

QUEENSLAND HISTORY JOURNAL

THE ROYAL HISTORICAL SOCIETY OF QUEENSLAND

Volume 20, No. 13

February 2010

A Wiradjuri child at Moreton Bay[†]

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No images have survived of Ralph William Barrow, a part Aboriginal boy, who first enters the Queensland documentary record as a 10-year-old station hand working on Andrew Gregor's pastoral station, *Forgue* in October 1846. The lack of information about Ralph is remarkable given the importance of this boy to the New South Wales government's strategy of using criminal law to manage frontier relations and to the early history of Queensland. Young Ralph was a material witness, in some cases the only witness, in one coronial inquest, two committal hearings and three Supreme Court trials of Indigenous men for attacks on Europeans between 1846 and 1854. At a time when the European residents of Brisbane still feared the possibility of Aboriginal attacks upon the town, his evidence contributed to the official removal from the district of two Indigenous men, imprisonment of another for seven years and the execution of a fourth, probably the most influential figure in Indigenous regional politics. He also featured in the Attorney General's 1849 speech in the New South Wales Legislative Council in favour of allowing Indigenous evidence before the courts, yet surprisingly little is known about him. This paper firstly outlines the mass attack that young Ralph witnessed as a 10-year-old, the public pressure that was brought to bear on him to procure official convictions of Indigenous figures and how what we can glean of his personal life story made him extremely susceptible to that pressure.

Reconstructing Aboriginal life history of the 1830s and 1840s is fraught with difficulties, the greatest being the Eurocentric bias of the documentary records which often deal with Indigenous people but rarely use their names. In the case of Ralph William Barrow the starting point is made easier by his sworn testimony as to his identity at several criminal hearings. An outline of his early life can also be loosely gleaned from his

[†] This article has been peer reviewed.

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relationship with two Scottish brothers, Reverend John Gregor, the first Anglican clergyman appointed to the Moreton Bay district after it was opened to free settlement and his younger brother, Andrew Gregor, a pastoralist and lessee of *Forguie* station on the Upper Caboolture River. Despite his involvement with the Gregors, much of the detail of his life remains obscure and can only be tentatively re-constructed.

Although Andrew had taken up his run in early 1842,¹ he did not obtain a licence until 1845. The Commissioner of Crown Lands, Stephen Simpson, visited the station on 21 February 1846 as part of his inspection of his district. He described it as well watered with good soils and heavily wooded yet even by this date the only building recorded by the commissioner was one bark hut and he noted only two persons living there – presumably Andrew and his young trainee station hand, 10-year-old Ralph Barrow.² Commissioner Simpson criticised Andrew for being under-staffed, recommending employment of a minimum of two adult men for protection from Aboriginal attack.³ Labour was expensive in the north but there might also have been personal reasons for Gregor's under-capitalisation. According to young Tom Archer, Gregor's nearest neighbour to the north, this Aberdonian Scot was 'mean and stingy', never had 'a decent morsel to offer a traveller' and used his saddle cloth for a sleeping blanket.⁴ Nonetheless in the next few months Andrew employed a married couple, the Shannons, to work on the station. By October 1846 Mary and Thomas Shannon with their three daughters under five resided in a separate bark hut which must have been constructed in the months following Commissioner Simpson's February inspection.

Gregor had established his station 25 miles [40 kilometres] to the southeast of the Archers' *Durundur* station; it was hilly country in the foothills of the D'Aguilar Range, overlooked by Mount Mee. His run was at the junction of and intruded on the lands of three different traditional owner groups. To the southeast were the North Pine peoples whose headman was the renowned Dalaipi,⁵ the Caboolture River marked the start of the Kabi language and the north side of the river belonged to a group of Dalla whose elder was Paddy of *Durundur*. The heights of the range belonged to the Garumngar, another traditional owner group of the Dalla people. The lowlands of Andrew Gregor's run extended south to the start of the Pine River Valley and this whole district was also important to the coastal Ningy Ningy as it constituted a major access point to their friends and allies among the Dalla and Turrbal living on both sides of the D'Aguilar Range. As the Griffin family of neighbouring *Whiteside* Station, 12 miles [19 kilometres] south of *Forguie* station soon discovered, these runs had been imposed on Aboriginal pathways and

meeting grounds which were in high demand in the 1840s.⁶ They were of strategic importance to the traditional owners who had suffered painful losses of kin due to attacks by Europeans since February 1842.⁷ Gregor's run was an ideal location for payback according to customary law to meet the accumulated obligations of a number of traditional owner groups of southeast Queensland.

