

EXPLORATION OF JULIA CREEK DISTRICT
(Including searches for lost explorers)

[By S. ULICK BROWNE.]

(Read on March 27, 1958.)

Duncan McIntyre came out with the family from Scotland to Melbourne in 1836. Donald, five years younger, arrived in 1851, aged about nineteen.

Uncle Donald Campbell, of "Glengower," a pastoral property near Bendigo, almost certainly advised and financially assisted the two young men, who engaged with supply of beef to the gold-diggers now arriving in their thousands and tearing the country wide open. The young Scotchmen do not seem to have been affected by any gold fever, and developed quickly to the stage of "wandering pastoralists" seeking a property.

Thus we find them "with sheep, cattle and horses and a splendid outfit, intending to proceed to the Gulf of Carpentaria"; but held up south of the Queensland border by (a) the Darling River in flood, (b) outbreak of scab in the sheep, (c) consequent prohibition of entry by the Colony of Queensland. . . . This must have been 1859. Duncan then explored northward for country upon which stock could be grazed. This first journey of 2/300 miles penetrated to the Paroo River, Cooper's Creek, and into Queensland. Immediately on his return (reporting to brother Donald presumably), it was decided that he leave again for their original objective, "The Gulf of Carpentaria."

So, by 1864 Duncan McIntyre was established in the public mind as an explorer, having discovered (presumed) traces of the lost Leichhardt — two marked trees and two horses. S. E. Pearson records the trees as being "on Haddington westward from Dalgona," and that the horses were found on the Dugald River (named by McIntyre); but nobody to-day can indicate exactly.

Now, the McIntyres, making north from Victoria, and having the same destination as the Burke and Wills Expedition in view, would keep the movements of that much-publicised cavalcade under observation; and evidence is that Duncan must have followed close on Burke's trail in making his initial trip to the Gulf, when the "L" trees and the horses were found. (Refer to the

account published in the "Riverina Herald" towards the end of 1864 and my notes thereon, and to Edward Palmer's book, which states that McIntyre was on the Flinders in 1861.)

We can accept Sir Fergus McMaster's conception that Burke and Wills "made straight at the Ranges" somewhere about Selwyn, while Duncan McIntyre, "crossing Burke's track for a considerable distance," may have followed the Wills River. His outfit, comprising two whites, three blacks and twenty-five head of horses, could have been mistaken by the wild blacks.

For, Pearson asserts among conclusions that vary, but based importantly on what the blacks told, that Burke went up the Wills and over to the Corella watershed. But this is obviously incorrect and includes McIntyre; for had this happened, they would have either traversed north-easterly along the railway from Butru to Duchess, which is set in the Gate to Mount Isa on the Leichhardt River or, ascending right to the source of the Wills, they could have got out of the hills and towards the Barkly Tableland fairly easily (cattle are droved in numbers to Butru for trucking).

Both Bourke's expedition and Duncan McIntyre's aimed to strike the headwaters of the Albert River. Diversion to the north-eastwards was forced upon both of them by the rugged terrain; while both returned (vide Wills' Journals and the published interview with McIntyre 1864) along the O'Hara's Gap route, which is easy travelling.

So we must dismiss the possibility that Burke traversed the headwaters of the Corella River (as reasoned by Pearson in one set of his conclusions).

The country about Mary Kathleen mine, near its head, is far rougher than Wills records. McIntyre's account of their experience through the ranges, and of the course followed, tally with the blacks' tales that "Burke crossed over to the head of the Corella." My thesis lies with McMaster: that Burke ascended east of O'Hara's Gap; then I say that McIntyre, to the west of that feature and missing the Duchess "gate," got over the divide maybe via some "gate" that could be the route of the Ballara branch railway.

The name of Dalgonally, Julia Creek, etc.

It appears that "Dalgonally" is a name transposed from sand ridge country near Wanaaring on the Paroo

where Donald was located for a period with the stock. This is the opinion held by Mrs. Mackay and by a nephew of Donald's who was on Dalgonally. She observes that Von Mueller refers to Duncan "leaving 'Dargonelli'," and this had reference to the Paroo.

Note that though there is sand ridge country close to the homestead, the main soil constituent is open downs, marine clay averaging three feet deep, which is the almost unaltered silt of a landlocked gulf, raised here about 400 feet above sea level and extending back to the Kynuna Saddle (Griffith Taylor), which parts Gulf from Diamantina waters.

"Gilliot Creek" was the name given by the brothers to their initial location. One Gilliat was the superintendent dismissed by Biddulph Henning, who located and took up "Lara" 1863-4 in the grand manner. One Devlin was his representative in this, and Alick's Creek was named for a valued blackboy in the expedition despatched from "Exmoor" at the headwaters of the Bowen River, where Biddulph Henning had established some few years previously (vide "The Letters of Rachel Henning" dealing with "Exmoor" run). One suggests that he had been with the McIntyres, who named the Gilliat Channels from him (spelling it, themselves, "Gilliot").

