



Rev. John Gregor — Like a Lamb to the Slaughter

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On 29 January 1848 readers of the Moreton Bay Courier were informed that Rev. John Gregor, Brisbane's Episcopalian minister, accidentally drowned at the German missionary station on the previous Saturday. In the same issue, "A Member of the Church of England" wrote, complaining vociferously at the rough, ready and indifferent manner in which the funeral arrangements were carried out. He had no quarrel with the missioners who did their best to revive Gregor, fashioned a rough casket for the body and reverently transported it back to Brisbane in a vegetable cart. However, the miserable scrap of rag thrown over the rude box, the sparse number of mourners, the unceremonious way the body was hoisted aloft by the working class pallbearers, the untidy procession behind the coffin and the secular rank of the grave-side celebrant, he interpreted as an extension of the affront Brisbane heaped upon Gregor as the first incumbent Anglican priest of the free settlement.¹

Two correspondents sprang to Brisbane's defence in the next issue. They argued haste was necessary in the humid tropical heat, and asserted that a number of respectable citizens were at the service and that Gregor's interment was no different from that of other "persons of the very highest respectability. . ." Despite this defence, other rationalisations, indeed jibes, made against the complaints laid by "A Member of the Church of England" support the basic inference that Gregor was unpopular, unsuccessful and ostracised by Brisbane society. Using derogatory terms such as Puseyite, highlighting Gregor's unavailability and self-exile among the Germans and focussing on the contentious issue of his stipend, the Brisbane apologists expressed no shame. They virtually reaffirmed the hostility that the wretched cleric received in his five years service at the "end of the line".²

Brisbane was a close community united by anti-government and anti-southern antagonism. Any purveyor of christian morality was faced with a formidable task amidst a population of self-seekers and former convicts leavened by a small respectable professional group, and a middle class which, in the main, professed to be Anglicans. By 1846, Church of England adherents accounted for 45 per cent of the 2525 inhabitants of the Northern District scattered over 20,000 square miles.³ Embedded among the respectable section in the

township was a pro-Lang and anti-squatter group which was preparing to set up popular control of Brisbane and district by respectable artisans and agriculturalists, having overcome a move by pastoralists to gain an economic stranglehold over the main settlement.⁴

Despite the emergent antagonism towards the squatters, Brisbane was almost entirely reliant upon the productive capacity of the pastoral hinterland. The respectable elements of the town were forced to close their eyes, whilst filling their wallets, when the squatters and their workers descended on Brisbane during the short wool season. Celebrating temporary liberation from nine to ten months of privation in the bush, these free-spending pastoral invaders transformed the settlement into a centre of debauchery.⁵

The bawdier elements of the bored townspeople were also quite capable of enjoying themselves to excess. Over the Christmas-New Year period, which coincided with the final phase of the wool season, it was reported that “Bacchaussian feasts in the streets” kept chief constable William Fitzpatrick “on his toes”.⁶ Practical jokes on the respectable, dour, thrifty shopkeepers reached a legendary status in a town where drunkenness, sly-grog selling and passing worthless currency were commonplace. St. John’s bell was apparently a favourite means for fun in the wee hours of the morning.

Archbishop Keith Rayner assessed that Rev. John Gregor MA did not have the personal qualities needed to firmly establish the Church of England in this rough pioneering outpost. “The tragedy was that [Gregor] was a second-rate man placed in a position where only a first-rate man could have succeeded”.⁷ Bishop Broughton, on appointing the enthusiastic Gregor to the Moreton Bay and Darling Downs Districts, apparently did not have a more adaptable clergyman — or any other priest, for that matter — available to serve in the north. He may have knowingly and desperately been sending a man better suited to an established urban parish, like a lamb to the slaughter.