In mid-October 1846, members of each of these traditional owner groups had camped near Gregor's huts for a number of days. Ralph testified that the men had spoken to him of their plans to kill Andrew and that he had informed his master. It was for this reason that when he led the cattle out as usual before breakfast, Sunday morning 18 October, he took them no further than 100 yards [90 meters]; there he turned his horse and looked back towards the stockyard. At about 9.00 am he watched as two men assaulted his master with a waddy. The attack was sudden, rapid and coordinated: at the same time another two young Indigenous men struck the female servant, Mary Shannon, with a tomahawk as she emptied a basin in front of her hut, while another two young men had responsibility for dispatching her husband, Thomas Shannon who was 200 yards distant at a waterhole and armed. Shannon turned the minute he heard his young daughter scream but came under immediate attack and was forced to flee for his life. The unexpected attack upon people with whom one has been on speaking terms was a standard feature of payback, as was its ferocity.⁸ The waddy attack had left Andrew Gregor's face smashed in and his brains protruding from the skull while Mary Shannon's head was cut open. The children were unmolested but young Ralph remained on his horse 100 or so yards away for fear that the horse might come under attack.⁹

As Shannon fled the station he had the good fortune to meet one of the district's pastoralists, William O'Grady Haly, en route from *Whiteside* to *Forguie*. Haly raced his horse back to *Whiteside* to procure the assistance of the three Griffin brothers. The four mounted and armed men arrived at Gregor's station as the last two members of the subsequent raiding party fled one of the huts. The Griffins and Haly moved the mutilated bodies into Gregor's hut on Sunday afternoon. Word had also been sent to the Commissioner of Crown Lands at Woogaroo and to the Police Magistrate in Brisbane. Within 24 hours on Monday 19 October, Captain Wickham was on site to conduct the inquest and a short time later Commissioner Simpson posted three soldiers to guard the station while he headed out with troopers looking for the accused.¹⁰ The bodies of Andrew Gregor and Mary Shannon were finally buried on the Tuesday. It is not clear where Thomas Shannon, his three young children and young Ralph Barrow spent

Sunday night after these traumatic events – presumably they were given comfort and sustenance at *Whiteside*.

In less than four weeks the New South Wales government announced a £25 reward for any person ‘who may secure and bring to justice the Murderer or Murderers’.¹¹ The speed reflected anger and outrage among the highest levels of colonial society for Andrew Gregor, for all his unpopularity, was still only in his thirties¹² and brother of the district’s only Anglican clergyman. This was also the first time a white woman had been the target of an interracial attack in the north although she seems to have featured less in official concern which in part was provoked by Rev. John Gregor’s heartfelt personal letter to the colonial secretary reporting the murder of his brother.¹³

Legal repercussions for Indigenous men of southeast Queensland reverberated for many years. The Dalla man, Constable, was immediately arrested and sent to Sydney for trial in March 1847.¹⁴ In early December one accused man, Jacky Jacky, was shot in the back by police who conducted a night time raid on an Aboriginal gathering close to the township of Brisbane. Yillbong or Millbong Jemmy was killed by sawyers in the days that followed and Oumulli, the brother of Dundalli was killed by police in a night time operation at Spring Hollow near the town 17 months later. The police defence in each of these cases was that the men were killed while evading capture, claims which the Attorney General criticised and which the *Moreton Bay Courier* trivialised.¹⁵ Additionally between 1846 and 1854, several men were incarcerated in Brisbane Gaol for periods ranging from several days to 10 months on suspicion of involvement in the Gregor attack.¹⁶ Three were prosecuted, found guilty and sentenced to death. In the end, Mickie was reprieved and sentenced to seven years hard labour and Mickaloe was reprieved altogether¹⁷ but no such clemency was extended to the elder, Dundalli, who was officially executed in Queen Street on 5 January 1855.¹⁸

Although he was Aboriginal and only 10, Ralph Barrow’s testimony was crucial in each case. The only other witness was five-year-old Margaret Shannon. Thomas Shannon’s deposition was recorded but it seems that he was suffering a form of traumatic shock. Although the Shannons had been living on the station for several months, according to the Attorney General, Thomas ‘was so frightened and confused that he could not recognise any of the murderers.’¹⁹ Consequently at the Monday morning inquest, Captain Wickham used the unsworn testimony of Shannon’s five-year-old daughter who named four men responsible for the attacks on Gregor and her mother and controversially, the sworn testimony of Ralph Barrow whose Aboriginality was noted on the deposition papers by the Crown Solicitor. The two

children agreed on the names of three men who were central actors but the fourth man was named by Ralph as 'Moggy Moggy' and by Margaret as 'Jemmy, a Ningy Ningy black'. Furthermore they ascribed different acts to the four men: Margaret stated that she saw Millbong Jemmy strike Andrew Gregor but Ralph said he 'killed the white woman'.