"Eastern Creek" would be natural naming by McIntyre of the watercourse east of the Channels first occupied, before permanent establishment of the station on "McIntyre's Waterhole" where the defined channel of Julia Creek ends, approximately fifteen miles from the Cloncurry River.

To-day it is the only notable natural water along that creek; but when the country was first stocked there were several, together with mudsprings and soaks (the last merely traditional when closer settlement commenced in 1912). These would be escaping artesian waters, the tapping of which later resulted in sensational gushes for the primary flows (three from one and a half to two million g.p.d.). The water being contoured in bore-drains over the undulating downs and flat expanses.

Julia Creek

The main reason for moving eastwards from Gilliat to Julia Creek was that the latter country is better, and afforded a ready-made "bullock-paddock" in those unfenced days. Cattle, as gregarious as human beings,

are similarly attracted by far horizons. In the heat of summer and eating dry feed, they grow restless observing majestic-looking thunderstorms breaking afar off, especially if thereby some line of timber on the skyline is made to look inviting. The promise of cool shades, of water and green feed. Julia Creek's coolibah-fringed watercourse is well isolated from similar features; Eastern Creek to the west, Alick's to the east; and especially defended by treeless Downs without any natural water a month after rain, over the "Kynuna Saddle" on Quambetook. If they reached the Diamantina channels, cattle could have wandered right through to Cooper's Creek. The homestead at McIntyre's Waterhole defended against tendencies to make off for the Flinders or Cloncurry river-system.

The permanent location of Dalgonally was made after Duncan's death in 1866, and prior to that was on "The Grave Hole," situate right out on a wide flood plain (one bank, as I understand, being above flood level, as is common with such locations). The straggling coolibahs and guttapercha denote periodic severe floodings; indeed a tragic spot of isolation! I account for such a site being chosen because it would be a spot where cattle running up the channels could not make to the Cloncurry River timber unobserved. The site is nine miles north-west of the station and about four miles from the river.

The Naming

S. E. Pearson (letter November 14, 1944) observes: "In the early stages of pastoral occupation in your district, the watercourse now known as Julia Creek was 'Scorpion Creek.' It was so known up till about 1870, when the first Government Surveyor, Maurice O'Connell, came out to fix run boundaries. The name Scorpion was objected to by the surveyor as it was a prejudicial sort of name. . . . It was at the suggestion of Donald McIntyre, I understand, that the name was altered to 'Julia Creek'—a niece and aunt being 'Julias' (Campbells)." (From diaries of Ernest Henry's in his possession).

Yarns that Dalgonally "comprised most of the Gulf at one stage" can be discounted definitely, with others of "On Our Selection" flavour. The very types who derided this man—who maintained possessive solvency from 1866 to 1912, when the station was sold to Scottish and Australian Land Co.—after his death were

those inflating other aspects of his legendary being beyond belief.

Dalgonally, at maximum, comprised $960\frac{1}{2}$ square miles (614,720 acres). Following on acquisition of the first block named "Dalgonally" in 1864, comprising 25 square miles, others named "Glengower," "Bendigo," "Iona" and "Darn Downs," etc., were added.

The official taking-up of country in those days was subject to stringent conditions indeed. The Queensland Land Act of 1860 (vide Christison of Lammermoor, p. 52) provided for the issue of an Occupation Licence for a run of 100 square miles, and that, within nine months the occupier may apply for a fourteen-year lease, conditionally upon having stocked to one quarter of the assumed carrying capacity of 100 sheep or 20 head of cattle to the square mile. The rent for the first four years would be 10/- square mile in "unsettled districts." After four years' occupancy, the rent was liable to reappraisal. There was absolute power of resumption by the Government, upon twelve months' notice. . . . "So low were the prices of wool and meat, so high the cost of labour and transport, that it was only possible to make a living by raising stock in large numbers" . . . But, despite the astounding burden heaped on the landholder by the, even then, metropolitan-minded Government, McIntyre reports that in 1864 "The Flinders River country was occupied and stocked, from its source to within 280 miles of the sea, and one station 130 miles further down. Most of them were completely out of provisions, being cut off by the drought from all communication with Port Denison. The sheep were unshorn, and no appearance of shearing commencing. No men were procurable, and the occupiers were dispirited."

There was Edward Palmer to his immediate north on Canobie from 1864; Sautelle on "Byramine," northwest, and a Campbell cousin who was on Dalgonally for a time, acquired "Sedan" (where the dip is located), and made himself such a nuisance in the matter of branding calves, that Donald bought him out for £18,000, and this grated on him very much in later years. Gibson took up Millungera to the north and eastward, afterwards acquired by Meredith; his friend who died there in 1881 aged forty-one, following on a fall with his horse drafting cattle. Manfred Downs seems associated with the Meredith-Menzies interests and to

have been formed from portion of the original 200 square miles comprising the Lara, acquired by Henning early in 1864, which station was sold in 1866 to A. E. Donkin, who deserted the run following on a tremendous flood in 1870 when he spent a week on the roof of his hut (a notably low site near "Shanty Hole"), most of the stock being drowned.

