Exploration by Major Edmund Lockyer of the Brisbane River in 1825.

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(Read before the Society on 28th April, 1919).

Before dealing particularly with the visit of Major Lockyer, in 1825, I beg to submit the following introductory remarks on earlier visits, and also in regard to certain statements on the subject by previous writers, which appear to me to demand correction. In December, 1823, when Oxley discovered the Brisbane River, he travelled as far as Termination Hill, 42 miles from the mouth.

In August, 1824, Oxley paid his second visit to Moreton Bay and established the first settlement at Redcliffe. In the following month he ascended the river, and reached a point about a mile beyond the Pumping Station, and about 14 miles further than that of his previous journey. Russell in his "Genesis of Queensland" mentions in regard to this occasion, that Oxley proceeded forty miles beyond the place he had reached in the previous December. There is no authority for that statement. The furthest point he reached on the river was 56 miles from the mouth. He arrived at Sydney on his return, on 21st October, 1824.

On 9th November, 1824, less than three weeks from the date of his arrival in Sydney, Oxley made a third journey. On this occasion he accompanied the Governor, Sir Thomas Brisbane, the Chief Justice, and others in the brig Amity. The name of John Finnegan, one of the shipwrecked men whom Oxley discovered at Moreton Bay in 1823, is mentioned in the Sydney Gazette as having also accompanied this party. It was then decided to remove the settlement from Redcliffe to Edenglassie, shortly afterwards re-named Brisbane. The Sydney Gazette of 9th December, 1824, mentions that the party on this occasion ascended the river for a distance of 28 miles.

Between the above date and September, 1825, the river was explored for a considerable distance by a Mr. Gray, a pilot who appears to have been sent from Sydney for the purpose of buoying the channels of the Bay and the entrance
to the Brisbane River.* I can find no record of this journey, other than a brief reference in the Sydney Gazette of 1st September, 1825, to the effect that "Mr. Gray has been up (the Brisbane River) between 200 and 300 miles, and it then began to expand instead of closing as might be expected." This description may be taken for what it is worth, but there is in Lockyer's Journal an interesting, but brief, reference to Gray's journey, which throws some additional light on the subject, to which further reference will be made later on.

It appears singular, with the exception of that visit by Pilot Gray, there seems to have been no serious attempt between the date of the establishment of the first settlement at Redcliffe in August, 1824, and the date of Lockyer's visit in September, 1825, to explore the upper reaches of the river. If that is really the case, the omission suggests a singular absence of enterprise or reasonable curiosity on the part of those who were in command of the settlement.

Major Lockyer arrived at Sydney from England in May, 1825, in command of a detachment of the 57th Regiment. He had served for 20 years in India and Ceylon. On 31st August, 1825, three months after his arrival, he was instructed by Sir Thomas Brisbane to proceed in the cutter Mermaid, and explore the course of the Brisbane River as far as practicable by boat and by land, and the instructions contained precise directions as to the particular subject upon which he was expected to report. It was intimated to him that, if possible, he should return to Sydney in six weeks' time. He left Sydney on 1st September, and arrived back on 16th October, four days later than the allotted period. On the day following his arrival, he made his report to the Governor. His original report and journal, like many other similar documents of that time, have disappeared.

A signed rough tracing showing the extent of his journey is now amongst the records of the Brisbane Survey Office. A copy of his diary appeared in the July and October numbers of Wilton's Quarterly Journal, published in Sydney in 1828, and I have in my possession his original instructions, as well as rough drafts in his handwriting of his report and an introduction to his diary. There is also in the Sydney Gazette of 20th October, 1825, a condensed but interesting description of the results of his journey. During this journey Lockyer reached a point about one mile below Cressbrook Creek, 150 miles from the mouth of the river. He discovered the stream which now bears his name, and the Stanley River, and he viewed the surrounding country from Mount Brisbane, which he named. He was also the

* A copy of Gray's Chart is preserved in the Survey Office, Brisbane.
first to discover the occurrence of coal in Queensland, having found a coal seam, forming part of what are now known as the Ipswich coal measures.

