

A hanging, a hostage drama and several homicides: why sovereignty in 1859 is problematic

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The Brisbane township was on edge the morning of 5 January 1855. Crowds both white and black were gathering to witness what was to be one of the last official public hangings in the colony of New South Wales. As the white residents made their way to the northern end of Queen Street, large numbers of Turrbal, Ningy Ningy and Djindubari were gathering in the scrubs on the hill which the Central Railway Station now occupies. The convict system was almost defunct as the last of the lifers' terms were drawing to completion and the authorities were now confident that such brutal displays were no longer necessary to convince the public of the state's power to discipline and control.¹

Yet Brisbane officials were nowhere near as confident as their southern counterparts this morning. A detachment of Native Police and every town constable had been called out on duty. It was not the emancipist class but the Indigenous community that the Brisbane officials feared. One newly arrived settler, Robert Lane, 61 years later recalled for the *Brisbane Courier* the tensions in the town. 'I was ordered to get out of the city,' he claimed, 'as the blacks might be hostile.'² Extra precautions had been put in place for the hanging of the Indigenous leader Dundalli accused of several murders, but in the end sentenced to suffer death for just one, a sawyer by the name of William Boller.

So who was this newly arrived settler, Robert Lane, who provides this insight and was his testimony reliable? And who had 'ordered' his hasty departure? Robert Lane was a servant of none other than John Clements Wickham, the most senior British official in the north and the man with the best intelligence on the state of race relations in the district.³ Wickham had been called as a witness for the defence at Dundalli's trial for the murder of the pastoralist Andrew Gregor; his testimony highlighting the unreliability of the sole witness who had been a child at the time of the attack. The jury nonetheless found Dundalli guilty on 21 November 1854.⁴ Eleven days later, Wickham wrote to Sydney requesting leave of absence; he wanted time off to farewell his son who was due to depart for England

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John Clements Wickham.

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from Sydney on 20 January 1855 and requested leave from 4 or 5 January. So despite the gravity of the looming execution and the fact that Wickham was chair of the Board of Inquiry into the Native Police that was then meeting in Brisbane to investigate the misconduct of the commandant, his absence was approved.⁵ The district's most senior official departed by steamer just prior to the drop of the gallows that Friday morning.

The colonial secretary's correspondence on Wickham's plans corroborates Robert Lane's memory that he had been sent into town to bring Captain Wickham's dogcart home to *Newstead*.⁶ It is highly likely that it was Wickham himself who had warned Lane that the traditional owner groups gathering in the town might be aggressive. As police magistrate, coroner and government

resident Wickham was the first point for complaints from settlers and the official responsible for investigating interracial violence. There were few whites in a better position to judge the state of disaffection among the traditional owners of Brisbane and districts.

Although this public hanging has received cursory treatment in the historiography of early Queensland, it is an important introduction for this paper, as it stimulates questions about Indigenous agency at the very centre of the pending seat of government as late as 1855. This article briefly considers the strength and continuity of traditional culture into the 1850s in the oldest parts of white settlement by briefly considering three particularly provocative events of the 1840s and 1850s. This is the persistence of European insecurity in response to the hanging of this article's title, a hostage drama initiated by the Nunukul of Stradbroke Island and a homicide enforced by northern traditional owners which were all important manifestations of Indigenous politics and law – perhaps the most understudied aspects of colonial Queensland history.⁷

The sense of threat among the white community in January 1855 echoes the panic of December 1849 when the military regiment had fired upon

the local Megantyn on the basis of a rumour racing through the town after 9pm one evening that Aborigines were about to attack.⁸ In the intervening five years more than 3000 migrants had disembarked at Moreton Bay, more than doubling the white population.⁹ Wickham had been in residence almost 12 years but was still alert to the power of the coastal people to inflict harm on the town had they chosen to exercise their collective strength.

