, presenting no opening or hollow part of the range of moderate elevation by which an exploring party with the usual equipment might without difficulty pass to the vast Interior beyond that barrier.

The “Pass” through these primary mountains, which I discovered in 1827 in the parallel of 28° and were particularly examined the following year, appears therefore to be the only door of entrance to our Interior and that part of New South Wales, and as the difficulties in the acclivity to it from the forest ridges on its eastern or coast side can be removed by labour, under judicious direction, it will no doubt one day become a general thoroughfare, especially when the spacious Downs and other very extensive tracts of rich pasturage to which it opens are taken into consideration.

OBSERVATIONS MADE AT THE PENAL SETTLEMENT ON THE BRISBANE RIVER, MORETON BAY IN 1828 [AND 1829]102

Brisbane Town is built on the left bank of the River, at an estimated distance from its mouth on the western shore of Moreton Bay of 16 statute miles. As this town was a point from which I repeatedly took my departure

102 This is probably a draft of the memorandum which Cunningham enclosed with his letter of 12 December 1829 to Sir Thomas Mitchell.
on excursions of botanical and geographical research, and the hills in its immediate neighbourhood\textsuperscript{103} commanded a clear and extensive view of the curiously featured country at SSW and West to an actual distance of 50 miles, I bestowed much time and attention (as opportunities were afforded me by the objects being in distances) in determining its meridian, since from it, I reduced the longitude, of several other points southerly, of which I carefully observed the latitude and measured the interjacent country.\textsuperscript{104}

Longitude by several sets of distances (Sun East and West of Moon) measured with a sextant of 10 inch radius and divided into 10 seconds [of angle]; at periods between July and October 1828, also by the mean of two sets of distances of Moon from the Planet Jupiter - The Government Cottage\textsuperscript{105} is in 153° 1' 35" E.

Latitude by Meridional altitudes of the Sun taken in an actual horizon at the following periods in 1828 and 1829 gave a mean of 27° 28' 26.7".

July 14 – September 21, 1828, at Government Cottage;\textsuperscript{106} mean 27° 28' 26.7".\textsuperscript{107}

9 June – 10 September, 1829, at Hospital Garden, \(\frac{1}{2}\) mile north;\textsuperscript{108} mean 27° 28' 10.5".

\vspace{1cm}

\textbf{CUNNINGHAM TO SIR THOMAS MITCHELL}

Parramatta, 12th Dec., 1829.

My Dear Sir,

Accompanying this note, you will receive the sketch\textsuperscript{109} you had lent me last October from your office of my last year's excursion southerly from Moreton Bay, on which you will perceive I have now protracted my last winter's journey into the country lying W and NW from the Brisbane River, and as I ought to have returned it to you some time since, you will permit me to observe, as a reason for not having done it, that my multifarious duties at this particular season, in reference to the King's Gardens, have altogether prevented my attention to it, until within the last twelve days.

\textsuperscript{103} His field books contain bearings and a sketch (Fig. 54) taken from Spring Hill, near the windmill.

\textsuperscript{104} He obtained quite accurate measurements of latitudes during his journeys, but he had to deduce his longitude by plotting his course from a place of known longitude.

\textsuperscript{105} Captain Logan's residence, where Cunningham was evidently a guest in 1828.

\textsuperscript{106} Here follows a list of thirteen readings.

\textsuperscript{107} In view of the diversity of values in the list, it is not justifiable to express the mean to such a degree of accuracy.

\textsuperscript{108} Here follows a list of fourteen readings.

\textsuperscript{109} Possibly the map reproduced here as Fig. 36.
A sketch\textsuperscript{10} of my last winter's tour I have now the pleasure to transmit to the Government; accompanied by the substance of notes made during the excursion;\textsuperscript{11} which, as they have chiefly a reference to the geography of the country I have visited, will no doubt be forwarded to you for transcription.