It could be argued that Gregor, having fallen foul of Rev. John Dunmore Lang, was doomed from the start for sectarian reasons alone. Gregor, had the temerity to convert to Anglicanism for intra-church political motives merely a year after his ordination in the Presbyterian church, soon after being recruited in 1837 by Lang to accompany him to New South Wales.⁸ In addition, Gregor was strongly supported by the northern squatters, a group which Lang and his Brisbane followers had passionately opposed since late 1843.

Nevertheless, intelligent, university educated, Christian, Scottish pastoralists of Gregor’s ilk managed to adapt and prosper in a hostile environment, albeit with ability to deliver physical and economic clout. It would appear that Gregor’s personality, lack of flexibility, Quixotic approach, and his dearth of diplomatic skills may have contributed

as much to his unpopularity and failure as a minister of religion as the antagonistic social, political and religious hornet's nest in which he found himself between 1843 and 1848.

Born in 1808 at Forgieside in the parish of Keith, John Gregor graduated with a Master of Arts from King's College, Aberdeen, in 1831. He spent seven months in the following year as resident tutor of future Darling Downs squatters, Patrick, Walter and George Leslie — sons of the laird of Warhill. On arrival in New South Wales, Gregor aligned with the government recognised Presbytery of the Presbyterian church under the leadership of Lang's bitter opponent, Rev. John McGarvie. Uppermost in his mind was the concern that he would have no security for a government salary if he joined Lang's rebel Synod faction. This was probably the basis for Lang's unrelenting attack on Gregor's cupidity. After suffering as the Presbytery minister in the Lang dominated parish of Liverpool and Campbelltown in 1837, John Gregor was appointed as minister of the Scots church Maitland late in the next year. There he was also involved in teaching.

JOINING THE ANGLICAN CHURCH

Becoming disillusioned with the bitter schism within the colonial Presbyterian church in 1842, Gregor offered himself as a candidate for ordination within the Church of England. His action in "renouncing all the distinguished principles of the Presbyterian church" met with the temporary scepticism of Bishop Broughton and the undying hostility of Lang and his followers.⁹

After examining Gregor's motives thoroughly, Broughton expressed extreme satisfaction with his convert priest, "one of the best qualified amongst the Scots ministers, in literary and scientific attainments; his character indeed stood high and irreproachable in every respect".¹⁰ Lang cynically considered it was the prospect of a higher stipend that lured Gregor to take an "oath of implicit obedience to a Puseyite Bishop".¹¹

Within three years Broughton's opinion had swung against him. Although he had never visited Moreton Bay, Broughton wrote in margin of one of Gregor's reports that successful priests operating in similar immoral and antagonistic situations demonstrated "judgment, force of character, activity in [their] calling and . . . irreproachable lives",¹² thus hinting that he was the antithesis of this ideal pioneer priest.

In an attacking frenzy in Cooksland (1847), Lang proclaimed Gregor's cupidity, lack of loyalty and unfitness for religious duties as the underlying reasons for the alienated and indignant reactions of the Anglicans at Moreton Bay. He intimated that Gregor only survived by hiding his incompetence behind his obsequiousness to

Broughton and hinted that his personal life was blatantly deficient:

Mr Gregor is, without exception, the most worldly-minded person I have ever known in a clerical habit, and he is so ignorant withal of the world, as even to be utterly destitute of that thin veil of hypocrisy which, in such cases, is indispensibly necessary to shield the feeling of general disgust. Through the frequent exhibition of this quality, combined with others equally unclerical, Mr Gregor has contrived within a very short time of his arrival at Moreton Bay . . . to alienate the affections of the entire Episcopalian community in the district from his person and ministry, to forfeit all their confidence and respect.¹³

Lack of evidence precluded full assessment of Gregor's personal life, but from newspaper reports and surviving journals of his missionary tours to the interior, it was evident that Gregor was initially industrious in carrying out his duties. He immediately established St John's church in a rented building in the former lumber yard in Brisbane and worked indefatigably for nine months to attract a qualified teacher to harness the energies of the young "urchins who . . . run wild and untutored about the bush".¹⁴ In the hinterland Gregor was able to proclaim with justification, "There is hardly a shepherd's hut . . . which I do not visit every year, and in which I do not perform divine service as a priest of the Church of England".¹⁵