Although imperfectly equipped for such work, he carried out his instructions faithfully, but had the misfortune to meet with unfavorable criticism at the hands of Allan Cunningham, a friend of Oxley's and also a distinguished explorer as well as botanist, and this criticism appears to have been repeated and varied by subsequent chroniclers. Cunningham accompanied Oxley during the latter's second visit to the Brisbane River in 1824, and he surveyed the Bremer River in 1828, during a journey of which he has left a most interesting Report. Cunningham says in that report: "Beyond this spot (that is Oxley's furthest point) the Brisbane River was subsequently (in 1825) traced in a north westerly direction by Major Lockyer. It is to be regretted that possessed of so much zeal and perseverance, this gentleman had not provided himself with the requisite information of the determined position of his several stations, and more particularly of the extreme points to which the means he possessed enabled him to reach. . . . Being thus aware that this excellent gentleman had no means of ascertaining the geographical situation on 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." This opinion coming from so eminent and usually so accurate an authority practically settled the question, as subsequent writers appear not only to have followed this judgment, but from time to time have added to it. In Lockyer's rough draft of the introduction to his diary, he refers to John Finnegan, who was placed at his service and accompanied him up the river. Lockyer had been at the time only a very brief period in the Colony. It appears probable that Oxley's omission to refer to Finnegan and his companions, had formed the subject of comment in Sydney, and Lockyer heard from Finnegan a statement more or less accurate at first hand. This appealed to his sympathy, and if his report contained a similar expression of his views to that which appears in the draft, there can be little reason for doubting that he incurred the serious displeasure of Oxley and his friends. Relying, perhaps, too implicitly on the statement of Finnegan, who appears to have ignored his former companions, and to have claimed the sole credit of discovering the river, Lockyer expresses the opinion that it would have been more appropriate to have called the river after the man who really discovered it, and he adds the somewhat daring
expression of opinion: "Its discovery is, however, of more importance than whether it is called the Finnegan or the Brisbane. I think Sir Thomas possesses too liberal a mind to feel displeased at my giving the correct relation of the first discoverer of the Brisbane."

I have no doubt that, later on, when better acquainted with Oxley, he regretted the mention of the above incident in such terms, and I am sure he would have admitted, if any change were considered expedient, the river could not have received a worthier name than that of Oxley.

Returning to Cunningham's criticism, it is interesting to note that Oxley had in his 1824 journey arrived at a very definite opinion as to the probable course of the river beyond the point which he had reached. In company with Cunningham, he had ascended Bellevue or Goat Mountain, and from thence had travelled several miles in a westerly direction, and at evening from a "lofty peak,"—which I am unable to identify,—"we arrived in time to witness the last descending rays of the sun into the western interior." He adds, "The river was seen to wind round the northern end of the Pine ridge of hills, flowing directly from the West (the italics are not in the original text), in which quarter there was nothing in the elevation whatever, and I felt a decided conviction in my mind that there was no natural barrier intervening between the point at which we stood and the Western interior, and that consequently the stream of this river was the channel to convey those waters to the sea." When, therefore, Cunningham saw Lockyer's tracing of the river course for a distance of nearly 100 miles beyond where Oxley and he had stood on the above occasion, and found that the flow was from the North-west by North, and certainly not directly from the West, he probably, and somewhat naturally, concluded that Lockyer was entirely out in his reckoning. If a map is referred to, it will be seen, however, that Lockyer was right, and that Oxley's surmise was wrong.

In a very interesting and informative anniversary address read by the President, the late Sir Hugh Nelson, at a meeting of the Geographical Society on 27th July, 1900, Sir Hugh chose for his subject, "The Early History of the Brisbane River." In this address, the President paid deserved tribute to the splendid services of Oxley, and also strongly defended the explorer from aspersions cast upon him by certain writers, notably Doctor Lang and J. J. Knight, in regard to the original discovery not only of the Brisbane, but of the Bremer River. In his admiration for the services and in his warm defence of Oxley's reputation, Sir Hugh fell into the somewhat common error of concen-
trating his attention upon all that might support his case and of waiving aside, without equally careful examination, any evidence which might modify it. Singularly enough, Sir Hugh complained in his address of what in some respects he was himself unconsciously repeating. He said, "Unfortunately, subsequent writers appear, so far as respects Oxley, to have simply followed the Doctor's (Lang) lead without troubling themselves to investigate the sources from which his information was originally derived." Later on Sir Hugh quotes Allan Cunningham's summing up of Lockyer's work, and accepts it as final. He adds, however, "So far as regards the claim made by some on behalf of Major Lockyer as the discoverer of the Bremer is concerned, I have read the Major's journal very carefully, and have failed to find any mention of that important affluent whatever. He made a trip up the Brisbane River in September and October, 1825, of which he gives a most interesting narrative, with glowing descriptions of some of the country he saw, and a vivid account of his adventures by flood, but he added nothing of material utility to the stock of geographical knowledge previously acquired. I have totted up the mileage as given by himself on the down journey, from which it would appear that he ascended the river 164 miles from Edenglassie, as the site of Brisbane was first named. He mentions having gone up a branch for about three miles, but as its junction (reckoning from Lockyer's own mileage, for he nowhere gives his position by observation) would be 88 miles from the settlement, it could not possibly be the Bremer; more likely the affluent which now bears his name." If reference is made to Lockyer's diary, it will be observed that on 11th September, towards the end of the journey the day after he left Brisbane, and when according to his estimation he was 271 miles distant from the latter place, he writes, "A large branch here joins the main river from the Southward called 'Bumers Creek,'" a self-evident printer's error for Bremers Creek. It may be mentioned that the recognised distance, by river, from Brisbane to the Bremer is 28 miles. Lockyer clearly was not responsible for the claim which later on appears to have been made for him. Further, Lockyer's record of the distance from Brisbane to the stream which now bears his name is 90$\frac{3}{4}$ miles, and his diary notes at the end of the day's journey on 17th September, "A large creek running into the Brisbane River from the Westward." The recognised distance by river from Brisbane to Lockyer's Creek is 78 miles, but there can be no doubt whatever, as to what stream Lockyer was referring to. It is singular that this very clear evidence should have so entirely escaped Sir Hugh's notice. I hope I am not imposing upon the patience of the members of
the Queensland Historical Society by referring too much in detail to what I consider to be certain erroneous conclusions arrived at by previous writers on the subject of the Brisbane River. I might readily leave these aside and limit myself to a plain account of Lockyer’s visit, simply inviting attention to any particular matter of interest or original information for which he might be considered fairly responsible.