As I find the geographical situations of several points in the Moreton Bay Country, as marked on the published charts, to differ something from the results of actual observations made by me at the several stations, I have very great pleasure in giving you (in the enclosed memorandum)\textsuperscript{12} my remarks on these observations, from the accuracy of which you may fully rely in your construction of a chart of that part of our east coast and adjacent country.

I hope your plants of the chestnuts of that truly interesting part of our coast (of which I was happy to give you the seeds last year) are now doing equally well, with those of my other friends, whose plants having survived our last sharp winter in Parramatta, are now growing with such extraordinary vigour, that I fully expect soon to see them put on all the ornamental habits of growth, of the parent plants on the Brisbane River.

Perhaps no plant, of so recent a discovery, has had a more extensive diffusion than this vegetable has already. At this time is it, through my friend Mr. Telfair of Mauritius, to whom I sent it direct from Moreton Bay last year,\textsuperscript{13}

\textsuperscript{10} Probably MT 55 in the Brisbane Survey Office (Fig. 52).
\textsuperscript{11} Cunningham's Report to Governor Darling.
\textsuperscript{12} The memorandum probably included the data given in Cunningham, Observations, 1828 and 1829.
\textsuperscript{13} See Cunningham, Letter, June–September 1828.
established on that island, as also at Bourbon, Madagascar, The Seychelles, and some parts of the Eastern Coast of Africa.¹¹

Through Kew, to which Princely Garden I sent 50 living plants, which survived the voyage, it has been introduced not only into the gardens of the Institute at Paris, but also at Upsal; the imperial gardens of Petersburg and Schonbrun near Vienna, as well as in some minor gardens in Germany.

I have yet a few seeds left, after distributing extensively among my friends since my late return from Moreton Bay, and I shall feel exceedingly happy to afford you a further small supply, if you wish them.

¹¹ Hooker, in his notes accompanying Fraser's Journal, remarks: "Not only have I received excellent specimens of this rare plant through the kindness of Mr. Fraser and of Mr. Telfair, by way of the Mauritius, but the former of these gentlemen has sent seeds to our Glasgow Botanic Garden, which, from their fresh appearance, give us the prospect of their vegetating. In the Mauritius the plant will probably flourish as in its native soil, under Mr. Telfair's fostering care. Although the large and handsome seeds are eaten by the natives of Brisbane River, and by the convicts in that part of our colony, as substitutes for our Spanish chestnuts, I have found them hard, bitter, and their flavour not unlike that of the acorn."
SUMMARY AND SOURCES

Just prior to Cunningham's expedition in the Brisbane valley in June-July 1829, Logan had been up that valley as far as Mt. Esk, which he named Irwin's Range. No description of that journey appears to exist.

In July 1830, he explored a route through Collins Gap (then known as St. George's Pass, and now the route of the Mt. Lindesay Highway) to the Richmond River. His journal describing this journey is taken from a printed version in the Mitchell Library, Reference Q984 I/L. Printer's errors arising from that version have here been corrected wherever the true reading could be inferred, and such corrections are enclosed in square brackets. Most of the places mentioned in the journal have been identified in footnotes to Chapter 11 (Cunningham, Fraser, and Logan, July-August 1828); "Mount Tyrone" is probably identical with the present Mt. Ernest.

Logan's transfer to India was now imminent, and the arrival of his successor as Commandant, Captain J. O. Clunie, gave Logan the opportunity for a last exploratory journey. Accordingly, in October 1830 he travelled once more up the Brisbane valley and explored part of the Stanley River. On his journey back to Ipswich he became separated from his party, and was chased and killed by the natives.

The story of this last expedition is told in a letter from Lieutenant George Edwards of the 57th Regiment, to his Commanding Officer, Lieutenant-Colonel Allan. The letter is dated 8 November 1830, and a manuscript copy (certified by Allan) is in Logan's letter book in the Archives Section of the Public Library of Queensland.

A letter from Captain Clunie to Colonial Secretary Macleay, dated 6 November 1830, provides a few additional details; it is in the Historical Records of Australia, Series I, XVI, 58–59.