While fierce Indigenous resistance has been acknowledged by academic historians for more than 30 years, there is a strange disjuncture in the literature which tends to follow the geographical tracks of the violence as it erupts further west and north. In the absence of a large-scale attack on the white settlement, historians have tended to argue that the Aboriginal communities of the southeast were quickly outnumbered and soon dying out from white killings and disease as early as 1842 or hopelessly degraded and demoralised by contact with the underbelly of white culture.¹⁰ These explanations fly in the face of the contemporary Indigenous community's insistence on their survival and continuity of custom despite the horrors of frontier violence and shock of disease and displacement.¹¹ The disease and vigilante violence were horrific but they must be seen in the context of the strength of an ancient culture that was never going to be willingly relinquished. Archaeologists tell us that the Indigenous economy of Moreton Bay and its surrounds was one of the strongest and richest in the country based on its twin surpluses of the annual mullet catch and bunya nut harvests; these easily obtained food surpluses sustained a rich and much acclaimed ceremonial life with twin centres in the Blackall Range and the Bunya Mountains. This enabled the peoples of southeast Queensland to command a cultural catchment of some 700 000 square kilometres stretching from the Kamilaroi and Bundjalung in the south to the districts of Rockhampton in the north.¹² Moreton Bay was at the centre of a powerful and complex society and any understanding of its response to Europeans needs to begin with a deeper understanding of its internal workings and politics, rather than western assumptions about what constitutes resistance.

There was indeed an Indigenous attack in response to Dundalli's hanging but it does not take the form Europeans expected. Warrants and rewards had been posted for Dundalli's arrest since late 1846 but the white settlers did not have a hope of catching him. As argued elsewhere, the concern is that historians have overstated European control and seriously underestimated Indigenous agency. If it had not been for the long-standing political rivalry between the Turrbal-Quandamooka peoples on the one hand and the Dalla, Ningy Ningy, Djindubari and Gubbi Gubbi on the



Archbishop John Bede Polding, c.1870.
(nla.pic-an9997459, National Library of
Australia)

other, it is unlikely Dundalli could ever have been taken by the white settlers.¹³ In the eyes of Dundalli's kin, his death was simply a part of a long-standing dispute between these peoples and only a few weeks after his death a law-enforcement party set out from *Durundur* station to effect payback for his death from Wumbungur, the Turrbal man who had initiated his arrest.¹⁴

Re-constructing the political divisions among the traditional owner groups of the 1840s and 1850s is not easy despite ubiquitous references to them. The earliest white sources on the region acknowledge this society's love of physical contests; the pullen-pullen were not just sporting matches,

they could involve political decision-making, law-making and spiritual ceremonies depending on the pressing issues of the day. They were a community equivalent of parliamentary democracy, Banco Court and Synod rolled into one. Early commentators noted the intergroup rivalry that preceded and followed from these meetings. By the early 1840s, it is possible to identify a number of political shifts and new alliances. The Turrbal-Quandamooka coalition versus the northern peoples comes to the fore in late 1842 when there were numerous fights and meetings in southeast Queensland reported by whites.¹⁵ This political discord was undoubtedly compounded by the impact of the opening of the former penal colony to free settlement and the uproar over the *Kilcoy* poisonings.

As a result of these events the Ningy Ningy and their allies curtailed their interaction with the Nundah mission, the account of the penultimate missionary journey in December 1842 to January 1843 a sad record highlighting the deep disillusionment on both sides. Events of 1842 had dashed Ningy Ningy hopes of being able to benefit from contact with these Europeans and early efforts at planting vegetables and fruit seeds that they had acquired from the mission were discontinued.¹⁶ It is from this period

too that the Ningy Ningy and Gubbi Gubbi reputation for aggression and hostility begins to be recorded by the Europeans.

The Turrbal, Moreton Islanders and Stradbroke Islanders were generally viewed by the Europeans as 'friendly' but white scholars should not flatter themselves that this was an internal dispute between those who wished to collaborate with the Europeans and those who wished to fight them. Rather it seems to be a disagreement over the extent to which Europeans and their services might be incorporated into their culture and the level of violence that should be employed in response to European infringement of Indigenous law and territories. Both Reverend Schmidt from the Nundah mission and the Catholic Bishop Polding who had spent some time at Stradbroke Island were unequivocal on this antagonism in their evidence to the Select Committee on the Condition of the Natives in 1845 and are worth quoting at length.