Gregor could not be faulted in the early period of his incumbency for his sincerity, zeal and energy, but as the astute Brisbane River squatter, Thomas Archer, observed, he did not have the "common touch", being elitist, aloof and judgemental towards the district's working class.¹⁶ Broughton alluded to deficient inter-personal skills as the basic reason for Gregor's lack of success rather than the debauched and intransigent nature of the human material with which he had to work. Gregor could not shake off his legacy of unbending Victorian Presbyterianism and disseminate the rather relaxed Anglican brand of Christianity. Many of the working class had been force-fed Anglicanism in penal institutions and were even less inclined to accept a religion mediated by the stern precepts of Calvinism. For the well-to-do and respectable, who constituted the majority of Gregor's flock, his style and bearing was a barrier, "There was always something of the minister of the Kirk in his appearance and manner..."¹⁷

AN UNCOMFORTABLE COLONIAL

Gregor's style was openly confrontative and shocked by commonplace, unseemly behaviour such as swearing. Instead of ignoring customary bush utterances occasioned by the necessity to enliven tardy sheep dogs and stubborn oxen, Gregor felt his duty was to give the miscreants a good piece of Scottish tongue and berate them like young children.

His shocked reaction and indignant scolding made him the naive victim of many a colonial joke. At Bigge's station, three Protestants who absented themselves from one of his services were sought out, confronted, interrogated and admonished.¹⁸ Lang gleefully pointed out that Protestant station workers temporarily professed allegiance to Rome on such occasions to avoid his sermons.¹⁹ Gregor's career as a university don and teacher of privileged Scottish children and a number of Maitland charges was no preparation for the rough and tumble of pioneer life.

Aided by the authority of a supportive but materialistic squattocracy which welcomed the uplifting influence of a man of religion amongst their workers, Gregor reported a successful mission among most of the captive protestant audience during his Brisbane River tour in 1843. With candour, he reported his few failures. It is not surprising that Gregor encountered men of forbidding character who vexed him sorely and caused him to despair for their souls.²⁰



Rev. John Gregor.

Gregor was more disillusioned with the labouring population in Brisbane. Containing a significant number of convict origin, Gregor described a section of the common people in Brisbane, as “hardened in iniquity and ungodliness to a degree that can with difficulty be conceived in a Christian land such as England, being altogether beyond the reach of those good impressions which a minister of the Gospel, under God, desires to make to those whom he addresses”.²¹

By contrast, the first Roman Catholic incumbent, Rev. James Hanly, possessed those flexible, pioneering qualities which identified him as empathic with those carving out a livelihood in an unforgiving and forsaken land. Like his flock, he was an exponent of the self help method. Besides capturing the admiration of the horse loving district by riding overland to Synod in Sydney within the week, he demonstrated bravery and compassion. On one occasion he swam a flooded river to minister to the sick. On another he organised and worked alongside a party of men to build a rough bridge across this stream. Having completed this project, he “took off his coat, and with axe in hand, set to work to erect a comfortable weatherboard house” for a widow.²²

Whereas Hanly forged a healthy relationship with the common people based on mutual confidence, Gregor was alienated. Yet, this numerically superior sector of the community would hardly have been so articulate, concerned and powerful to engineer Gregor’s impotency and downfall. In his report to the bishop in early 1846, he identified three groups, apart from the “incorrigible” labouring population, which acted as a discouragement to his mission; namely the former officials of the convict settlement, some unfaithful leaders of the district, and the puritannical radicals.²³

Accustomed to the previous system at Moreton Bay which provided for government support of civil, military and religious officials, the former penal officials were the major impediment to Gregor’s attempt to institute a plan of voluntary contributions. Stating that they would rather have no church and no clergyman if private funding replaced government support, Gregor accused them of reflecting the irreligious spirit fostered by an apathetic Sir George Gipps.²⁴