LOGANS' DEATH

There can be no doubt that the natives were responsible for Logan's death. The way in which the body was buried, and the fate of Logan's saddle and garments, could not have been staged by convicts; and Dr. Cowper, who was foremost in the search for Logan, could hardly have been deceived. The enigma of the story is not the identity of the killers, but how and why Logan became separated from his party.

The hostility of the natives is not surprising. The inland tribes did not have the abundance of food that the coastal tribes enjoyed, and consequently
they were jealous of their hunting grounds. Cunningham in June and July 1829 experienced their hostility several times. Further, convicts who had escaped from the penal settlement had maltreated the natives, and the murder of three convicts in a fishing boat on the Brisbane River in June 1830 was an act of retaliation by the natives. On Logan's final expedition he had ample warning from the natives that he was not welcome in the Brisbane Valley. In travelling apart from his party, Logan took calculated risks, but he usually rejoined the party at night, if only to obtain food and shelter. How, then, did he come to be almost 10 miles south of them on the night of 17 October?

Logan had instructed his men to camp at a creek (probably Esk Creek) where they had camped in 1829. Private Collison presumably knew the site well; in any case, Logan pointed out the spot to his men from the place where he parted from them, only one and a half hours' journey to the north of it (about 2 miles, at the speed of bullocks). The men arrived at the spot at 4 p.m., and soon afterwards heard him "cooey", but he passed by, further down the creek. He continued to another campsite 8 miles further south, where he spent the night. In order to reach that campsite before nightfall, he could not have lingered near Esk Creek, so on the later occasions when the men thought they heard him "cooey" they must have been mistaken.

The official explanation of their separation is that it was accidental; Logan must have expected his men to camp further down the creek, and on not finding them there, and not hearing their replies to his "cooey", he assumed they had mistaken his instructions and continued south. He proceeded after them (as he thought), until realizing that he had overtaken them, he decided to continue to the next well-known campsite, where he knew he would find shelter for the night.

If the separation was not accidental, two causes may be suggested. Firstly, Logan may have decided to go ahead of his party to make a further search for the horse he had lost in 1829; his "cooey" was intended to inform the party that he had gone past them (this had been his meaning when with Fraser on 2 August 1828). Secondly, the men may have hidden from him, not answering his "cooey"; this would explain why they were not where he expected to find them, and why they failed to look for him at the next campsite, but it would mean that they lied in their story.

Whatever was the method by which Logan and his men became separated, the ultimate cause of his death was his own recklessness. He frequently exposed himself to danger, alone on the mountain tops, and among hostile natives. His recklessness on this last occasion was heightened by his impending departure from his little kingdom on the Brisbane River. Much as he loved his wife and children, and his military career, his greatest love was for the district he had explored and the settlement he had moulded. Ironically, he was not allowed to rest in a native grave in the country he loved, but was taken to Sydney for re-burial.

WHERE WAS LOGAN KILLED?

Logan was caught and killed after failing to jump his horse across a "small creek with shallow water" about a mile from the campsite where he had
slept during the previous night. It is necessary first to identify that campsite.

The campsite was one that had been used by Logan in May 1829, and again on 11-14 October 1830. From the reports of Edwards and Clunie, it can be gathered that the campsite was about half-way between Lockyer Creek and Mt. Esk, and about 10 miles from each. This places the campsite in the vicinity of Logan Creek.

Logan had lost a horse at that campsite in May 1829. As he tried very hard to find the horse in October 1830, it is probable that he would have asked Cunningham to look for it when he set out for the Brisbane Valley in June 1829. Cunningham had with him a map or description of Logan's May expedition, so when he camped near the mouth of Logan Creek on 3 July 1829, he probably used the same campsite. Cunningham described Logan Creek as "a deep creek shaded with the Chestnuts". It still has a remarkable number of chestnut trees, but normally it has a dry, flat, sandy bottom with water a few inches below the surface, so "deep" must have been intended to describe the canyon-like gully, rather than the water in it. Cunningham camped just north of Logan Creek, "on a spot of dry forest ground, where a small native family were resting at their little fires". It is probably significant that Logan, on the morning of his death, slept in a native hut and roasted chestnuts for breakfast. It will therefore be assumed that this was Logan's campsite, and it will appear more probable as the discussion proceeds.