Despite these differences the children were brought out again to testify when Constable, a Dalla man was arrested for theft arising from the attack in November 1846 and again at the committal hearing of a young Gubbi Gubbi man, Mickaloe, almost five years later in August 1851 when they were 10 and 15. Ralph was also the main witness at the committal and Supreme Court trials of Mickie in 1853 and Dundalli in November 1854 requiring him to re-live the trauma of the attack at no less than seven proceedings between October 1846 and November 1854. He was approximately 18 by the time of the last trial.

It was not just the original trauma of the attack that made these court appearances stressful. The community pressures for indictment and for a guilty verdict were immense. As Denis Cryle has noted, the Gregor-Shannon attack served as a rallying point for the local white community.²⁰ Each time trials of men accused of involvement in the Gregor attack were listed for the Circuit Court sittings at Brisbane, the *Moreton Bay Courier* railed against the British justice system which it claimed allowed Aboriginal murderers to go free. The attacks became very personal in 1853 when John Plunkett, Attorney General for New South Wales appeared at the Brisbane Circuit Court to prosecute Mickie and Mickaloe, both believed to be implicated in the Gregor attack. When the non-appearance of witnesses forced authorities to release Mickaloe, Plunkett, one of the most experienced of New South Wales colonial politicians,²¹ gave in to public pressure and indicted Mickie for murder, a young man whom Plunkett had earlier decided should only be charged with theft given that Ralph was the only witness, and events had taken place so long ago.²²

If the strain on the Attorney General was great, that on the main witness was even greater. The pressure on young Ralph peaked during the committal hearing of Mickaloe over two weeks in August 1851. The young Mickaloe was arrested at Wide Bay then sent to Sydney where authorities cut his hair and dressed him in European prison garb. By the time he appeared in Brisbane there were significant differences of opinion about Mickaloe's identity, hindered by the fact that young *kippers*¹* frequently assumed different names before and after their adult initiation ceremonies. Eight different names have been listed in various European records for

1 * Turrbal term for a boy prior to initiation.

Mickaloe. On the witness stand Ralph, aware of the public's eagerness for a committal, tended to answer diverse questions in an affirmative manner; but leading magistrate William Duncan, a champion of Aboriginal human rights in the township was suspicious of the excitement caused by the arrest of Mickaloe. Duncan had the original inquest papers before him and asked a number of questions which resulted in Ralph giving very different answers to those he had given almost five years before at the inquest and at Constable's committal. After being cross-examined by both prisoner and magistrate, Ralph was given a final caution from the latter and then began to cry on the stand. His ordeal was not yet over. The bench decided that the discrepancies in his answers constituted 'prevarication' and he was sentenced to a week in Brisbane Gaol.²³

It was a harsh response given Ralph's admission about the level of fear he had felt at the time of the attack and that he was still so young. Since Brisbane Gaol had only two large male wards in 1851, with little possibility of separation,²⁴ it also meant that he was incarcerated alongside men awaiting trial for violent offences as well as the man he was accusing.²⁵ Furthermore, time in gaol only seemed to reinforce his belief that he needed to say what the Europeans wanted to hear. At his next two appearances at criminal trials for Mickie and Dundalli, his recall of events was again confused and he contradicted his account from the original inquest. Barrister for the defence, Peter Faucett, emphasised Ralph's 'evident defects of memory' but it made no difference to Brisbane jurors who wanted to hear Ralph's version of events. Both men were found guilty and sentenced to death.²⁶

Given the weight of Ralph's testimony it is worth exploring his life to identify factors that made him such a pliable witness. From the first committal hearing in November 1846, it was clear that the boy was desperate to give the answers his interrogators wanted. Even with skimpy reporting provided by Wickham's clerk who rarely bothered to note questions from the bench, Ralph's transcript shows that twice he informed the magistrates that he could tell them nothing further. 'I do not remember any more' he says in the first third of the transcript before the clerk continues to record another 22 alleged culprits named by Ralph; 'I do not know the names of any more' he pleads in the last part before more details of pillaging are logged against the names of the lead figures.²⁷