Eddington, south-westerly, taken up by George MacGillivray, was sold-up for a song. One of the sons, Dudley, a Cloncurry commission agent and mining speculator, was material at the birth of Mount Isa around 1922-23.

John Courtenay and C. J. Scrutton occupied "Julia Creek Holding" to his south (vide four mile map), and had to be bought out. There is a record of a court case re allowances on young stock in a deal for 700 head of cattle with Donald McIntyre.

A. F. Farley, manager of Dalgonally from 1917 to 1939, informed me that Donald sold Quambetook Lease, the headwaters of Julia Creek (probably to someone prepared to sink an artesian bore on it) in the late 1890's; and Frank Brazil, a stockman who worked for McIntyre, told me they used to muster cattle from what is to-day Tarbrax, across to the bull-wire tailing yards on Julia Creek.

These are on Hilton Park, the adjoining resumption to Garomma, and I had the bores recorded by the Irrigation Commission as "A" 300 feet and "B" 30 feet cased with six-inch casing. It is believed that these were sunk by Dalgonally using a hand-operated boring plant. They were much used in days before the railway bore was sunk at Julia Creek in 1908, following the collapse of the "Government Dam," where the original Julia Creek mail change was located. The bores were pumped by spear pump, a simple Australian ventricle-valve in a tube used mainly on "soaks" in sandy rivers.

Duncan's search for Leichhardt

Following on all the publicity of 1864, when Baron Dr. Ferdinand von Mueller must have been greatly impressed by the young Scotch bushman with the easy manners and evident competence, this social and scientific luminary inspired the formation of a Ladies' Leichhardt Search Expedition, appointing Duncan McIntyre, leader.

Duncan was by this time "on the Bulloo" making back to Dalgonally and arranging to "stock some of the rivers discovered by me last year," with the aid of one McLeod.

In a letter to his Uncle Donald Campbell, dated August 24, 1865, he says: "I have been up the Darling Downs direction and bought a lot of cattle near the Barcoo River. On May 27 I started to take delivery, going through the Maranoa district. After a journey of nearly 500 miles I arrived at the station, everything was in great confusion, no water where the station and yards were. We had to put up a yard before we could do anything. After a month's hard work, we got the cattle together and started them, intending to go a week with them to see how McLeod would shape. In a few days I saw he was not capable of taking the cattle on, and as I had to return to the Darling River for the horses" . . . Duncan drove them back to the station they had lately left, and let the cattle go again, "for the place had been deserted by the owners." And blacks, though previously bad, were not in evidence, doubtless due to drought. On July 12 he started for the Darling with McLeod. They reached the head of the Bulloo without difficulty "and followed the watercourse down for 300 miles and arrived at Mr. Dowling's." This friend had left for the Paroo seven weeks previously, intending to go to Mount Murchison, but had not been heard of. The poor man had been murdered on the track by his own blackboys. "I learned at Hood and Torrance's for the first time that I had been appointed leader of the L.L.S. Expedition. . . . The camels, stores, etc., left here yesterday for Mount Murchison (where the letter was written). Ninety miles without water. I am going up the river to get horses, and sell the rubbish they sent up; although, had they been the best horses in Victoria, they would not be fit to go northward after getting here in such a season as this." The L.L.S. Expedition Duncan refers to arrived at Pooncarie on the Darling River on July 31, 1865, and Duncan met them on the Darling on August 22. Dr. Murray, in charge, advised Dr. Mueller that he handed over to Duncan at "Nockalija" and Mr. McIntyre declares he will make the Gulf in forty days from Bulloo and begin search in the New Year. . . ." A subsequent report from Dr. Murray was to the effect that the party nearly perished from thirst and had

broken up (on the long dry-stage referred to by Duncan) "but McIntyre was carrying on with two men and an Indian!"

Duncan McIntyre, writing to his Uncle Donald Campbell on May 2, 1866, from "The Gregory River" (compare with Palmer's testimony, later): "I wrote you about five weeks ago from the Gilliot River, sending you papers connected with the expedition. I got another man named McLeod and two of the blackboys Donald brought over with the cattle and seven horses, on April 2. I started a search for further traces of Leichhardt, and called at the Port to get some more rations." He tells of the awful fever-sickness at Burketown, and camped well away from the place. People were dying daily, and then McLeod got it (Mrs. MacKay's letter relates, instead of quoting). Then she transcribes, "Perhaps there is something unusual in the atmosphere this season, for the natives of the country seem to be all right."

"We have met no positive traces of Leichhardt, but we have ascertained beyond doubt that whites are now, or have been, among the blacks within the last ten years. (This expedition left Brisbane in 1848. Allowing that they would be on the Gregory in 1849, this, in 1866, would be sixteen years later.) There is a boy and a girl, ten-twelve years of age, almost white, with light blue eyes and red hair; and in another tribe a girl about fifteen. And in another a grown woman about eighteen. And there is rumour of a white man among a tribe of two hundred, a day's ride from here."