The creek where Logan was killed could not have been Logan Creek. Normally a horse can walk across it on the sand, so there would have been no need to attempt to jump it; and if the creek had been in flood, it would have been much too wide to jump. The only creek (other than Logan Creek) within a mile of the assumed campsite falls into the Brisbane River about three-quarters of a mile north-west of the campsite. This is indeed a "small creek with shallow water", and is of a width that might tempt a rider to jump his horse across.

The events can now be reconstructed. The natives approached from the south-east, crossed Logan Creek, and surprised Logan at his breakfast. He mounted his horse and fled north-west over the forest land parallel with the river. Failing in his attempt to jump his horse across the first creek he encountered, he was overtaken, killed, and buried on the north bank of that creek.

The view that the natives approached from the south-east is not unreasonable. Logan had encountered hostile natives on 11 October about 20 miles south-east of Logan Creek, and no natives were seen anywhere to the north of Logan Creek until 18 October, when they killed Logan.

The view that Logan's grave was north-west of the campsite is consistent with the fact that it was not found to the south-east, either by Collison's search party on 21 October, or by the parties of Collison and Cowper on 27 October. Collison's group must have passed near the grave on 18 October, but fifty or sixty armed natives threatened them, evidently to divert them away from the scene of the murder and the campsite where Logan's possessions still lay. It is possible that the natives were still in the act of burying the body as Collison passed by.
Fig. 55. Map indicating where Logan was killed. Map drawn by author, 1970.
JOURNAL OF A JOURNEY THROUGH ST. GEORGE’S PASS TO THE RICHMOND RIVER, FOR THE PURPOSE OF FINDING A ROUTE TO PORT MACQUARIE

JULY 4TH I left the settlement at Brisbane Town this morning at 10 o’clock, and, proceeding by Cowper’s Plains and the east bank of Canoe Creek, I arrived at the basin on the Logan, Lat. 27° 47’, Long. 153°, at 4 o’clock, p.m. The boat with provisions did not arrive till 2 o’clock the following morning. On my way up Canoe Creek I came unexpectedly on a tribe of natives. One of them was on a tree cutting [up] some animal with a stone tomahawk. He was very much alarmed, and cried out lustily to his comrades to make their escape. I should think he belonged to the tribe who murdered the boat’s crew, and expected to be severely dealt with.

JULY 5TH Left the boat at half-past 7 o’clock, and proceeded up the left bank of the Logan for some time; crossed in the evening, and stopped for the night at Letitia Plains.

JULY 6TH Proceeded up the river for two miles, and crossed it at the ponds, and reached Dunsinane hill at 10 o’clock. Left Basaltic hills on our left, and, crossing part of Edgar’s range, stopped for the night in a valley. This part of the country being described in my journal of 1828, it is unnecessary to repeat it here.

JULY 7TH Arrived at Mount [Lyndsey] at 12 o’clock. The day being cloudy did not get a meridian altitude. Proceeded up the valley towards Mount Hooker, and observed the traces of natives, evidently passing to the North. Stopped for the night at the base of Mount Tyrone. Showery during the night.

JULY 8TH proceeded through the pass of St. George, and experienced some difficulty in passing through the ravines and thick brush. There being some high ranges in front of the pass I kept a S.-west course, and at noon, being clear of all difficulty, I found, by a meridian altitude, and the bearing of Mount Hooker, that we were in Lat. 28° 9’ 53”, and Long. 153° 25’. At 2 o’clock came on the Richmond, which was skirting an extensive plain, which I named “Clunie’s Plains,” in compliment to the officer intended as my successor.

LIEUT. G. EDWARDS TO LIEUT.-COLONEL ALLAN

Moreton Bay 8th November 1830

Sir,

I have the honor to communicate to you the painful and distressing intelligence of the death of Captain Logan, who was surprised and Killed by the Blacks while on a journey of discovery, about three weeks since.¹ As the only

¹ 18 October 1830.
remaining 57th Officer now at Moreton Bay, I thought it my duty to communicate to you at length the following melancholy particulars of the last days of a much Lamented friend and officer of the Regiment.