Schmidt summed up the view of the Ningy Ningy and their Bribie Island and Sunshine Coast neighbours when he was interviewed by the committee about Aboriginal inferiority to whites:

From some of their own expressions, I judged that they considered themselves superior to us.

Question from the committee: Do you mean that they consider themselves superior to the whole of the white race, or to those they saw in the condition of convicts?

To the whole; they preferred their mode of living to ours; when they have accompanied us on some of our journeys, they have expressed the opinion, that they were our masters in the bush, and our servants at the stations; they pitied us that we troubled ourselves with so many things.¹⁷

Bishop Polding, whose local knowledge was of the Quandamooka peoples was just as insightful. When asked why missionary endeavours had been so unsuccessful in New South Wales compared with New Zealand and the Pacific islands he explained:

The want of success must be attributed ... in a word to the conviction on their minds that the white man has come for his own advantage, without any regard for their rights. Feeling this burning injustice inflicted by the white man, it is not in the nature of things that the black man should believe the white man better than himself, or suppose the moral and religious laws, by which the white man proposes the black man to be governed, to be better than those of his own tribe.¹⁸

Just as the supposedly 'friendly' natives were not arguing for subordination to the Europeans, nor were the hostile northerners implacably opposed to the benefits of European commodities. There is evidence that the traditional owners were prepared to undertake limited paid labour

when it suited them and appreciated access to certain European goods. Both Ningy Ningy and their allies and Stradbroke Islanders and their supporters, however, were bitter and resentful of the European presence but the Turrbal-Quandamooka were perhaps more confident of their ability to manipulate the Europeans.

This was not an unfounded confidence and leads to the hostage drama of the title. Just as the Ningy Ningy's relations with the Nundah mission had soured, a new mission was being established at Dunwich by the Catholic Church. Bishop Polding visited the Nundah mission in May 1843 before venturing to Stradbroke Island where four Catholic priests were to be based. It was intended to be training for an eventual mission on Fraser Island, unless the German missionaries decided to transfer there, as had been recommended to the government by Commissioner Simpson.¹⁹ Polding claimed that three children, two boys and a girl became very attached to him during his short stay on the island in May-June and agreed to accompany him back to Sydney where he arranged for their education. After a few weeks absence, however, the Nunukul began to believe that the Bishop had 'done away with them'. They confronted the priests on the island and warned them that if the children were not returned by the next steamer, they would kill them. The bishop was forced to relinquish them to their parents forthwith.²⁰ Nunukul power over the Europeans was re-affirmed.

The Turrbal and Quandamooka were not always so successful in their methods to enforce their will and laws on the whites, nor did these political divisions prevent the two antagonistic coalitions from joining together for important regional meetings and ceremonies. The Turrbal for example were unsuccessful in their attempts to enforce payback on Europeans for the sawyers' brutal killing of Yilbong (or Millbong Jemmy) in November 1846 and no doubt Dundalli's prestige increased when a group of Djin-dubari-Gubbi Gubbi under his leadership enforced the law of payback in the traditional way on the Griffin's *Whiteside* station in September 1847.²¹ Certainly the tensions between the two groups increased when the Nunukul used the local white police to help them take the life of Dundalli's brother in 1848²² and by the early 1850s, the *Moreton Bay Courier* was reporting night time payback attacks by Billy Barlow, a young Bribe Islander and protégé of Dundalli, on Turrbal men camped at York's Hollow just on the outskirts of the town.²³

Despite this newspaper coverage, no attempts to intervene or make any arrest of Billy Barlow for assaults on Aboriginal people were reported.²⁴ Whites overtly recognised the continued operation of tribal law but were powerless to stop it even when it was effected in the white township.²⁵