Duncan died at "The Grave Hole" on June 4, 1866. (Note: So he must have made back when he realised his illness. There is no record of what happened to McLeod, who presumably is that man mentioned as being with Duncan taking delivery of cattle on the Barcoo.)

Slowman, second in command (compare Palmer's account), made a statement to this effect to Dr. Mueller in Melbourne, and one Gracey (employed by Donald McIntyre) "tells how Duncan arrived at the station very ill. . . ." The burial service was read over his grave by Slowman according to Duncan's wish," who summarised, reporting to von Mueller, "In Mr. McIntyre I had every confidence and would have gone anywhere with him. A splendid bushman and adept at water-

finding, an accomplishment the value of which to an explorer cannot be over-estimated."

Mrs. Mackay observed in a letter dated September 1, 1944, to me, that, "Duncan McIntyre was at Dalgona first. He must have made the overland trip from Victoria in 1862-3, searching for pastoral country. He was back in Melbourne at Christmas 1864, which was where my mother met him first, having just arrived from Scotland. There was much talk of the wonderful new country Duncan had taken up. My father had been trading in cattle to the goldmines, and on Dnncan's report, then travelled from Victoria to stock up with sheep. These had to be sold near the Queensland border because scab had broken out in New South Wales and regulations forbade entry to Queensland. He then bought cattle at Mount Margaret and went on, arriving at Bowen Downs where Mr. and Mrs. Nat Buchanan were living, and stayed a month. This was the beginning of a life-long and very firm friendship. Duncan must have gone on to Dalgona ahead, and letters to his Uncle Donald Campbell at "Glengower," Victoria, gave full accounts of everything he found. It was to him he told of the horses and marked trees, and Dr. Mueller, who took "the matter up, decided they were Leichhardt traces. The L.L.S. Expedition was formed, and the expedition left Castlemaine on July 3 under Dr. Murray. . . ."

I cannot line this up with other accounts, times, seasons and events. Duncan McIntyre's Leichhardt discoveries must have been made in a splendid season, such as 1861. The McIntyres must have had "nine points of the Law," namely, possession, prior to Landsborough's and McKinlay's discoveries along the Flinders and in the Gulf becoming public property in August 1862. Otherwise they would have lost out in the race; for it would have meant over 800 miles overlanding from the Paroo, compared with something more than 400 from Port Denison. "Gilliot Creek" savours of arrival from the west, down the McKinlay or Cloncurry Rivers. Julia Creek, and even Eastern Creek, are better country than the Gilliat Channels and those further west towards Cloncurry. I maintain that the brothers held to the cattle comprising their outfit which left Victoria and was held up by a Darling flood (which cannot be worked to 1865 as I understand Mrs. Mackay).

Meatworks and Refrigeration

Those in the North were as refrigeration-conscious as other Australians; and probably more so due to distance from southern markets, as well as other deemed prospective, overseas. (Refer to "A History of the Frozen Meat Trade" by J. T. Critchell and J. Raymond.) By 1870 the possibilities of sheep-stocking, so definitely controlled by natural conditions as these are, were more clearly recognised.

Landsborough made significant summary in his report from Bunnawannah on the Darling River dated June 2, 1862, recording "Our route from the Gulf of Carpentaria, Mr. Gregory's route from South Australia and the routes of other explorers, demonstrate that sheep, cattle and horses can be taken at small cost and in the finest condition from S.A., Victoria and N.S.W., and the inland districts of Queensland, to stock the country near the Gulf of Carpentaria, **or for export to the Indies or elsewhere.**"

All he could practically visualise in the early 1860's would be export on the hoof; but it was recognised that refrigeration must come. Great weight was undoubtedly attached to this "Trade in Meat to the Teeming Millions of the East" by the early cattlemen, much more so than the trade with Britain herself. Donald McIntyre referred to this aspect continually.

In 1872 he had bought grazing property, St. Anne's, Ch. Towers, near Bowen (later sold because of blacks making it dangerous for Mrs. McIntyre to take up residence there with her young family while Donald administered Dalgonally). So a home was bought in town; Bowen in those days had not lost the position of chief port for all the northern and western portion of Queensland to Townsville.

At Bowen, Donald must have been closely in touch with another thrusting pioneer, Christison, who was to become involved with the export of frozen meat.

Thomas Mort had established the first freezing works in the world, at Darling Harbour, in 1861. Eighteen seventy-nine saw the first successful shipment by the "Strathleven" from Melbourne to London. Mort himself died in 1878, so did not live to realise the successful outcome of all that he had striven to accomplish.

Christison had a freezing works established on Poole Island near Bowen in 1883, and an initial ship-

ment appears to have been made or attempted. But mechanical, managerial and financial problems, culminating with a cyclone and tidal wave, forced Christison to relinquish his efforts in 1884. What remained was sold, and the industry temporarily abandoned.