Captain Logan's object on the late journey was, to lay down correctly on his chart the windings of the river between the Pine Ridge, Lockyer's Creek, and the Brisbane Mountain, and to ascertain more correctly the course and termination of a creek striking out of the Main River at the foot of the Brisbane Mountain, in a North-Eastern direction, and afterwards, (if he met with no obstacles,) to proceed to the Pumice Stone River, and the Glass-houses, and from thence back to the Settlement. On Saturday 9th of October, he left this place, and reached the Lime Stone Station the same night, distant overland twenty-five Miles. The next day (Sunday the 10th) they all set out upon their journey. The party consisted of Captain Logan, Private Collison 57th Regiment, his servant, five prisoners, (all good Bushmen) with two pack-bullocks. They travelled fourteen miles this day, in a North Westerly direction, and encamped on the Lime Stone side of the river. Two or three Blacks were seen near the Camp place at night. On Monday the 11th, at seven in the morning, the party left their encampment, which was near the River, but they had to proceed four miles further up before they could ford it. On approaching the river bank at the fording place, the Blacks assembled in great numbers, upwards of 200, and covered the hill close to where they had to pass, which was on the Lime Stone side of the river, and at this place they began to show a hostile feeling, by throwing and rolling down large stones on the party on passing, but no spears were thrown. At this time Captain Logan was in advance, and finding he could not proceed, on account of the Natives, he was obliged to fall back, and wait the coming up of the party. Collison, his servant, seeing what was going forward, fired a shot over their heads to frighten them: this for a time had the effect, and they kept more aloof, but while the party were in the act of fording the river, the Blacks closed on them again; he fired another shot while in the river, which again had the effect of keeping them off. The Natives appeared to know Captain

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2 Edwards, like Logan, belonged to the 57th Regiment, which was at that time being withdrawn from Brisbane in preparation for service in India. The new Commandant, who was to assume control of the settlement as soon as Logan left, was Captain J.O. Clunie, of the 17th Regiment.

3 Pine Mountain. Oxley had called it Pine Ridge (Oxley, Field Books, 21 September 1824).

4 The Stanley River, discovered by Lockyer in 1825 (Lockyer, Journal, 24 September 1825). It is referred to as a creek throughout this letter.

5 Brisbane Town.

6 Ipswich.

7 Possibly at Fairneyview.

8 Possibly at Fernvale Bridge.
Logan, for as soon as he had crossed, they repeatedly called out “Commidy Water”, intimating thereby, it is supposed, he should go back over the water. They followed at a distance all this day, hiding themselves occasionally behind trees, and in the long grass. The party then proceeded on to the place where his own horse was lost, on the former journey, and encamped about ten miles to the Northward of Lockyer's Creek, about halfway between that and Mount Irwin; here the tent was pitched for three days and two nights. On the Tuesday and Wednesday, the 12th and 13th, no Blacks seen, and nothing of any consequence occurred during this time; the men were distributed in twos in search of the lost horse, and Captain Logan was alone exploring in a North Easterly direction from the Brisbane Mountain. On the Morning of Thursday the 14th the tent was struck, and all went on towards the Junction, and encamped about half a mile from it. No Blacks seen, and nothing particular occurred this day. The next day (Friday) was employed in traversing a newly-discovered creek. On Saturday the 16th, Captain Logan left the party early in the morning on horseback, to explore the New Creek; he was alone on this duty all the day, and in traversing the first, he discovered a second Creek; this perplexed and retarded him for a time, and it was late when he returned from the examination of both.