I suggest, however, that whatever importance may be attached to his visit, and there is little doubt but that he himself only considers it an interesting incident in the ordinary course of duty, it seems desirable in connection with this and other similar records, that any inaccurate statements which from time to time have appeared in print and hitherto have been accepted should not only receive correction, but should be corrected in such a manner as may leave in the future no doubt as to what constitutes a truthful statement of fact. Apart, however, from the above feature, such corrections may have a beneficial effect in ensuring greater care on the part of some writers on our early history whose curious and entirely irresponsible statements I have personally come across in connection with the present subject.

Dr. John Dunmore Lang, strange mixture of unselfish patriotism, of tender sympathies, of indomitable fighting qualities, an autocrat in spirit and democrat in principle, was more than trenchant in his criticism of Oxley, whom he described as “Turk like, could bear no brother near the throne.” The strong-minded Scotch parson, without doubt, unhappily harboured a strong personal grievance against the Explorer. To Lockyer he was friendly disposed, but Lang largely contributed to the errors in regard to the early history of the Brisbane River.

In his book entitled “Cooksland,” published in 1857, after mentioning that Lockyer had ascended the river for upwards of 150 miles from its mouth, he goes on to state—“For the last fifty miles of that distance, however, Major Lockyer had mistaken a mere tributary, which had been considerably swollen at the time by previous rains to the westward, for the principal stream. . . . the Major unconsciously left the main river, and followed up the Creek, which has since been called Lockyer’s Creek.” There is not the least foundation for this curious statement, which makes it appear that Lockyer ascended the creek now called after him for 50 miles. Again, in his work on Queensland, published in 1861, Doctor Lang in an appreciative reference to Lockyer, who died the year before, states—“The earliest notice of the character of the country on the Bremer River at the head of the navigation of which the town of Ipswich is situated, was contained in the Journal of an excursion
to Moreton Bay and up the Brisbane River, in 1825 by the late Major Edmund Lockyer."

Doctor Lang then proceeds to quote a description of Lockyer's Creek from Lockyer's diary, which suggests that Sir Hugh Nelson was misled by and repeated the error.

Mr. Henry Stuart Russell in his Genesis of Queensland (1888) is equally inaccurate. He writes, "Major Lockyer . . . had started for his shooting maybe—on the 1st September, 1825, by that constantly requisitioned craft, the cutter Mermaid, in company with one of our pilots Gray, to explore the river. Brisbane to its source. Lockyer's Journal attached to these memoranda can best speak for itself. His conclusions are interesting. One extract will amuse nowadays—'I think it very probable that the large swamp into which the river at Bathurst loses itself, occasionally overflows, and is the cause of tremendous floods, that at times take place in the Brisbane River.'" It may here be mentioned that the pilot Gray did not accompany Lockyer up the river. It is also somewhat confusing to find that whilst Russell draws attention to the "amusing" conclusions concurred in by Lockyer in respect to the source of the Brisbane, a few pages earlier Russell states,—"In a review* upon three works which were published in London in 1826, viz., by W. C. Wentworth (1824), Edward Curr (1820), and Barron Field (1825), appears the following:—"The name given to this important river is the Brisbane. That it derives its waters from the lake or morass into which the Macquarie falls, and from those numerous streams which were crossed by Oxley in 1818, all running to the northward seems a very reasonable supposition."