We know of "meatworks" at both Normanton and Burketown, but details of what was done, and their constitution, seem non-existent. The former, situate about five miles below the town on the river, were Donald McIntyre's; those at Burketown were controlled by E. R. Edkins' interests which then held properties in the Gulf (E. R. Edkins being the first manager of Mount Cornish).

Whatever plant remained there of value was taken to "Shand's Meatworks," established on the seashore, Karumba in the 1930's. To-day (1957) burnt out rump and stump by a bushfire. They never functioned effectively. Mr. Phil Schaffert, of Magoura, informed me that it had become just a show of outmoded machinery coming mainly from Q.M.E.'s meatworks at Biboohra; and that in any case, breeding was alone possible in the Gulf and nothing, normally, can be fattened thereabouts.

Endeavouring to assess what markets for fresh beef might exist, one found census returns rather obscure and probably incorrect due to the populations moving and spread about with communications so primitive. The following statement was obtained from the Queensland Statistician:

	1886	1891	1901	1911	1954
Burketown			164	265	79
Charters Towers	5435x	14569x		15037	6961
Cloncurry	429	428	243	1054	1955
Cooktown	2482x		2620	1257	448
Croydon	591x	2565x	1231	932	127
Georgetown	267		433	386	151
Townsville	7860		8564	13678	40471
Normanton			1251	541	238
Etheridge		1633x			
Palmer		1164x			
Ravenswood		2315x			

x "Goldfield," in distinction to the town only.

The inscription and the monument at "The Grave Hole," Dalgona

The surname appears as MACINTYRE, and to enquiry Mrs. Annie McKay observes:

"Regarding the name, it really should be McIntyre, because my father did spell it that way. I know quite well that we should have been rapped over the knuckles by my father over this matter; but it is a distinction

without a difference. In Scotland the 'Mac' is more in use than 'Mc,' and is more correct. In this case it means 'The son of the carpenter. . . .'

"Men of the Macdonald clan were sailing to the mainland, when the boat sprung a leak, and one of the party stuck his thumb in the hole and cut it off; to be afterwards known as 'The Carpenter' and his sons 'Macs,' Mac-ant-saor, or the nearest in English 'Macintyre' with a small 'i'."

Edward Palmer came to Queensland in 1857, and set out from Bowen for the head of the Flinders River in 1864, continuing at Canobie until 1899. The initial stock on the country were sheep.

In 1865 he went to Burketown, and reports that the hulk of the "Firefly," which had been towed from Sir Chas. Hardy's Islands and up the Albert River, was in an upright position and close to the left bank, with portion of her side cut away to permit unloading the horses she carried. According to Palmer,⁽¹⁾ "A Search Expedition for Leichhardt was promoted by The Ladies of Melbourne, and the leadership was entrusted to Duncan Macintyre, who had located two horses and two "L" trees on the **Dugald River during a private expedition in 1861**. Mr. Macintyre went out with camels and horses and formed a depot camp at Dalgona Station on Julia Creek in 1865. He went to Burketown for the purpose of buying stores; took ill and died. He is spoken of as a man of high attainments and of large experience in bushmanship, and his untimely death was fatal to the objects of the expedition, the leadership of which was then assumed by W. F. Barnett. A short trip was undertaken, travelling westward over the Cloncurry River to the Dugald, to the camp marked XLV. of Duncan Macintyre on his **first expedition to the Gulf**, the camp where he found the horses lost by Leichhardt. Not having any fixed plan or instructions, they wandered. A blackboy died, and then they returned to the depot camp, while the well-equipped expedition was eventually given up and the party dispersed. In consequence of the leader's death, no notes of his journey were obtainable. The camels remained on Dalgona, the property of Donald Macintyre, for years, and increased to quite a herd. The ladies of Melbourne sent a handsome gravestone to be erected over the lonely

(1) "Early Days in North Queensland," pp. 78-80.

grave of the explorer, but for many years it lay unnoticed on the beach at Thursday Island, and is probably still there."

Dr. Murray successfully handed over the expedition intact to Duncan, presumably a stranger to most of the L.L.S. personnel in Melbourne, who could not appreciate the incidence of drought or the strain endured up to that point. And then, on the first leg of Duncan's command, the whole expedition is split up and the majority of the men leave. Followed by Duncan's death next year and eventual dispersion of all the expedition's assets and personnel. Is it reasonable to credit such spontaneous gratitude springing from the breasts and the purses of the ladies, still bereft of their Leichhardt, lacking record of definite achievements in their interests?

In 1918, however, I am pleased to have witnessed the arrival at Julia Creek of the monument now erected at the Grave Hole; put there by the family, and not our visionary Melbourne ladies—directed by Mrs. Annie MacKay.

Melrose and Fenwick, of Townsville, supplied and engraved the stone, but the inscription is well-nigh illegible in 1957. Bill Horton, teamster, carted it on his table-top waggon with nineteen horse team (no lorries then!) and Bill Norton, butcher and handyman, of Julia Creek, yoking up a spring cart outfit, erected it.