Because Ralph was an Aborigine and a boy, Wickham was concerned to establish Ralph's credibility as a witness and recorded three important details: he was 'a native of Wellington,... was educated by Mr Turton, and was christened by the Lord Bishop of Australia'.²⁸ Elsewhere he explains that he had been educated at the Cowpastures. This combination of

factors strongly points to Ralph having been born on or near the Church Missionary Society [CMS] mission of Wellington Valley in New South Wales in 1836. The mission, had been founded in October 1832 on the great Wiradjuri peoples' lands which covered much of central New South Wales. Soon the missionaries made enemies of local shepherds when they objected to stockmen cohabiting with Aboriginal girls as young as eight. Nor did local stock owners, some of them magistrates, appreciate disruption to their work and supplies when the missionaries wanted to prosecute other station hands such as draymen. In April 1836, missionaries removed an Aboriginal girl aged only 12 or 13 but 'in an advanced state of pregnancy' from a neighbouring station. She remained on the mission and in August gave birth to a sickly boy.²⁹ Although this child matches Ralph's age, missionaries did not always give the names of adults or children living on the mission, so a precise identification is impossible.

In April 1839, Governor Gipps appointed William Warre Barrow as police magistrate at Wellington. The previous leading magistrate for the district, Henry Gisbourne, had been critical of the mission,³⁰ but Magistrate Barrow was sympathetic and on the requests of Rev. William Watson was prepared to take action against stockmen cohabiting with Aboriginal girls. Watson was tough and unrelenting,³¹ and in October 1840 relations broke down irrevocably between Watson and the only other clergyman at the mission, Rev. James Günther. Watson and his wife walked off the mission accompanied by about 30 Aboriginal men, women and children. When some changed their mind and returned to the official CMS mission, Police Magistrate Barrow assigned constables to assist Watson to bring them back to the new Apsley mission which the Watsons had formed four miles to the north. Not surprisingly Rev. James Günther viewed these actions as 'unlawful interference' and described Police Magistrate Barrow as 'Mr. Watson's great defender'.³²

There is no doubting Watson's missionary dedication and commitment. His new Apsley Mission was not sponsored by the CMS and he and his wife funded it themselves initially, although he soon won the support of Governors Gipps and FitzRoy and Bishop Broughton.³³ The new mission averaged 30 Indigenous men, women and children with Watson reporting that they also fed many older itinerant Aboriginal people who refused to remain there. In his first report of 1841 he provided a list of 29 people and their ages. It is impossible to be certain, because Watson did not give names, but it is quite likely that Ralph was one of the 'two half-caste boys – 4 years' on this list. He makes two other important points in this report in terms of trying to piece together Ralph's early life history. His comment that 'I have several more children promised, but we have as many as we can

at present provide for' suggests that the Watsons may have been amenable to relinquishing custody of Ralph to someone whose faith and care they could rely on. Secondly, Bishop Broughton had visited Apsley Mission in May 1841. Broughton possibly offered to pay for Ralph's education at the Cowpastures school run by Anglican clergymen in 1841. Unless Ralph was orphaned, which was highly likely,³⁴ his mother had to consent to this move and Watson lists two possible mothers aged 30 and 18 years on his mission.³⁵

Ralph relates that he was baptised 'by the Lord Bishop' which had to have taken place between April 1839 and July 1841. By this latter date, rumours of Magistrate William Barrow's drunkenness and inefficiency were widespread. He left Wellington without notice in July and soon after, it was discovered that moneys had been misappropriated.³⁶ Gipps reported to Lord Stanley the cancelling of the post of paid police magistrate at Wellington on 1 August 1841.³⁷ It seems Watson chose to honour 'his great defender' before this scandalous behaviour had become known by naming Ralph after him. On his wedding certificate, Ralph lists his father as 'Ralph Barrow, Farmer'³⁸ but no such person has been located. It is highly unlikely that Watson would have continued to look to William Barrow for support if Barrow had been fathering Aboriginal children. Furthermore the presence of William Barrow's wife at Wellington made Barrow's liaising with Aboriginal girls all the more difficult and unlikely given that she has been described as 'fearsome and overbearing', undoubtedly, on accounts by the magistrate's local detractors.³⁹ So Ralph's christening probably took place during the bishop's visit in May 1841 or soon after at the Cowpastures.