An even more telling episode of the geographical and cultural limit of white authority in the 1850s was the shipwreck of the *Thomas King*. Sir Raphael Cilento has told this story in some detail as Captain Walker who survived the shipwreck and trauma of making his way back to Brisbane was Lady Cilento's great-grandfather.²⁶ The story is worth revisiting however for its evidence concerning traditional law enforcement, the homicide of this paper's title. The barque, *Thomas King*, en route to Manilla, was wrecked on Cato's Reef near Keppel Bay in April 1852. The main part of the crew were left on an island while Walker, five crew and one passenger set out in a small boat for the south to try to reach Moreton Bay and organise a rescue. They made it as far south as Inskip Point when their small boat was damaged and the party of seven men was forced to head south on foot. On the Cooloola Coast and again at the Noosa north shore Walker's party was robbed of their food, clothes and remaining possessions by groups of the Dulingbara who otherwise allowed the Europeans to pass and canoed them across the Noosa River. The party were shocked at these attacks upon them 'so near to a British settlement'.²⁷ Walker noted that 'after they robbed us, they put their hands about their necks, and then pointed upwards, representing a man hanging by the neck' which he interpreted to mean that the Dulingbara feared being arrested for this attack upon them.²⁸ There was no chance of this. Although Noosa is less than 120 kilometres north of the settlement, officials had no idea of the fate of the shipwreck crew and Europeans alone could not have effected a rescue of them if they had. Although there were Europeans established at Maryborough by the late 1840s, the coastal lands between this town and Brisbane were still under the control of the traditional owners.

The meaning of the Dulingbara's gesticulations for a hanging was later revealed. It seems that they had sent word to Burra (a Gubbi Gubbi warrior) that a group of unarmed whites were travelling along the coast. Burra was the brother of Mickaloe, who had been sentenced to death at the circuit court sittings in Brisbane the previous November. Burra's brother was still being held in Brisbane Gaol in April 1852 while officials prevaricated over his fate – the Executive Council had decided that there was enough doubt about young Mickaloe's identity not to proceed with the execution, but legal officials debated whether he should be released at Wide Bay or Brisbane.²⁹ Unaware of this reprieve, Burra was determined to exact payback for his brother's death on the weakened and unarmed whites. He gathered a party together and at night fall caught up with the ship wreck survivors just to the north of Mt Cooloom. They had sought refuge in a thick scrub but Walker heard two of his men being clubbed to death as he lay hidden.³⁰

Believing that his entire party had been killed, Walker eventually continued his journey south the next day but was to discover Europeans' utter dependence on the traditional owners even within 50 kilometres of Brisbane town. An Aboriginal woman nursed and fed him near Caloundra and canoed him across the passage to Bribie Island; from there he made his way to Toorbal where the Ningy Ningy showed him the way to Brisbane but he became lost and repeatedly returned to their camp. On his second day at the Toorbal village he was surprised by the arrival of another of his crew who had come south via an inland route but neither of the Europeans could navigate their way to the Aboriginal path to Brisbane. The Ningy Ningy tired of feeding them by their third day in camp finally decided to lead them to Brisbane, an overnight journey in which the Europeans would struggle to keep pace.³¹

When Walker and Seaman Sherry were finally brought to the Aboriginal camp at Breakfast Creek white authorities were immediately alerted. While the two men recuperated in Brisbane Hospital a search party left for the coast but was unsuccessful. It took a second search party led by whites but largely comprised of Indigenous men and women to recover the bodies near Coolum the following June. The whites set up a depot on Bribie Island, then based themselves at Caloundra while sending the Indigenous members of the party to the north.³² On their return the Aboriginal guides reported that the remaining crew members had died of starvation and exposure, not murder as Captain Walker had claimed, and remarkably this evidence seems to have been accepted by the Europeans; equally remarkable was the absence of any attempt to arrest Burra when he appeared at the Caloundra base camp.³³