"Burketown" was founded by Capt. Norman, when he landed Landsborough there to search (ostensibly) for Burke and Wills. Walker shortly turned up, according to arrangement, overlanding on the same mission from Rockhampton. He had found Burke's tracks on the Flinders River. Searching around the Bynoe and travelling south along the Flinders for five days, he established quite a deal about what happened to Burke and Wills. He found "a net and a bundle, and in the latter a small plait of fine auburn hair, certainly not that of a black."

Quite a lot of evidence is recorded about marked trees and Burke's tracks; which was what these men had been dispatched to find, and not go "hareing" across country in the grand manner of Landsborough and McKinlay, who, however, with the instinctive urges of their race strong in them, accomplished more towards

establishing basic facts about a very large area of unknown pastoral country than any explorers since the 1840's.

Norman decided, from the account given by Walker, to provide him with stores designed to take him back along the route he had come, in the hope that more about Burke and Wills' fate would be discovered; but there is no evidence that anything more was attended to by Walker, than to name the Norman River and get back to Rockhampton as expeditiously as possible. All that happened at "Carpentaria" (Burketown being later naming), deserves close study for its human aspects.

Norman was a naval martinet, who, after rescuing Landsborough's party and salvaging the "Firefly," towed the hulk to the Albert River with the horses in it. What he had done, enabled him to take control of "the shipwrecked mariners"; and everything points to personal dislike between himself and Landsborough.

The pamphlet in Welsby Library, "Journal of Landsborough's Expedition from Carpentaria in search of Burke and Wills," was issued by Landsborough somewhat in self-defence. Which may be instanced by a letter he prints, dated July 5, 1862, addressed to "The Colonial Secretary of Queensland":

"Sir,—Having learned from the Queensland news in 'The Sydney Weekly Mail' of May 24, that the Hon. the Colonial Treasurer said that he had no doubt the parties in search of Burke's tracks were making tracks for themselves. . . .

"I have, however, no intention of applying for any of the country recently discovered by me,

W. Landsborough."

The total hurriedly disbursed from the public purse on these "Search" expeditions was really tremendous as this extract from the financial summary of expenses shows:

The Burke and Wills Expedition	£14,391
Landsborough's	4,393
Walker's	3,209
Howitt's	4,806
Contingencies	2,177
Expended by the Government in the purchase of camels	5,498

Outlay incurred by the Government in sending the "Victoria" to the Gulf of Carpentaria	11,676
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	£46,149
Other items connected with monument and pensions, amounted to over	11,600
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	£57,749
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The expense of McKinlay's expedition was borne by South Australia and is unknown to me, but can be presumed equal to Landsborough's; without the £11,676 a/c. H.M.C.W.S. Victoria!

One can realise that when all these affairs were forward, and the sum of results unrealised, that any reference to "The Burke and Wills Expedition" would either generate gloom or there would be lightnings of expression.

Now, when Landsborough got mobile at "The Depot in Carpentaria" he could not contain himself waiting for Frederick Walker's expected arrival. He wrote Capt. Norman on November 15, 1861:

"I shall do my utmost to find traces of Mr. Burke and his companions between here and Mount Stuart, and will, D.V., return within the time." (Ninety days had been provided for this south-easterly thrust towards Central Mount Stuart.) He got to Camooweal and the waterless Barkly Tableland (which he named).

On December 20, 1861, Walker had left "Carpentaria," retracting his route and naming the Norman River—well supplied with stores having arrived on 7th instant. The same day, Norman writes Landsborough that, in view of what Walker had ascertained, he considers it now unnecessary for him to follow on with his projected route to the south-east, and that he should consider returning in the "Victoria," possibly turning his horses loose. Or, Landsborough might join with Walker.

Throughout it is apparent that Landsborough's original intentions (merely incommoded by shipwreck and his relations with Norman; and Walker's intrusive discoveries) were, firstly, to explore south-west towards the end point of MacDouall Stuart's first expedition. The time tentatively arranged with Norman, ninety

days, cutting across A. C. Gregory's route from Sturt Creek to Rockhampton in 1856, to get to the centre of Australia and back to "Carpentaria" indicates that Landsborough expected repulse. And, secondly, make a long trek south-east, towards country he already knew to be good, and thence linking up other points via Warrego and Barcoo through to the Darling and to Melbourne. Which he accomplished.

On February 7, 1862, there is written acknowledgement by Norman of Landsborough's report upon his expedition to the south-west and applying all the brakes as recounted.

While Her Majesty's colonial war steamer "Victoria" remained at anchor near the mouth of the Albert River, Landsborough was on grazing country with plentiful fresh water, twenty-six miles from the mouth, where the hulk "Firefly" constituted "the depot in Carpentaria" which became the township of Burketown in short order; a resident population engaged with settlement and trade, together with allied human activities of escapism and dissipation.