Focussing on the deleterious influences of the former penal officers and the labouring classes, Gregor forecast that the moral tone of the district and Christianity would flourish as the convict influence receded and the large numbers of single men were replaced by married couples and their families. Realising that respectability, religion and civilisation would not be achieved until the squatters allowed closer agricultural settlement, Gregor pre-empted the expected arrival of large numbers of God-fearing, married artisans and farmers who would swamp the immoral elements of society.²⁵ He saw this resulting from

a better deal for the squatters following more liberal land regulations rather than the democratic form it ultimately took with the arrival of Lang's emigrant ships in 1849.

The only government official whom Gregor praised was the police magistrate, Captain J.C. Wickham who attended church with his family each Sunday.²⁶ As the governor's representative, Wickham was loyal to the church and its shepherds, being both patron and benefactor of the early Anglican priests. After subdividing one of his Kangaroo Point allotments containing four acres, Wickham allowed Gregor to purchase half for 24. Gregor's neighbour was his brother Andrew, stockholder on the Pine River.²⁷

Gregor was positively antagonistic to the "avowed infidel", Dr Stephen Simpson. As one who frequently "poured contempt on the word of God", Simpson was identified as a "pernicious influence". In addition, Gregor alleged that Simpson closed his eyes to some crimes which should have been prosecuted and allowed "improper connexions, not only between Europeans, but also between Europeans and Aborigines. . ."²⁸ However both Gregor and Simpson failed to initiate any action against the squatters and their men for the wholesale slaughter of Aborigines in the pastoral hinterland. In 1846 Gregor reported frankly and apparently without outrage to the Select Committee on the Aborigines, "The Europeans have destroyed the Aborigines generally in expeditions undertaken for the purpose of punishing them for their depredations, the Government being unable or unwilling to chastise them for their breaches of the laws of civilised men".²⁹ These massacres obviously did not evoke from him the same sense of outrage expressed by Catholic Archbishop John Bede Polding in a similar investigation in 1845. He had obviously adopted the attitude of the pioneer settlers of Moreton Bay.

After unsuccessfully advocating the establishment of a Church of England mission on Fraser Island under military guard, Gregor remained condescending and patronising towards the Aborigines. At the beginning of his incumbency, he believed that it was not a hopeless task "to elevate this race from the lowest barbarism to the practices of civilised life, and from the worst . . . paganism to the knowledge of one living and true God and his son Jesus Christ, the redeemer of sinful men. . ." Broughton pragmatically assessed that this scheme would not succeed and like Henry Mort, overseer at Cressbrook, considered the clergy should exert their evangelical efforts upon the Europeans. Mort's opinion arose from the results of his casual examination of religious instruction impart to Aborigines at the Nundah mission. He was earnestly informed by one recipient that God was a great white man like Dr Simpson who lived in the sky and after death it was expected that indigenes would go to Sydney and "jump up white fellow".³⁰ Gregor was apparently content to let the

four Stradbroke Island-based Catholic priests of the Italian Pasionist order take up the Aboriginal challenge relinquished by the German missionaries after their lack of success at Zion's Hill.³¹

CONFRONTATION AND REJECTION

It was the puritannical radicals and respectable class, rather than the apathetic labouring classes, who largely engineered Gregor's failure. Personality and behaviour aside, Gregor held views counter to the plan being unfolded within Brisbane to neutralise the squatter's power in the township. In 1844-5 there was a similar coalition which thwarted the scheme of squatter-merchant, Sir Evan Mackenzie, to gain economic control of Brisbane.³²

The puritannical radicals were Lang's followers, including the merchant John Richardson. They subscribed to the radical philosophy of democracy. Since late 1843 the Langites had been working towards a district in which power would be exerted by the future majority of shopkeepers, artisans and farmers — preferably protestants. In their scheme, there was no place for decisions handed down by the squatting minority who claimed power on the basis of the number of sheep, cattle, horses and workers which they controlled.