On Sunday the 17th, Captain Logan said he had accomplished all that he could accomplish at this time, and by his directions, about seven o'clock this morning, they all commenced their return-journey back to the Lime Stone station. At eight he left the party, and went away alone, after having previously told Collison to make the nearest way for the junction of the River, and that he should find the party somewhere about that spot – He fell in with them betwixt twelve and one o'clock, much sooner than was expected, and remained with them about two hours, travelling in company. No Blacks had then been seen; and on crossing the river a track was perceived, which resembled that of a bullock or horse; he then told Collison to go on and pitch

9 The natives' attempt to pronounce “Commandant”. See Flinders in the “Norfolk”, 30 July 1799, at Note 83.
10 About May 1829 (see Cunningham, Report, 4 July 1829, Note 45). There appears to have been only one former journey here by Logan.
11 Mt. Esk. Logan had named it Irwin’s Range in 1829.
12 The junction of the Stanley River with the Brisbane. They travelled 15 miles this day.
13 The Stanley River (see Note 4 above). It was new in the sense that it had not yet been explored, although it had actually been discovered in 1825. The main party went about 10 miles up the Stanley; this can be deduced from the fact that they took about six hours to return to the junction on 17 October.
14 Possibly Kilcoy Creek.
15 Before they reached the junction.
the tent on the side of a creek, at a spot where they had encamped twelve months before. Captain Logan then, for the last time, parted with them to trace the horse or bullock track, which led him away in the direction of Mount Irwin; at which place he had been desirous of getting some basaltic formations. Collison and the party reached the tent-spot, and encamped about four o’clock this afternoon (Sunday) on the ground previously pointed out by Captain Logan; soon afterwards, the men thought they heard him “cooey”; they answered him, and then waited about half-an-hour when they thought they heard him “cooey” again: he was again answered, and four or five shots were fired at intervals during the evening, and the men fancied they heard him “cooey” in reply two or three times between the shots, but he did not return. The next morning early, (Monday the 18th) two men were sent down the creek to search, because it was known he must cross the creek on returning home; the men saw the track of his horse in the direction of the Lime-Stone. It was then taken for granted he had gone a-head, towards the above place, after missing the party. The tent was then struck, and all pursued their journey back.

On this day, Monday, about twelve o’clock, fifty or sixty Blacks made their appearance with spears, shields, and waddies. They hovered about the party shouting, getting behind trees, and endeavouring to close upon the party undiscovered. No shots were fired: they continued their course, and, in an hour or two after the Blacks went off towards Mount Irwin, which was the direction Captain Logan had taken the preceding evening. Nothing more occurred this day; and the party reached safely the same fording-place they had crossed on the Monday before. The encampment this night was chosen on the Pine-ridge side of the river, thinking some signs of Captain Logan’s track might be found on that side; but nothing was seen. The men then marked the trees, and made marks in the sand at the crossing place, to attract his notice (if he had not already passed,) that he might find and know the party had gone a-head. The men walked one by one after the bullocks, to make their track more distinct; this encampment was left on

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17 Esk Creek. Clunie’s report says, “Not far from the foot of Mount Irwin, he left the party, desiring them to proceed to a place he pointed out, and where he said he would join them in the evening.”

18 Actually seventeen months before; see Note 10 above.

19 This was indeed Logan; having failed to join the party, he crossed the creek nearer to the river, and continued for about 8 miles to the campsite of 11 - 14 October, near Logan Creek.

20 The party passed, but did not visit, the campsite where Logan had spent the night.

21 These were the same natives who, a few hours previously, had clubbed Logan to death. They probably prevented the party from visiting the Logan Creek campsite. It is significant that, when Collison failed to find Logan at Ipswich, he returned immediately to Logan Creek.
Tuesday Morning, and nothing occurred between this place and the Lime-
stone Station, which the party reached on Wednesday afternoon.