What is known as "The Gulf Fever" wiped out Burketown decisively, I think, twice. It was some particularly virulent malaria or maybe another variety of fever altogether. Duncan McIntyre's observation that the blacks were not affected appear at variance with a malarial basis. At all events, It was for years a great menace to settlement, which vanished with stocking. Not, seemingly, experienced northward from Boorooloola, some 200 miles up the side of the Gulf.

At the depot the waters of the Albert are fresh due to unique artesian springs at the head of the Gregory River and Beames Brook. "The mangroves are scarce and back from the river there is rising ground. . . ." Permanent waterholes, too, where the Nicholson River runs out in its indeterminate end to the westward of Burketown. The hinterland, with its "Plains of Promise," deserved the optimistic expectations of those first on the scene, but only if assessed on its prospects during and following the "wet season," from December to March. The disability, shared by the whole north and north-west of our continent, being winter-drought; the coastal regions enjoying heavier average rainfalls than the interior (and the word "average" must be emphasised because irregularity is extreme). But whereas the dried grasses inland stand like clumps of

cured hay (of undesirably less protein value than cultivated crops, however), what grows in the coastal regions is completely blackened by dew; while the variability in these tropical latitudes has encouraged rough blady grasses rather than those nutritiously palatable to livestock.

So Landsborough, striking south-east in February 1862, crossed the Leichhardt River and named in the following order: Neumayer Valley, Donor's Hills, Fort Bowen, Mounts Little and Brown, Hervey Downs, O'Connell Creek, Bramston Range, Sloane Creek, Walker's Creek, Frederick Walker Range, Walker's Table Mountain, Jardine Creek. There he left the Flinders River, crossing to Tower Hill Creek, which he had previously recommended to Christison; and thence southward over country he knew, and via the Warrego and Darling to Melbourne.

Landsborough makes no reference whatever to anything of a search for Burke and Wills. He kept going all the time, on the course he had set for himself. Had to; otherwise his provisions would not have carried him to civilisation. One can visualise the keenness with which he followed the tracks of a single bullock, and the disappointment at finding it had doubled back, at Walker's Creek!

This doyen of Queensland explorers instinctively sought merely to blazon abroad all that he saw, and as he visualised future prospects. The man himself was to end his days in comparative obscurity at Caloundra., but this culminating expedition indeed marked a population-surge of great significance in our history.

All that Landsborough and McKinlay reported created such a remarkable surge of settlement among the many thinking they were cramped and lacking opportunities in Victoria, that it is known to-day as "The Hegira." The Exodus. Before 1870 all the far-western and north-western areas of Queensland had been taken up by pastoralists. Nobody then comprehended that the country's rainfall was the southern fringe of the Great Monsoons of Sumatra, Java and New Guinea; so was affected by any periodic recession. And with the solar evaporation around ten feet per annum, the onset of "dry times" marked years of drought, decades of "natural fallow" which arbitrarily controlled those out-thrusting settlers.

John McKinlay, who seems to have been a driving type of bushman, was commissioned to search for Burke and Wills, proceeding from Adelaide. At Lake Massacre he first considered he had found two graves of the lost explorers, and sent Hodgkinson back to Adelaide with the news. However, his find turned out to be Gray's grave, and another, unknown. Howitt from Melbourne discovered what actually happened to Burke and Wills, rescuing the sole survivor, King, on Cooper's Creek. McKinlay knew of this. He had been instructed, in such eventuality, to search for a goldmine reported to be along Stuart's last route (his second attempt which ended in 1860), but reporting that floods prevented him from doing this, he seems to have taken the bit in his teeth in order to make northward to that same "depot on Carpentaria," where he expected (unsuccessfully as it turned out) to find the cache of provisions left by the opulently provisioned war steamer commanded by Capt. Norman. One realises that at the date Howitt found King, September 15, 1861, all that had gone forward in connection with search expeditions would be known. The burying of stores at Burketown by Lieut. Gascoyne, which Norman had refused Landsborough, being accepted naval policy.

On arrival at the depot, unable to locate the cache, he was forced to strike for the eastern coast 700 miles away. Following a more northerly course to the Great Dividing Range than Walker, McKinlay experienced all the rough terrain which Leichhardt followed on his first overland journey to Port Essington; good bushmanship and endurance alone holding things together when reduced to living on horseflesh only, owing to other provisions having all been consumed. Getting to Bowen, he took his ship from there for Adelaide, meeting with Landsborough in Melbourne.