Absurd as the theory may appear at the present time, there was a very real belief, in the early days, that the waters of the Lachlan and Macquarie finally found an outlet to the sea on some part of the Eastern coast of Australia. A perusal of Oxley's Report of his first visit to the Brisbane in 1823, and of his Journal of the 1824 expedition will show how strongly he shared in that opinion. Lockyer was in grave doubt but his judgment appears to have been outweighed by the influence of the then prevailing opinion. When near Cressbrook Creek, Lockyer observes, "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." Then follows the statement quoted by Russell, who, however, omits the context. A more concise opinion on this feature is expressed

by Lockyer in a description of his journey published in the Sydney Gazette of 20th October, 1825, a few days after his return. He says, "at this time the river where the boats were, had risen 6 to 8 feet from the late rains, and as this place, not 14 miles above (from the boats), had not the least appearance of a rise, it convinces me that the Brisbane River has its chief source of supply from the Brisbane mountains," and again, "as I have no doubt the river has its rise in these mountains, I have named them the Brisbane Mountains."

The next writer who deserves attention, is Mr. J. J. Knight, author of "In the Early Days," published in 1895. Knight states in a footnote to page 14, that "By some persons the honor of discovering and naming the 'Bremer' is accorded to Major Lockyer. As a matter of fact the 'Bremer' is not shown on Oxley's map." This statement is true so far as Oxley's tracing of the river in 1823 is concerned, because his furthest point on that occasion fell about five miles short of the Bremer. It was on his second visit that he discovered this stream, and it appears accurately delineated in a tracing of his 1824 survey of the river. There appears, however, in my mind to be a doubt whether the tracing of that portion of the river between Termination Hill and the Pumping Station may be attributed to Oxley in 1824, or Cunningham in 1828, but whatever may be the case in that respect there can be no doubt as to the discovery and naming of the Bremer River by Oxley.

Knight followed the example of Russell, and attributes to Lockyer "the remarkable and erroneous conclusion" as to the probable source of the waters of the Brisbane, and after referring to Captain Logan's discovery of the Logan River in October, 1826, he asserts, "Thus when Major Lockyer again visited that settlement (Brisbane), an excursion was readily arranged. One of the results of this trip was the finding of the Creek now bearing the name of Lockyer." Major Lockyer discovered the stream now bearing his name on 17th September, 1825. He did not again visit the Brisbane River, and his only further personal association with it is suggested by his name appearing as the purchaser of an allotment for £85 at the first sale of Brisbane town allotments on 16th July, 1842.*

*Allotment 15 of Section 1, Town of North Brisbane. This land fronts Elizabeth Street. It was afterwards bought by George McAdam, and became part of the Sovereign Hotel premises. The lane from Queen Street to Elizabeth Street along side the York Hotel and the present Sovereign Hotel runs over it. The rest of it is occupied by the back part of King and King's warehouse. The Crown Grant was issued to Edmund Morris Lockyer, eldest son of Major Lockyer. Born in the Isle of Wight in 1810, died at Brisbane, 28th June, 1872. His gravestone is in the reserved area alongside Christ Church, Milton. (Editor).
Knight further states in his chronological order of events that on 10th September, 1825, "Lockyer, with Captain Bishop and Lieutenant Miller, left on an excursion up the river." These officers did not accompany Lockyer, though I think he would have welcomed their assistance. Had they been with him he would have been enabled to make more detailed observations and ensure some daily independent verification of the estimated distances covered.

Having endeavoured to remove a few of the cobwebs which have clung to some of our previous records of the river, I now propose to outline as briefly as possible the more interesting incidents connected with Major Lockyer's visit in 1825.

The instructions of the Governor dated 31st August, 1825, which were conveyed by the Private Secretary, Major Ovens, open with "His Excellency the Governor, being desirous of ascertaining certain points connected with a Report lately made relating to the interior of the country at Moreton Bay and its inhabitants." It is clear from this that a hitherto unrecorded report is or was in existence. I consider if unearthed it will be found to be that of Pilot Gray.

Major Lockyer was instructed to "trace the course of the Brisbane by water, and on its banks so far as you can do so with prudence." He was requested to report upon the facilities to navigation and internal communication which the river Brisbane affords; the description of the soil and face of the country; the timber, animals, birds, minerals, and natural productions, the nature of the inhabitants, noting their disposition, complexion, size, dress and customs, with their means of hostility and defence" and "you will use your best endeavours to conciliate their goodwill, both by presents and a kind and humane behaviour towards them by yourself and every one of your party."

Lockyer left Sydney on the cutter Mermaid, Charles Penson, Master, on 1st September, 1825, and after calling at Newcastle for the purpose of landing a Sergeant and twelve soldiers of the 3rd Regiment, the vessel arrived at Port Macquarie, "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." In the instructions the pheasants are the first mentioned, the boat to convey the expedition comes next. On 6th September, the Mermaid arrived in Moreton Bay. In a rough draft in Major Lockyer's handwriting of what appears to be an introduction to his diary there are some interesting particulars not previously published. In regard to his arrival in the Bay,
Lockyer states,—“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 *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 (John?) 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. 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. 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),

* The *Lalla Rookh,* Captain Stewart, from Liverpool, arrived in Sydney on 2nd July, 1825. The *Australasian* of 4th August, 1825, stated that Captain Stewart had purchased Bayly Park (the birth place of the late N. P. Bayly, of Havilah Mudgee, the well known sheep breeder) for £3,300. The ship left for Calcutta, and the purchase was not completed! The property was sold a few days later to R. Jones for £3,400.—(Editor).
any vessel drawing ten feet might proceed up this fine river.