While the pastoral frontier had spread west to the Maranoa and north beyond the Burnett and into the Leichhardt district, there were still lands within 50 kilometres of Brisbane that were impenetrable to Europeans on foot and unaccompanied by Indigenous guides. Perhaps because of these events, the Bunya Festival of December 1852 to January 1853 was said to have been the largest since 1846. Commandant Walker boasted that his Native Police had succeeded in disrupting the festivities without firing a single shot although they failed to prevent the killing of a servant on Balfour's station that season. According to Walker *Colinton* station, only about 130 kilometres north-west of Brisbane, was attacked every second year.³⁴ His claim needs further investigation but certainly the district was still facing violent resistance. There had been sales of coastal land in 1852 but when Thomas Dowse sought to build on his purchase at Sandgate in December 1853 he and his two sons became victims of a night time attack by the Ningy Ningy. He was struck by a waddy, one son was speared in the

leg and the third struck by a boomerang before the eldest son managed to fire his gun.³⁵

This incident is significant only because it was so close to Brisbane and took place 30 years after the arrival of the Europeans. There were more spectacular Aboriginal attacks in 1858 both east and west of the D'Aguilar Range including an attack on a detachment of Native Police on *Whiteside* Station at Pine River resulting in the death of one trooper and the wounding of two.³⁶ So the passing of the frontier is very difficult to pinpoint and it is more that the spectacular attacks at William Young's station in the Gladstone hinterland in 1855 in which all four residents were killed, the aggression at *Hornet Bank* in 1857 when 11 family members and staff died and the massacre of 19 Europeans at *Cullinaringo* in 1861 shift attention to the north and west.

In the south the Bunya festivals continued as did the *lex talionis*, the traditional law of payback, well into the 1880s. Indigenous customs and languages were practised at the main camps around the southeast which were still flourishing in this decade – at Burgalba near *Durundur* station, at Woodford, Woody Point, Bribie, Moreton and Stradbroke Islands. As Thomas Welsby wrote in the early twentieth century:

To me the Aborigines of my early youth were no more than the people of the day; their numbers were in hundreds in our towns, their ways and living nothing to dwell upon. Today to my children they are a wonder and a mystery. I have seen the gatherings of blacks by the score at Amity and



Thomas Dowse, Brisbane Town Clerk, 1862-1868.
(Picture Queensland Collection, State Library of
Queensland)

Cleveland, and now, as I write, or tell the story to some of my younger boating companions, they wonder ... if such really did happen.³⁷

The elderly Indigenous man, Gaiarbau, explained to an anthropologist in the 1950s, that as a young Jinibara man from Woodford, he decided to visit the neighbouring tribes of the region, probably round about 1890; his journey took three years and upon his return he discovered that the government had closed his home camp.³⁸

As Aboriginal spirituality and custom changed with the years and aspects of white culture were incorporated into daily lives, Aboriginal identity took on a wider consciousness. The problem of hindsight, however, has led to misplaced assumptions about the rapidity of this process and Queensland historiography has been the poorer for it. A determined reading of even Eurocentric primary sources reveals parallel social, legal and political structures continuing to operate in the Aboriginal camps and coastal villages of Queensland even as the British colony expanded around them. The surviving evidence regarding the continuity of Aboriginal legal practices adds another dimension to debates about sovereignty in Australian historiography and constitutional law. Aboriginal law enforcement in the 1850s is just one more indicator that there was no surrender of sovereignty to Great Britain when it established the new colony of Queensland in 1859.