The bishop's decisions concerning Ralph coincided with weightier matters of church and colonial politics. After the opening of Moreton Bay to settlement in May 1842, the bishop decided to appoint the newly ordained John Gregor to the district and he arrived there on 22 January 1843.⁴⁰ Broughton seems to have assumed guardianship over Ralph by 1842 for according to Ralph, who gave no dates in his testimony before Captain Wickham, he 'was sent from Sydney to the Rev J. Gregor by the Bishop.'⁴¹ Gregor with his Master of Arts from the University of Aberdeen was 'one of the best qualified among the Scots ministers, in literary and scientific requirements'.⁴² Broughton's decision to place Ralph under John Gregor's care makes sense given that Gregor's piety was unquestioned. Unlike many other Anglican clergyman in the colony, he was unburdened by financial obligations of a family and had a strong record in educating boys. He had been tutor to the Leslie boys, now Darling Downs pastoral-

ists, during their Scottish childhood and had established a boarding school for boys while Presbyterian minister in Maitland.⁴³

On arrival at Moreton Bay, John Gregor seems to have decided to send his young charge to his brother Andrew, although from Ralph's phrasing this did not happen immediately. One of John's first tasks was to tour his district involving three long and arduous journeys from August to September, September-October and October-December 1843. Rather than impose this upon the seven-year-old Ralph, he employed a servant, William Sutton, to accompany him on these missionary tours.⁴⁴ So perhaps by August, Ralph had been sent to his brother Andrew's isolated station to train as a stockman. There Ralph identified himself by his work; as he explained at the first inquest, he was 'afterwards sent by the Rev J Gregor into the Bush to his Brother, by whom I am now employed herding cattle'.⁴⁵ Given comments about Andrew Gregor by Tom Archer and Stephen Simpson, Andrew was sorely in need of assistance with his cattle run.

With the death of Andrew, Ralph returned to John Gregor who by mid-1846 was living at the German station at Nundah. Manipulations by John Gregor's divided Anglican congregation to drive him from the township of Brisbane have been covered by John Mackenzie-Smith.⁴⁶ The Nundah community was formerly a Presbyterian mission initiated by JD Lang but had seen the departure of both their ordained missionaries by 1845 and a turnover of several lay members with new German arrivals in the same year. John Gregor became their new minister, quite remarkable given the bitter schism within the Presbyterian synod in 1842 which had reached as far as Moreton Bay.⁴⁷ Here Rev. John Gregor found support in the face of his brother's murder and there are hints that Ralph was now acting as his personal servant.⁴⁸ Gregor was held in high esteem at Nundah and Ralph too was now living in a community which included children, the eldest of the German community children being only two years younger than Ralph.

Sadly for Ralph it was not to last: the man who had officially been his guardian since 1843 drowned while bathing in a lagoon in January 1848. John Gregor was only 39 and the Wiradjuri boy he left behind was not yet 12. The Nundah community seem to have mourned the loss of their parson more than the Anglican congregation of Brisbane.⁴⁹ Years later, JHL Zillmann, a son of the original missionaries, recalled Gregor with awe and affection:

My earliest recollections were of a white robed gentleman with a most benevolent countenance, suave in manner and speech, and gentle in deportment and address. This cultured and refined person... remains a vivid

picture in my memory today. I mourned his death with an intense emotion, when he, in taking his morning dip in the weedy lagoon at the hill on which my home was situated – where he was then the honoured guest – became entangled among the weeds where he was an hour later discovered dead.⁵⁰

It is impossible to know whether Ralph shared a similarly idealised image of his guardian but he does appear to have shared in the support of the Nundah German community. By December 1852 when he was required to give evidence against the young Indigenous man Mickie, Ralph informed the court that he lived with Mr Franz (an original 1838 German missionary) at Nundah and listed his employment as stockkeeper.⁵¹ Sixteen years later at approximately 32, at the Lutheran Church of South Brisbane, Ralph married Hanna Mitchel, newly arrived from Amsterdam. The presiding minister was John Hausmann, another of the original German missionaries suggesting that his ties with that community were enduring.⁵²

It is not surprising that in the racially structured society of colonial Queensland the documentary record does not end ‘happily ever after’ upon his marriage to Hanna. In 1873, Ralph who by this stage gave his occupation as horse breaker, was charged with theft of a saddle when all the evidence pointed to the guilt of his house guest. No less than six character witnesses were called to attest to Ralph’s good character. Remarkably given the record of Indigenous men before the courts in colonial Queensland, Ralph was found not guilty.⁵³

So in the end this Wiradjuri boy survived and flourished despite the rigours of the racial hierarchy of colonial Queensland.⁵⁴ At no stage did the local traditional owners ever blame the boy for the fate of their countrymen including their esteemed elder Dundalli. In their eyes the British criminal justice system was a farce and they enacted their own legal processes to avenge Dundalli.⁵⁵ It was the British criminal justice system operating in frontier conditions which exploited this young Aboriginal boy as a witness, imprisoned him, persecuted him and belatedly released him from its clutches 27 years later.