... the thick mangroves at the entrance and its low shores completely masks it, and it is not observable a mile distant.” It will be observed that the **Mermaid** was the first sea going vessel to enter the Brisbane River, and by her the first cargo was shipped from Brisbane. She loaded up on the occasion above referred to with pine logs, “cut opposite the settlement,” presumably on the opposite side of the river.

This gallant and distinguished little craft (built in India), though of but 84 tons burden, twice circumnavigated Australia. The name of the **Mermaid** is inseparably associated with the discovery of the Brisbane River, and other important events in the earlier history of Queensland. I propose at a later date to publish her history. She possesses a distinct personality and, with the **Lady Nelson**, may fairly claim to be classed amongst the “Pioneers of Australia.”

It was at half-past seven on the evening of 7th September, that Lockyer arrived at Brisbane, where he found Captain Bishop in charge as Commandant.

The two following days were occupied in making arrangements for the equipment of the boats and packing the provisions. There is no description of the settlement. He refers to buildings and cattle, but as to the character of the buildings or the immediate surroundings he is silent.

On 10th September, the boats were loaded and a start was made at 2 p.m. He states that he was provisioned for 42 days and that his “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.” I have not been able to indentify the Mr. Dulhunty referred to, but presume he was a civil officer attached to the settlement at Brisbane. He does not appear to have accompanied Lockyer on the **Mermaid**. The servant referred to above probably was John Finnegan. The rowers mentioned comprised five sailors from the **Mermaid** and two convicts.

On the first day’s journey, Lockyer estimated he covered 10$\frac{1}{2}$ miles, and on the following day the eleventh, he states that about 17$\frac{1}{2}$ miles from his last camp “a large branch here joins the main river, called Bumers (Bremers) Creek. In the afternoon he made a brief excursion into the country on the South side of the river and “found it delightful, thinly wooded to a great extent, fine pasturage for any number of cattle.” The total distance for the two days is stated to be 32$\frac{1}{4}$ miles. On 12th September, after a heavy-
day's work, he records having travelled nine miles, meeting with several rapids, and also that two hours were lost in cutting a way through the timber which obstructed the river. At the end of this day's journey, he remarks "Mr. Oxley has been thus far." Lockyer's estimate of the distance from Brisbane to this point is 43 1/2 miles. The correct distance is 41 miles. At this place, about a mile beyond the Pumping Station, he observes "Marks of drift grass and pieces of wood 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." It is rather singular to find that so careful an observer as Oxley should remark in the Report of his 1823 journey that "there was no appearance of its (Brisbane River) being flooded, no mark being found higher than several 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." On his second journey in 1824, when nearing his furthest point, on more than one occasion he expresses the opinion "no appearance of floods," though later and on the same day he was evidently puzzled by the indications of an inundation at some previous time. He says, "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 impression to use for a collection of water rising to the height of full 50 feet which the appearance of the shore renders probable." Lockyer seems, however, to have been singularly correct in his surmise. The official record of the flood level of the river on 4th February, 1893, at the Pumping Station, the site of which is within a mile of Lockyer's Camp, where he arrived at the above conclusion, was 94 feet 10 1/2 inches. Lockyer's remarks would appear to suggest that between Oxley's visit in September, 1824, and his own in September, 1825, the river had experienced a flood as great as that subsequently recorded in 1893. The occurrence of a large flood is supported by the fact that whilst Oxley mentions the shallows and rapids he met with whilst approaching the limit of his journey, he makes no mention of the river being obstructed by timber, although the stream was low. Lockyer mentions the rapids and shallows, and also states in regard to the portion of the river which Oxley must have passed, "Passage obstructed by trees lying in the river and across it. Delayed two hours before we could cut through four large blue gum trees." Oxley states on 22nd September, 1824, "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 has been many
months since rain has fallen." Lockyer, on the other hand,
frequently refers to the beautiful appearance of the country.
It would be very useful if this question could be definitely
settled. The recorded floods in the Brisbane River have
occurred during the months of January, February and
March, and it follows if a great flood had taken place between
Oxley's and Lockyer's visits, it must have been after Eden-
glassie was settled, and if so, it must have formed the sub-
ject of report by the Commandant. It is to be hoped
some at least of the first records of the settlement have
survived and sooner or later will see the light.