Endnotes

- 1 *Moreton Bay Courier*, 10 June 1854, 6 January 1855, 13 January 1855; *Moreton Bay Free Press*, 27 May & 29 July 1857. This paper generally adopts the spelling of traditional names recommended by the Foundation for Aboriginal Research and Action but historical usage from the 1840s and 1850s is also incorporated where necessary. See Roger Ford & Thom Blake, *Indigenous Peoples in Southeast Queensland: An annotated guide to ethno-historical sources*, Woolloongabba, FAIRA, 1998.
- 2 *Brisbane Courier*, 18 January 1919.
- 3 Wickham's appointment as police magistrate to Moreton Bay in 1843 was five years older than that of Maurice Charles O'Connell, the only other official with the title of government resident north of the 30th parallel.
- 4 Libby Connors, 'Sentencing on a Colonial Frontier: Judge Therry's Decisions at Moreton Bay', *Legal History*, vol. 12, no. 1, 2008, pp. 90-91; Libby Connors, 'Traditional Law and Indigenous Resistance at Moreton Bay 1842-55, Part II', *Australia and New Zealand Law and History E-Journal*, Paper 11, 2006, pp. 8-10; *R v Dundalli*(1) (2) & (3) in Supreme Court, Criminal Jurisdiction: Clerk of the Peace, Brisbane 1854, 9/6386 SRNSWA; *Moreton Bay Courier*, 25 November 1854; *Moreton Bay Free Press*, 28 November 1854; R Therry, *Reminiscences of Thirty Years Residence in New South Wales and Victoria*, London, Sampson, Low, Son & Co., 1863, pp. 287-88.
- 5 Stephen Simpson was to act as chair during Wickham's absence. Government Resident, Brisbane 2 December 1854, l/no. 54/10668 CSIL: 1854 4/3256, SRNSW.

- 6 *Brisbane Courier*, 18 January 1919.
- 7 These practices are the foundations of government and therefore essential in determining the existence of Indigenous sovereignty. See Henry Reynolds, *Aboriginal Sovereignty: Reflections on Race, State and Nation*, St Leonards, Allen & Unwin, 1996 on the difficulties of precisely defining sovereignty. For examples of official recognition of customary law from other Australian colonies, see Reynolds, *Aboriginal Sovereignty*, pp. 40-41, & Simon Cooke, 'Arguments for the survival of Aboriginal customary law in Victoria: A casenote on *R v Peter* (1860) and *R v Jemmy* (1860)', *Australian Journal of Legal History*, vol. 5 No. 2, 1999, pp. 201-41.
- 8 Libby Connors, 'The 80th Regiment's attack at York's Hollow', paper presented to ANZLHS conference, ANU, 1999, [unpublished]
- 9 W Ross Johnston, *Brisbane: The first thirty years*, Bowen Hills, Boolarong, 1988, pp. 214-19.
- 10 Ray Evans, 'On the utmost verge: Race and ethnic relations at Moreton Bay, 1799-1842', *Queensland Review*, vol. 15. no. 1, 2008, pp. 20, 27; Ray Evans, *A History of Queensland*, Cambridge: CUP, 2007, p. 70; **Ray Evans**, 'The mogwi take mi-an-jin: Race relations and the Moreton Bay penal settlement 1824-42' in Rod Fisher (ed) *Brisbane: The Aboriginal Presence 1824-1860*, Brisbane: BHG, 1992, pp. 7-30; Rod Fisher, 'From depredation to degradation: The Aboriginal experience at Moreton Bay 1842-60' in Rod Fisher (ed) *Brisbane: The Aboriginal Presence 1824-1860*, Brisbane: BHG, 1992, pp. 31-47.
- 11 Karen Martin, "'Isn't it time they learned to behave properly?'" Writing and righting the history of Aboriginal regulation of non-Aboriginal Outsiders'. Paper presented to The History Wars: Fictious Fiction or Fictious Facts? Symposium, Indigenous Studies Research, QUT, Kelvin Grove 27 September 2006, pp. 1-4.
- 12 On the abundance of food supplies for Moreton Bay see, Jay Hall, 'Sitting on the crop of the bay: an historical and archaeological sketch of Aboriginal settlement and subsistence in Moreton Bay, southeast Queensland' in *Coastal Archaeology in Eastern Australia: Proceedings of the 1980 Valla Conference on Australian Prehistory*, Canberra, Dept of Prehistory, Research School of Pacific Studies, ANU, 1982, pp. 79-95. On the Blackall Ranges see Hilary Sullivan, *Aboriginal Gatherings in South-East Queensland*, BA Hons (Prehistory and Anthropology) ANU, 1977.
- 13 The trigger for this regional political conflict and some of its manifestations during early European times is discussed in Libby Connors, 'Women on the South-East Queensland Frontier,' *Queensland Review*, vol. 15 no.2, 2008, pp. 30-32
- 14 Rev. William Ridley, Narrative of labour among the Aborigines of Australia, entries for 9 & 10 March 1855, Missions Queensland Ms Q165, Mitchell Library; Libby Connors, 'Traditional Law ... Part II', p. 10
- 15 Connors, 'Women', p. 31.
- 16 Journal of W Schmidt during a journey to Toorbal made with A Rodé from the 28th of December 1842 to the 6th of January 1843, Lang Papers, Mitchell Library; see also Letters re moving mission to the Bunyas 1842, p. 362, Lang Papers, Mitchell Library.
- 17 Select Committee [SC] on the Condition of the Aborigines, *Votes and Proceedings of the Legislative Council of New South Wales*, 1845, p. 960.
- 18 SC on the ... Aborigines, p. 951.
- 19 See the entries for 13, 15 & 22 May and 6 June 1843, Extracts from the General Diary of the German Mission from January 23rd to July 18th 1843, Lang Papers, ML.