S. E. Pearson records: "Early in 1862 McKinlay followed up the Diamantina River on its eastern side, crossing at Kell Creek where Cork Station is situated; and following up Saville Creek through what became Lhanrheidol, crossing thence to the head of the Hamilton River, which he named. Passing through McKinlay's Gap, the expedition tore away to the north-west keeping the ranges in sight" (excellent description). "McKinlay did not name either the McKinlay River or the Gilliat Channels. I fancy," records Pearson, "that these watercourses, together with Eastern Creek, were

named by Duncan McIntyre. He was the next to follow McKinlay to the Gulf country. McKinlay named the ranges he passed through after himself. They run from McKinlay's Gap to the Williams River, and should not be confounded with the Selwyn Range further to the south-west, which was named by Hodgkinson in 1876 after Sir Chas. Selwyn, the Government Geologist in Victoria. The next main watercourse that McKinlay crossed was the Fullarton River, named for Inspector Fullarton, of the S.A. Police. The Williams was named after an Adelaide gentleman who had liberally assisted the fitting out of his expedition. Then came the Elder, after Sir Thos. Elder, of Elder, Smith and Co., who had also assisted and had supplied camels."

McKinlay also named the "Pymurra" of the Kalkadoons, the "Jennie" River for Miss Jean Pile of Avoca Station, whom he subsequently married. Crossing it "a few miles below Fort Constantine," vide Pearson, this can be taken as on a course lying close to the mount later named by Henry.

His naming was not accepted "as Burke had already named it the "Cloncurry," after Lord Cloncurry.

"Jennie" seems to have been misrecorded "Jessie." For this name appears on a map in the Mitchell Library recording McKinlay's route, while "Jessievale" is the name of a property in this "Pymurra area" owned by Charles Stodart, and "Pymurra" is a siding on the Great Northern Railway.

I gained the impression that the named "Cloncurry River" on the map referred to showed the course of the Corella River, while "Jessie" indicated the way Cloncurry River flows. I cannot remember whether "Corella" river appeared, and if so, how it was featured. The number of streams over all the Gulf region cannot be conveyed by maps, and the headwaters often disproportionately large compared to what is noted lower down, probably due to the progressively rising floor of The Gulf above sea-level, postdating times when the sources of these streams were formed by much heavier rainfalls.

To continue quoting Pearson (following introduced comment re "Jennie-Cloncurry"): "He next named the Corella and Dugald rivers" (other authorities claiming that Duncan McIntyre named the latter, finding the 'Leichhardt horses' thereon), "and on the course he

was holding, crossed the Leichhardt River (Myjenda of the Kalkadoons) near the present site of Kamilaroi.

“Passing some fifteen miles distant from the Cloncurry township site, he did not see the Black Mountain (rich iron ore, samples of which were transported 800 miles by Henry’s packhorses, only to learn that it was valueless in those times—and still is; apparently so far from the sea. Subsequently Henry opened up “The Great Australian Coppermine,” where the town was established); “but he observed the rocky hill lower down the Cloncurry River, which Ernest Henry named ‘Fort Constantine’.”

My contention, supported by others knowing the country, being that Burke and Wills crossed from the Cloncurry to the Corella, between Fort Constantine homestead and Clonagh’s (the latter on the Corella River); some extracts from Wills’ “Cooper’s Creek to Carpentaria. . . . Field-book No. 6, Lat. 21 deg. to 20 $\frac{1}{4}$ deg. . . . Stations 98 to 105, upper part of Cloncurry.”

Saturday, January 19, 1861. Started from Camp XCVIII at 5.30 a.m. and passing to the north-west of Mount Forbes across a fine and well-grassed plain, kept at first a north by east direction; at a distance of three miles the plain became everywhere stony, being scattered over with quartz pebbles, and a little farther on we came to low quartz ranges, the higher portions of which are covered with porcupine grass, but the valleys are well clothed with a variety of coarse and rank herbage. At about five miles we crossed a creek with a sandy bed, which has been named Green’s Creek. . . . After crossing the creek, we took a due north course over very rugged quartz ranges of an auriferous character. Pieces of iron ore, very rich, were scattered in great numbers over some of the hills . . . about to cross one of the branch creeks in the low range, we surprised some blacks. . . . **Crossing the range at the head of this creek, we came on a gully running north, down which we proceeded, and soon found it open out into a creek at two or three points, in which we found water. “Finding that the creek (Cloncurry River?) “was trending too much to the eastward, we struck off to the north again, and at a short distance came on a fine creek, running about south-east. . . . We travelled it up for about one mile and a half, and came to a fine waterhole in a rocky basin (where they camped).**

Sunday, January 27, 1861. Started from Camp CV, five minutes past two in the morning. We followed along the bends of the creek by moonlight, and found the creek wind about very much, taking on the whole a north-east course. . . .”

Studying the wording, and realising that, debouching east from the mountains (i.e. the whole FALL of the country eastwards and northerly), “The fine creek running about south-east,” which they followed up, camped, and continued along next morning, commencing at 2 a.m., must be a clerical error for a NORTH-EAST course—the Corella River’s course?

I understand that Mr. Frank Clune interpreted “running to the south-east” as indicating “Julia Creek” which flows FROM the south-east until its channel debouches onto the flood-plain north of Dalgona Homestead (McIntyre Waterhole). Error in description seems proved by Wills recording “We travelled it up for about one mile and a half.”