About four miles nearly due North from the limit of
Oxley's journey in 1824, is a peak which he named "Belle-
Vue" mountain. It now appears on the map as Goat
Mountain, which suggests very appropriately the classifi-
cation in the animal kingdom of the vandal who made that
change. On 13th September, Lockyer writes: "From the
number of rapids and shoals, the getting of boats up was a
matter of great labour and exertion, the men were mostly
in the water for upwards of eight hours," and towards
the end of the day's journey, he mentions "coal beds." On
his return journey he visited the spot and filled a sack with
a sample to take with him to Sydney. The coal seam as
marked by his tracing of the river appears to be located
on the south side about 3 miles below the site of the present
Ipswich Waterworks reservoir. On this day he estimates
the distance covered as nine miles.

On 14th September, he seems to have had less diffi-
culty, and his diary shows a distance of 11 3/4 miles. He came
in contact with the natives and established friendly
relations with them' "showed them two sheep we had in
the boat, at the sight of them their astonishment was great,
as also at two of the soldiers who had 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. The natives were naked, stout, clean skinned well
made people, and showed no symptom whatever of
hostility." It rained heavily during the night.

On 15th September, only 6 3/4 miles were traversed,
"several rapids and shoals with dead trees lying in all
directions in the stream which caused great trouble." The
natives were again seen and received presents. The
party landed at two o'clock in order to dry their clothes.

He mentions, "walked several miles, having started
as soon as I landed and did not return until half-past five
in the evening. Walked up the hills, the country behind them having quite a park like appearance. . . . As far as I could see to the S. and S.W. the whole country appeared well timbered with forests of tall pines; and to the N.W. and N.E. very few. A fine lagoon of good water about a mile and a-half from the landing place in a S.W. direction; found the grass very long and fatiguing to walk in." Rain again fell during the evening. Lockyer’s tracing indicates he camped about a mile below Fairney Brook.

On 16th September, after travelling an estimated distance of 10½ miles, "the party being much fatigued," a landing was made "where Mr. Gray, the pilot, said he saw the white man. . . . 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 colour, number, etc., of the people, stated to have been seen, said it was dusk at the time—that he only saw two or three men running into the bush, who appeared to be of a light colour, but he saw no bows or arrows." Lockyer adds a note to the effect "the natives are known on some occasions to whiten themselves with wood ashes," which probably affords a sufficient explanation. Lockyer marks this spot on his tracing as "Gray’s Mistake."

This incident is interesting as affording a cue to the reference to the Report "recently received" by Sir Thomas Brisbane, and also suggests that he had it in view when in regard to the natives he desired particulars as to their "complexion." If Robinson, the sailor, was correct in marking the place where Gray imagined he saw one or more white men, it is clear that Gray reached a point, according to Lockyer’s tracing, about nine miles below Lockyer’s Creek, and therefore, 69 miles above Brisbane. If Gray had proceeded further up the river, it is hardly probable that Lockyer would not have recorded it. The reference to the "bows and arrows" suggests that they were included by Gray in his description of what he imagined he saw. On 17th September, "much obstruction from dead trees lying across a narrow and winding part of the river, too numerous and large to attempt cutting a way through them, consequently had to pull the boats over, taking every article out of them, and in making a distance of a mile and a-half they were unladen four times, which occupied upwards of three hours, the stream running four knots and a-half. . . . on the left side going up, a large stream joined the main river." This is the stream known as Lockyer’s Creek.

On the 2nd October, during the return journey, he writes: "Having a wish to examine the large branch which here
joined from the southward . . . went up this branch about three miles, then landed, and on ascending the banks found a large open country with scarcely any wood of consequence to impede cultivation. . . 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. . . After traversing this fine piece of land which was at least six or seven thousand acres in extent, I returned to the encampment." In Lockyer's tracing of the river, which is dated September, 1825, this stream is marked Lockyer's Creek. It is extremely improbable that he called the stream after himself. On the day following his arrival in Sydney, he called upon Sir Thomas Brisbane, and it is most likely on that occasion the stream referred to received its present name. The tracing obviously could not have been prepared during the journey on the river, and the date I assume does not mean that on which the tracing was made, but refers to the month during which the river was first seen by him. Whilst the daily estimates of the distance travelled on the upward journey appear to be fairly accurate between Brisbane and the Pumping Station, and also between Lockyer's Creek and the Stanley River, they are inaccurate in respect to that portion of the river between the Pumping Station and Lockyer's Creek. This is very probably due to the rapids, shallows and the drift timber encountered each day, together with the heavy rains which rendered accurate observation very difficult, and also brought down a fresh involving greater effort and slower progress. This error is also reflected in the tracing of that portion of the river. The recognised distance from the Pumping Station to Lockyer's Creek is 37 miles. Lockyer made it 47 miles, which is considerably out of reckoning. It is mentioned that 9½ miles were covered this day.