- 20 Polding's evidence to the SC on the ... Aborigines, p. 952. This evidence is also included in the appendices to Thorpe's published account of the mission. See Osmund Thorpe, *First Catholic Mission to the Aborigines*, Sydney, Pellegrini, 1950.
- 21 Libby Connors, 'A House Divided: The Griffin Family of Whiteside and frontier conflict in the 1840s', *Queensland History Journal*, this issue; Libby Connors, 'Traditional law and Indigenous resistance at Moreton Bay 1842-1855, Part II', *Australia and New Zealand Law and History E-Journal*, 2006, paper 11, pp. 3-4.
- 22 Connors, 'Traditional law ...Part II', pp. 4-5.
- 23 *Moreton Bay Courier*, 17 January & 7 February 1852.
- 24 He was later questioned by police and remanded for a June 1852 attack on Michael Halloran, a shepherd on McGrath's station north of Brisbane. He was held by Brisbane police for three weeks before being released 22 February 1853. See *Moreton Bay Courier*, 26 June 1852 & 3 July 1852; Gaol Nos 34, 42, 44 for 1853, Register – prison admissions, Series ID: 10826, Item ID 2917, QSA.
- 25 *ibid*; see also JJ Knight, *In the Early Days*, Brisbane: Sapsford, 1898, p. 315.
- 26 Sir Raphael Cilento, *Captain Walker's Marathon*, Brisbane: Boolarong, 1986. Sir Raphael's account has been fictionalised but includes accurate maps of the shipwreck survivors' journey.
- 27 JH Walker, *The Wreck, the Rescue and the Massacre: An account of the loss of the barque, Thomas King, on Cato's Reef, New Holland, in April 1852*, London: Wesleyan Conference Office, 1875, p. 31.
- 28 Walker, *The Wreck*, p. 32.
- 29 Libby Connors, 'Sentencing on a Colonial Frontier', pp. 90-91.
- 30 Walker, *The Wreck*, pp. 34-37.
- 31 Walker, *The Wreck*, pp. 37-57.
- 32 *Moreton Bay Courier*, 19 June 1852.
- 33 *Moreton Bay Courier*, 19 June 1852.
- 34 Frederick Walker to E Deas Thomson, enclosure in l/no. 52/3069, CSIL: 1852, 4/3075, SRNSW.
- 35 Thomas Dowse, *Recollections of old times in Moreton Bay: a transcript of the original manuscript*, pp. 14-15 OM79-68, JOL.
- 36 L E Skinner, *Police of the Pastoral Frontier: Native Police 1849-59*, St Lucia: UQP, 1975, p. 336.
- 37 Cited by AK Thomson, 'Introduction', *The Collected Works of Thomas Welsby Vol. I*, Brisbane: Jacaranda, 1967, p. 17.
- 38 Gaiarbau's story of the Jinibara tribe of south east Queensland (and its neighbours). Collected by LP Winterbotham. MS 45 / MS 429 AIATSIS.