The leaders of Brisbane's Church of England community wanted to be rid of Gregor. A deceptively detached Lang reported in Cooksland that public meetings complaining about Gregor's unfitness for office were held prior to and following his visit to Brisbane in November 1845.³³ Finally a deputation of four leading Anglicans confronted him on 13 March 1846, two months before he penned his report on the unsatisfactory state of the northern church to his bishop. A meeting had passed a number of resolutions including one which demanded his resignation and requested a reply, but Gregor merely referred the deputation to Bishop Broughton.³⁴ On the basis of these charges, which were not levied lightly, Broughton made the marginal comments referred to earlier.

The leaders of the Anglican community appeared to share with Lang the goal of humiliating and ruining Gregor as a cleric and a person. An officer of the government "holding a highly respectable appointment in the district", wrote to Lang within a fortnight of the deputation stating, "We are labouring to be rid of our Incumbent — I had almost written Incubus. . . a hindrance of that Gospel which he ought to practise as well as preach. . . I know that he is not the good shepherd, but he careth not for the sheep, because he is a hireling".³⁵ This officer, however, complained that his fellow Anglicans rather than effect Gregor's immediate demise, had preferred the more subtle effects of ostracism to force him to leave voluntarily.

When the deputations proved fruitless, Gregor was deprived of his rectory and had to live with the German missionaries six miles out of

town. The puritannical radicals outbid him when this government building was put up for auction.³⁶ Visiting Brisbane only on Sundays to conduct Holy Communion, Gregor was unavailable for pastoral care for most of the week. Brisbane was not only rid of this unpopular priest, but able to sustain one of the important complaints against him.³⁷ Leading Anglican layman and Queen Street merchant, William Pickering, writing on the eve of the newly-appointed Bishop of Newcastle's proposed visit to Brisbane in May 1848, confirmed that aloofness and failure to mix with the parishioners was one of the reasons why his family occasionally found themselves as Gregor's entire congregation. Pickering further inferred that Gregor was elitist: "We expect to find the lowly Priest of God shewing the world an example of patient humility, and it shocks my early ideas of religion if I see anything of official stiffness, etiquette or exclusiveness".³⁸

Having deprived Gregor of a rectory, his antagonists continued their efforts to depose him by undermining his financial and popular support. Local contributions towards his upkeep were completely withdrawn after the first two years of his incumbency. Thereafter he was unable to gain support for the subscription list upon which government contributions depended. Finding himself in a situation reminiscent of the schism in the Scottish presbyterian church in the early 1840s, Gregor indicated that Moreton Bay laymen considered that monetary support was contingent upon his submission to their temporal interests and opinions. Church of England members in Brisbane regarded voluntary contributions as an impost unless their control over the church and the subservience of the incumbent were guaranteed in return.³⁹

Gregor lamented that the matter of his independence brought him into collision with the selfish parishioners causing animosity, bitterness and strife. He asked only for peace, cordiality and a chance to proclaim the trust so that the church "would acquire a deeper place in the hearts of her children and a stronger hold on their affections".⁴⁰ Gregor and his servant managed to survive only by some squatter support and an annual contribution from the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel — an amount that fell far short of the £300 he required to keep him free from debt.⁴¹ He kept the knowledge of the latter form of support from his parishioners but acknowledged privately that without it, it would have been quite impossible for him to hold on in the face of the unchristian actions and sentiments directed against him.