Endnotes

- 1 According to Tom Archer in a letter home to his father 24 March 1844, cited in Lorna McDonald, *Over Earth and Ocean: The Archers of Tolderodden and Gracemere, A Norse Australian Saga*, St Lucia, UQP & CQUP, 1999, p. 100.
- 2 Itinerary of Stephen Simpson Esqr, County of Stanley Moreton Bay, Special Bundles: CCL 1843-47 4/1141.1 State Records of New South Wales [SRNSW].
- 3 Stephen Simpson, *The Simpson Letterbook*, St Lucia, Anthropology Museum University of Qld, 1979, [transcribed Gerry Langevad], p. 24.
- 4 Tom Archer was only 17-years-old when he wrote this comment and much more impressed by the Archers’ wealthy Scottish neighbours so his assessment should not be accepted uncritically. See McDonald, *Over Earth and Ocean*, p. 100.

- 5 Dalaipi features in many early colonial sources but the most extensive account is Constance Campbell Petrie, *Tom Petrie's Reminiscences of Early Queensland*, Hawthorn Vic., Lloyd O'Neil, 1975 [facs of 1904], pp. 178-88.
- 6 Drawn from JG Steele, *Aboriginal Pathways in Southeast Queensland and the Richmond River*, Brisbane, University of Queensland Press, 1984, pp. 160-2; Simpson Itinerary in 4/1141.1; Simpson, *Letterbook*, p. 34; Diary Kept by Captain George Griffin at Whiteside via Petrie "Moreton Bay", 1st January 1847-16th May 1849, OM72-42/1, John Oxley Library [JOL].
- 7 Some reasons for Indigenous payback leading up to the attack on Gregor's station are covered in Libby Connors, 'Traditional law and Indigenous resistance at Moreton Bay 1842-1855', *Australia & New Zealand Law & History E-Journal*, 2005, pp. 107-17.
- 8 Petrie, *Reminiscences*, pp. 32-3.
- 9 Depositions taken on the inspection of the bodies of Mr Andrew Gregor and Mary Shannon murdered by Native Blacks on the morning of 18 October 1846, QSA Deposition and Minute Books, 06/02/1846 – 31/10/1846, Series 753 Item 518884, p. 36; *R v Constable* in Supreme Court, Criminal Jurisdiction: Clerk of the Peace, Brisbane 1846, 9/6337 SRNSW; *R v Dundalli* in Supreme Court, Criminal Jurisdiction: Clerk of the Peace, Brisbane 1854, 9/6386 SRNSW.
- 10 Commissioner Simpson to Colonial Secretary, Moreton Bay, 25 October 1846, enclosure in L/no. 54/10741 in CSIL:1854 4/3256 SRNSW.
- 11 *New South Wales Government Gazette*, 16 November 1846; *Maitland Mercury*, 16 December 1846.
- 12 Surmised from John's date of birth and the order of siblings given in John's will. John Gregor, 1848, SC70/4/5 Edinburgh Sheriff Court Wills, Scotland's People website, accessed 3 December 2009.
- 13 Rev. John Gregor to Colonial Secretary, Brisbane 2 November 1846, L/no. 46/8294, enclosure in L/no. 54/10741 in CSIL:1854 4/3256 SRNSW.
- 14 *Sydney Morning Herald* [SMH], 30 November 1846; *R v Constable* 1846 Supreme Court, Criminal Jurisdiction: Clerk of the Peace: Brisbane 9/6357, [SRNSW].
- 15 See Attorney General to Colonial Secretary, Sydney 12 July 1848, enclosure in L/no. 54/10741 in CSIL:1854 4/3256 SRNSW; Plunkett refused the payment of the reward to the constables involved in Oumulli's death. The *Moreton Bay Courier* [MBC] argued only two men had been killed and that they were 'attempting other outrages' in an editorial opposing AG Plunkett's Aboriginal Evidence Bill. *MBC*, 7 July 1849.
- 16 They include Uncle Marney, Mickaloe, Billy Quartpot and Billy Barlow. See *SMH*, 30 November 1846; *R v Mickaloe* in Supreme Court, Criminal Jurisdiction: Clerk of the Peace, Brisbane 1853 9/6378 SRNSW; Supreme Court, Criminal Jurisdiction, Judgment Book: Brisbane Circuit Court, 1852-1853 4/5745-5753 SRNSW; Gaol nos. 34, 42 & 44, Prison Register: 1853 PRI 1/25, Queensland State Archives, [QSA].
- 17 For Mickaloe see Colonial Secretary's Office to Police Magistrate Brisbane, 22 December 1851 L/no. 51/90 in Letters addressed to the Government Resident Moreton Bay by the Colonial Secretary, Sydney, 1851. RES/A3 QSA; for Mickie see Justice Therry to Col Sec 11 July 1853, L/no. 53/6065 in bundle beginning 52/3069, Col Secretary Letters Received Main Series: 1852 4/3075 NSWRC; Prison Register: 1853 PRI 1/25 QSA Gaol No. 152; Supreme Court, Criminal Jurisdiction, Judgment Book: Brisbane Circuit Court, 1852-53 4/5745-5753, SRNSW.
- 18 *R v Dundalli* (2) in Supreme Court, Criminal Jurisdiction: Clerk of the Peace, Brisbane 1854, 9/6386 SRNSW; *MBC*, 6 & 13 January 1855.