On 18th September, leaving Lockyer's Creek, a succession of falls and rapids were encountered, and these together with the increasing force of the stream, after proceeding 7½ miles made it necessary to camp. "A most laborious day, the party landed completely knocked up."

On 19th September, after covering 4½ miles, very heavy rain compelled a retreat to the shelter of some caves on the side of a hill which Lockyer estimated at being about 1,000 feet high. "Walked up the hill which occupied one hour and a-half. 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 W. and S.W. To the S. and S.E. 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 thirty or forty miles, finely wooded with blue gums and ironbark." The hill which Lockyer ascended appears from his tracing to have been in the vicinity of Bellevue, near Logan's Creek.

On 20th September. "The river became much better as we were crossing level country. . . On rounding the point of a reach, we came suddenly on the encampment of some natives, who, on seeing us, ran off, leaving their kangaroo skins, spears and tomahawks all behind. We landed and examined their implements, giving strict orders not to remove a single article, sent to the boat 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 one mile, when two natives were seen following us up the bank, 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 of about fourteen 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 in colour to themselves as well as in other respects, cannot well be described, but it is certain they had never seen white people before, nor could they believe but that the boats were living animals, as I could not induce them to go down to the place where they were. On making signs to them to do so, the woman shook her head and put her hand in her mouth, as if she were afraid they would bite. While we were holding communication with these 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 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." The camp at end of this day's journey is easily identifiable as being one mile below Deep Creek. "This place, from the colour of the soil, was named Redbank." Estimated distance 14 miles.

21st September. "The rapidity of the current increased every hour, and the river had risen upwards of eight feet by eleven o'clock." The camp this evening was about two
miles above Sandy or Esk Creek. Estimated distance, 8 ½ miles.

22nd September. The river still in flood, a halt was made after proceeding a short distance. Camp about one mile below Coal Creek. Lockyer notes “Pine Hill due west.” Estimated distance, six miles.

23rd September. “The flood running with so much force that with exertion we had only made eight miles from nine to four o’clock.” Heavy rain is recorded.

24th September. “At this place a considerable stream (the Stanley River) runs into the river from the eastward... The weather proved so bad that I considered it advisable to remain where we were.”

25th September. Although the river was rising rapidly, a further attempt was made to proceed with the boats, but it was found “impossible to make headway against the stream which was running at least eight or nine knots... about one o’clock made an excursion into the country... From the marks of fires, empty huts and number of trees barked, I should think the natives rather numerous in this neighbourhood.” Estimated distance, four miles.

26th September. “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.” An attempt was then made to tow the boats, by all the party hauling one boat at a time. The rope broke and one of the boats narrowly escaped damage. Lockyer then decided to camp and make any further possible exploration on foot. He says he “fixed on a good spot under the mountain,” which places the end of his boat journey at three miles above the Stanley River. “Everything being ready at twelve o’clock, I set out accompanied by Mr. Dalhunty, a private of the 40th, one sailor and two convicts, with my servant, carrying with us eight days’ provisions. Kept the river in view; found walking extremely fatiguing from the long grass which was at least four or five feet high... We crossed three considerable beds of rivers, running down from the mountain to the main river.” Lockyer estimated he travelled 9 ½ miles.

27th September. “We continued keeping the river in view until twelve o’clock... Nothing could possibly exceed the rich country we are now in... here the bed of the river, though broad, was nearly dry... the long and thick grass made it dreadfully fatiguing to walk through it with our loads, the men being badly off for shoes, and two of them having sore feet.” He therefore decided to return. At this time he was about one mile below Cressbrook Creek.
From there he made for Brisbane mountain from which he states, "looking to the W. with a fine clear sky, I could not discern the least sign of any hills or mountains, but all a flat country behind a ridge of hills running N. and S." (the Biarra Range)." Crossing the easternmost end of Brisbane mountain he reached the boats at half past six in the evening.

On the following day, in heavy rain, he started on the return journey, meeting with various adventures in overcoming fresh obstacles in the river occasioned by the flood, and in descending the rapids and falls. He mentions, "On our way we had many proofs of the effects of a small flood, a large one must be terrific." He had no doubts as to the river being occasionally visited by "terrific" floods. He also writes, "Had we by any chance been deprived of the cross cut saw and axes, the boats must have been abandoned." As already mentioned, during the return journey he entered Lockyer's Creek and rowed up the stream about three miles. Twice he again came into friendly intercourse with the natives, and at eleven o'clock on 6th October, after an absence of 27 days he arrived at Brisbane.

On the following day he left the settlement to join the Mermaid in Moreton Bay, and on 11th October, the cutter sailed for Sydney. "On Sunday, October 16th, at four o'clock in the afternoon, anchored in Sydney Cove, and on Monday made my Report to his Excellency the Governor."