Not finding Captain Logan at the above station as was expected, Collison,
four prisoners, and private Hardacre, 57th Regiment, started the next morning
on a second journey to search for him. The party had light baggage, and
travelled between thirty and forty miles this day (Thursday 21st), and about
five o'clock in the evening, they arrived at the camp, where Captain Logan's
horse was lost on the former journey.22 The first thing seen on reaching the
ground, was the saddle laying beside a tree, with the stirrup-leathers cut
asunder, evidently by a stone tomahawk, and the stirrup-irons gone. The
saddle was about thirty yards from the remains of a fire; and it appeared to
have been taken there by the Blacks, for the purpose of cutting it on a fallen
tree. A space had been eaten round where the horse had been tethered — and
there were marks where Captain Logan had taken the horse to water.23

It also appeared that he had roasted some chesnuts at this fire: the remains
of the roasted chesnuts lay about the stump of a tree that had been burning;
and it was at this place the Blacks must have surprised him, for his foot marks
were very distinct, with long strides, where he had rushed from the fire to
his horse. A further search was then made, to see if any signs of struggling
or violence could be found; but nothing of the sort appearing, it was then
evident he must have jumped on his horse bare-backed, and made his escape:
the party then returned to the Lime-stone Station, without having seen a
Black on the whole journey. Being disappointed a second time in not finding
him there, another party went out, consisting of five soldiers of the 57th
and twelve prisoners, to traverse the country all about the junction. The
second day, (Tuesday,) after leaving the Limestone Station, they fell in
with another traversing party under the direction of Doctor Cooper.24 Both
parties united and travelled together. On Wednesday they reached the place
where the saddle was found: Collison, two prisoners, and one soldier, then
separated from the rest, and on searching about this part they found a place
where the Blacks had resorted to, but there had been no camp: it was on this
plain that the back part of Capt Logan's waistcoat was found covered with
blood: part of his compass was also found, as well as some leaves of his note-
book. Nothing else being discovered at this spot, they returned back to the

22 Clunie's report: "about ten miles from where Captain Logan had left them,
in the direction of the Lime Stone Station".
23 Clunie's report: "marks . . . of his having himself slept upon some grass in a
bark hut".
24 Henry Cowper was one of the two Assistant Surgeons at Brisbane Town. He
was generally unpopular, on account of his bad temper, but Clunie wrote,
"Mr. Cowper, whose exertions on this occasion were very great, and for which
I feel much indebted. . . ."
remainder of the party. On the following Morning, (Thursday,) Doctor Cooper, Collison, and five or six men, left the camp on another search, and after travelling about a mile, the Doctor smelled something very unpleasant; he made towards it, and on approaching a small creek\textsuperscript{25} with shallow water, he discovered the horse dead in the bottom, covered over with boughs; it appeared a leap had been attempted over the creek, and from the way the horse lay he could not have reached the other side. The Blacks must have pursued him to this place, and the marks were those of a horse in full gallop. One broken spear only was found in the opposite bank, and at this spot the Blacks must have certainly closed upon him. The party then went over the creek, and about seven or ten yards from the opposite bank, the body of poor Captain Logan was found. The back of his head appeared to have been much beaten about by Waddies. The Blacks made him a grave about two feet deep, and buried him with his face downward. The body had been carefully covered over by them, but the native dogs had scratched away the earth from his feet, which were found quite exposed. No clothes, or any of his covering, was found except his shoes, which were left near him. The grave appeared to have been made with some care, and long sticks were laid on each side of it.\textsuperscript{26} The body was then taken up, put into blankets, and by stages brought to the Lime-Stone Station, and afterwards by water to the settlement. His afflicted family return to Sydney by the “Governor Phillip”.\textsuperscript{27}

I have the honor to be &
(Signed) George Edwards
Lieut. 57th Regiment

\textsuperscript{25} Not Logan Creek; see introduction to this chapter.
\textsuperscript{26} It has been argued that the natives never buried the dead, and that Logan must have been buried by white men. Fraser (Journal, 25 July 1828) described a grave similar to Logan’s; both graves were probably made by natives.
\textsuperscript{27} A state funeral was held at St. James’s Church, Sydney.
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Abbreviations include M.L. (Mitchell Library); A.O.N.S.W. (Archives Office of New South Wales); N.L.A. (National Library of Australia); A.S.P.L.Q. (Archives Section of Public Library of Queensland); P.R.O. (Public Record Office, London).

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