- 19 Plunkett used this case and the example of Barrow and other Indigenous witnesses in his arguments when introducing his Aboriginal Natives' Evidence Bill to the Legislative Council. *SMH*, 29 June 1849.
- 20 Denis Cryle, "Snakes in the grass" The press and race relations at Moreton Bay 1846-47', *Brisbane History Group Papers*, no. 11, 1992, p. 69.
- 21 On Plunkett's outstanding legal and political career see, John Molony, *An Architect of Freedom: John Hubert Plunkett in New South Wales 1832-1869*, Canberra, ANUP, 1973; Peter Cochrane, *Colonial Ambition: Foundations of Australian Democracy*, Melbourne, MUP, 2006, esp. pp. 46-7; 436-44.
- 22 *MBC*, 21 May 1853. The chain of events surrounding Mickie's indictment are discussed in Libby Connors, 'Sentencing on a colonial frontier: Judge Therry's decisions at Moreton Bay', *Legal History*, vol. 12, no. 1, 2008, pp. 81-97.
- 23 *MBC*, 16 August 1851; Prison no. 356 in Prison Register: 1851 PRI 1/25, QSA.
- 24 Libby Connors, *The 'birth of the prison' and the death of convictism: the operation of the law in pre-separation Queensland 1839 to 1859*, PhD, University of Queensland, 1990, chapter 2.
- 25 Prison Register: 1851 PRI 1/25 QSA; Supreme Court, Criminal Jurisdiction, Judgement Book: Brisbane Circuit Court, 1851-53 4/5745-5753, SRNSW.
- 26 *MBC*, 21 May 1853, 25 November 1854. See also Connors, 'Sentencing on a colonial frontier', pp. 92-5.
- 27 *R v Constable* 1846 Supreme Court, Criminal Jurisdiction: Clerk of the Peace: Brisbane 9/6357, SRNSW.
- 28 Barrow's testimony, Depositions taken on the inspection of the bodies of Mr Andrew Gregor and Mary Shannon murdered by Native Blacks on the morning of 18 October 1846, QSA, Deposition and Minute Books, Register – Depositions, 06/02/1846 – 31/10/1846 Series 753 Item 518884.
- 29 Entries for 4 April & 26 August 1836, Watson Diary; Volume 2, The Papers of William Watson 1832-40 in Hilary M. Carey & David A. Roberts, *The Wellington Valley: Papers Relating to the Church Missionary Society Mission to Wellington Valley, New South Wales, 1830 – 42, 2002*, <http://www.newcastle.edu.au/group/amrhd/wvp/vol2/contents.html> accessed 8 December 2009.
- 30 See Gisbourne's evidence to the Executive Council regarding the mission 17 April 1839, enclosure in Sir George Gipps to Lord Russell, Despatch No. 60, *Historical Records of Australia* [HRA], Series 1, Vol. XX, pp. 616-8.
- 31 See Minutes of the Corresponding Committee of the Church Missionary Society, 7 May 1840 in *HRA*, Series 1, Vol. XX, p. 627.
- 32 Biographical entry for William Warre Barrow, Index to Watson Papers, Carey & Roberts, *The Wellington Valley*, <http://www.newcastle.edu.au/group/amrhd/wvp/entities/biogs/WVP0055b.htm> accessed 8 December 2009.
- 33 Ninth Report Annual Apsley Aboriginal Mission, Wellington, 31 December 1849 in Documents relating to Aboriginal Australians, 1816-1853: Mission Reports, DL Add 81, State Library of New South Wales [SLNSW].
- 34 Missionaries were keenly aware that they did not have the legal right to remove Aboriginal children without the consent of their parents and Watson lobbied the government for guardianship rights over orphaned children. Rev. W Watson to Colonial Secretary Thomson, Apsley Aboriginal Mission, 3 January 1844 enclosure in Despatch No. 68, *HRA series 1*, vol. XXIII, p. 493.