I think the foregoing description which represents an abbreviated outline culled from his journal and other documents in his handwriting, affords fair evidence that even as a test of perseverance and endurance Lockyer's journey was a creditable one. He furnished the information which he was called upon by the Governor to supply. He was without any equipment or assistance which would enable him to fix by precise observation and measurement the prominent land marks and various points on the river, but nevertheless, his written description and his rough tracing of the stream can leave no possible doubt as to the more important features and as to the precise limit of his journey.

These might well have been accepted by Allan Cunningham in good faith until their correctness was verified or they were found to be inaccurate.

Oxley, in the report of his 1823 journey, expresses his indebtedness to his companion Lieutenant Stirling, from whom he "derived the greatest assistance, and it is principally owing to his skill in the rapid and accurate delineation of the face of the portion of the country we examined that
we were able to effect so much in so short a space of time.’
In Oxley’s second journey in 1824, he had with him Lieutenant Butler and Allan Cunningham, both of whom afforded expert assistance.

It is obviously impossible for any man in charge of a flying expedition with limited time at his disposal, and without proper facilities or assistance, to do more than make a report based upon an eye survey and personal determination of distances and other features of the country. Lockyer’s description in certain matters of details is therefore not so perfect as might be desired. His notes probably may have suffered exposure from the severe weather experienced by the party. It may be added that even an eye survey of country, veiled for the most of the time by rain and mist, necessarily placed a severe limit on the field of observation.

There are discrepancies in the estimated distance daily covered, and this will be found to be particularly the case if a comparison is made of the totals of the upward with those of the downward journey. The latter does not seem to admit of explanation. Bearing in mind, however, the almost continuous heavy rains, the tortuous course, as well as the flooded state of the river, the daily obstructions encountered, and lastly the only shelter in which he might write up his daily notes—a boat’s sail which ‘made a good substitute for a tent, but did not keep out the rain’—his distances on the upward journey, are much nearer to the mark than might be expected under such circumstances. The total of his guess work day by day from Brisbane to the Stanley River is 139½ miles. The correct distance, I understand, is estimated at 121 miles.

Major Lockyer, during his visit to the Brisbane River in 1825, and also in 1826 to King George’s Sound, where he was sent to hoist the British Flag and form a settlement in anticipation of the French, who it was feared contemplated establishing themselves in Western Australia, was particularly fortunate in always being able to engage in friendly relationship with the natives. If a similar policy had been more generally observed in the early days, it would have avoided many tragedies and the subsequent tragic reprisals.

Writing of a visit to King George’s Sound, in 1829, Surgeon T. B. Wilson, R.N., in his narrative of a ‘Voyage Round the World,’ writes: ‘We were glad to hear from the Commandant that the natives were exceedingly friendly, no act of hostility having been committed either by or against them since his arrival. I suspected that this circumstance must have been occasioned by judicious management in the first instance; and on making enquiries, I discovered
in an old order book the following order of Major Edmund Lockyer, which, from its being attended with such favorable results, deserves to be known and imitated by those who hereafter may be placed in the same responsible situations.

The order in question was issued in January, 1827, a few days after Major Lockyer’s arrival and immediately after one of his men had been severely wounded by one of the natives. He discovered that the act was one of revenge, following the brutal treatment of the natives by some sealers who had recently visited the Sound. Instead of further reprisals, every effort was made to conciliate them, and this met with so much success that no further trouble was experienced.

I am sending with this for the perusal of the members of the Historical Society, and for the purpose of being placed in the Brisbane Public Library, a copy of Major Lockyer’s Journal, and also copies of his report and other memoranda in my possession referring to his visit to the Brisbane River in 1825.

Whilst his work on that occasion anticipated but for a brief period the more complete knowledge of the river and its course, it is to say the least an interesting incident in its early history. Major Lockyer expressed in the most glowing of terms the beauty, fertility and potential possibilities of the country he saw in the vicinity of the river, but he little knew how small a proportion it represented of the territory now known as the State of Queensland, so bountifully endowed by nature and possessing in so remarkable a degree all that man desires for material wealth, progress and prosperity, if it be wisely availed of.

The early history of such a country is particularly worthy of careful record and the pioneers who were associated more or less with its early discovery, as well as in its development, are worthy of remembrance.

In conclusion, I beg to express my indebtedness to Mr. H. Macintosh, Chief Draftsman of the Brisbane Survey Department, who first unearthed and brought under my notice Major Lockyer’s tracing of the river in 1825. Mr. Macintosh has been also good enough to compare the above tracing with recent maps with the view of verifying the accuracy of the distances quoted. My thanks are also due to the President, Mr. Cumbrae-Stewart, whose intimate knowledge of and keen interest in the early history of Queensland encouraged me to fill in a blank in the records of the early exploration of the Brisbane River.