- 35 First Report of the Aboriginal Mission Murrunggallang, Wellington, Mission Reports, DL Add 81, SLNSW. Gov. Gipps did name the Indigenous people who remained at the official Wellington Mission in November 1840 and neither Ralph nor his mother Lexy appear on his list. Governor George Gipps, "Memorandum respecting Wellington Valley", 1840, enclosed in Gipps to Russell, 5 April 1841, BPP, Colonies, Australia, 8: 68-70 cited in Carey & Roberts, Wellington Valley Project, Appendices.
- 36 Governor George Gipps, "Memorandum respecting Wellington Valley", 1840, enclosed in Gipps to Russell, 5 April 1841, BPP, Colonies, Australia, 8: 68-70 cited in Carey & Roberts, Wellington Valley Project, Appendices.
- 37 Sir George Gipps to Lord Stanley, 20 January 1843, Despatch No. 15, *HRA series I*, vol. XXII, p. 505.
- 38 Queensland Marriage Certificate, Registration No. 1868/2438, Registrar-General Qld.
- 39 Biographical entry for William Warre Barrow in Carey & Roberts, Wellington Valley Project.
- 40 WG Broughton to SPG, 3 February 1843 in Bishop Broughton's Letters to the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel, 1834-1849, MIC7933, Fryer Library; *Brisbane Town News from the Sydney Morning Herald 1842-46*, Brisbane, Brisbane History Group [BHG], 1989, entry for 26 January 1843, p. 8.
- 41 *R v Constable* in Supreme Court, Criminal Jurisdiction: Clerk of the Peace, Brisbane 1846, 9/6337, SRNSW.
- 42 Broughton to SPG, 3 February 1843, Letters to the Society.
- 43 K Rayner, 'Gregor, John (1808 – 1848)', *Australian Dictionary of Biography*, Volume 1, Melbourne University Press, 1966, pp 472-3; John Mackenzie-Smith, *The Scottish Presence at Moreton Bay 1837-59*, Brisbane, BHG, 2005, pp. 144.
- 44 *The Church in Australia, Part II, two journals of missionary tours in the districts of Maneroo and Moreton Bay, New South Wales, in 1843*, 3rd ed., London, Society for the Propagation of the Gospel, 1846.
- 45 Depositions taken on the inspection of the bodies of Mr Andrew Gregor and Mary Shannon... QSA.
- 46 Mackenzie-Smith, *The Scottish Presence*, pp. 148-50.
- 47 Mission Diary, Monday 28 March 1842, Lang papers, CY Reel 579, Mitchell Library; *Colonial Observer*, 24 August 1842, 21 September 1842 & 24 September 1842.
- 48 Members of the German community helped Gregor remove his brother Andrew's cattle and property from the station which John forfeited. Captain Griffin snr of *Whiteside* Station also referred to John Gregor visiting *Whiteside* accompanied by his 'Man Friday' a possible reference to Ralph. See entries March to June 1847 & 10 February 1847 respectively, Diary Kept by Captain George Griffin at *Whiteside* via Petrie "Moreton Bay", 1 January 1847-16 May 1849, OM72-42/1, JOL.
- 49 Mackenzie-Smith, *The Scottish Presence*, pp. 143-4.
- 50 JHL Zillmann, *Career of a Cornstalk*, Sydney, Duncan & Macindoe, 1914, p. 10.
- 51 *R v Mickie* (1853) Supreme Court, Criminal Jurisdiction: Clerk of the Peace, Brisbane, 9/6378 SRNSW.
- 52 Queensland Marriage Certificate, Registration No. 1868/2438, Registrar-General Qld.
- 53 *Brisbane Courier*, 10 June 1873, p. 3.
- 54 Death certificates for Ralph and his wife have not so far been located so it is possible that the Barrows moved to another colony after his 1873 ordeal.
- 55 Libby Connors, 'Traditional Law and Indigenous Resistance at Moreton Bay 1842-1855, Part II' *ANZLHE-Journal*, refereed paper no. 11, p. 10; Libby Connors, 'Women on the southeast Queensland Frontier', *Queensland Review*, vol. 15, no.2, 2008, p. 35.