The average Brisbane Anglican was apathetic towards formal worship and detached from the power struggle. William Pickering complained that church attendance for the majority was based upon shallow motives. Basically it was an activity of fashion. When Gregor

fell out with Brisbane's opinion leaders, attendance became unfashionable. Paradoxically, it was this low level of commitment and this apathy which prevent Gregor from being driven from his position. The fickleness of the congregation was demonstrated when a new, influential family arrived and went to church. Disdainfully, Pickering commented, "This was all that was needed; here was a fashionable precedent, and my dear consistent fellow-townsmen came rushing back to the Church with as little consideration as they had exercised in leaving it".⁴²

Seven months after the deputation of four expressed the Anglican community's lack of faith in their pastor, Gregor received an apparent tangible expression of public support. Chairman of the Moreton Bay District Association and Gregor's close friend, Patrick Leslie, dominated a meeting of leading Anglicans on 13 October 1846. Having recently taken up residence at his newly completed Newstead House, Leslie influenced this gathering to address the major monetary grievances, the lack of a rectory and the need for a substantial church building. Leslie was thus rescuing his former teacher by rallying the squatters and their urban supporters. It was Gregor's connection with the squatters and his refusal to be bought by their town opponents that was a significant cause of his disfavour amongst an increasingly powerful anti-pastoralist cabal in Brisbane.

Richard Jones, devout Anglican merchant and member of the Legislative Council, took the chair. Patrick Leslie, seconded by Henry Mort, proposed that a fund raising campaign be mounted within Brisbane, on the Darling Downs and in the vicinity of the River Brisbane "to collect subscriptions for the building of a church & a Parsonage in Brisbane". Edward Lord, former Brisbane manager for Sir Evan Mackenzie, seconded R. Gill's successful motion that "the gentlemen who are appointed to collect subscriptions for the purpose of Church and Parsonage be also requested to; use their earnest endeavours to raise sufficient income for the clergyman of the district until he is entitled to an income from the government".⁴³

The boost to Gregor's morale was only temporary. The disappointment at the failure of the fund raising scheme under the management of William Pickering, the continued personal attacks, and the death of his brother, Andrew, at the hands of Aborigines at his station on the Northern Road, dealt him a final blow from which he did not recover.⁴⁴ There is evidence that Gregor's self esteem was so diminished that he actively aborted the fund raising campaign. Yet, he attempted to fulfil his pastoral role to the end. The sentiments written in the summer of 1848 complaining about Brisbane's callous attitude to Gregor's death were just as appropriate to his treatment during his unhappy life in the town:

Persecuted and rejected as [he was] in his life without one tangible charge against him — hunted from his home, and performing his office. . . for the last two years without salary, because as he said himself with tears streaming from his eyes, he “feared that he was unpopular, and would not therefore solicit those contributions which would entitle him to government assistance”. Dependent as he was to the last hour of his existence for shelter to those who owned neither his country nor his church, yet in most human breasts there is a chord which vibrates with pity for the dead; and even if an appeal to this feeling had been made by those whose duty it was to make it, we should have been spared the disgrace of this dishonourable affair.⁴⁵

To say that Gregor failed because he was an inferior person is too simplistic. There were facets of his personality and behaviour which aroused enmity and derision towards him. Nevertheless, he demonstrated tenacity of purpose and personal courage to cling to his post long after his emotional, monetary, moral and professional supports he been severed by a vindictive community which promoted the rejection of a man above the love of God. Gregor’s greatest enemy was the isolation from his colleagues, his allies and his bishop. Bishop Broughton, who was apparently aware of Brisbane’s social and political situation, knowingly sent this uncompromising, sheltered character into a situation where he was predestined to fail. Even the tireless Benjamin Glennie, Gregor’s successor, was similarly accused of aloofness in the early phase of his ministry by Pickering.⁴⁶ Perhaps Rev. John Gregor MA may have been viewed, like Glennie, as “a giant in terms of faith, courage and service to God and his fellow men”⁴⁷ had he too had the opportunity to practise his calling on the Darling Downs and break free from the Brisbane octopus which slowly but inexorably strangled him of dignity, worth and health.

ENDNOTES

1. *Moreton Bay Courier* (hereafter MBC) 29 January 1848, 2.
2. *MBC* 5 February 1848, 2.
3. Rev. John Gregor, Response to questionnaire, Missionary returns, Australia, Nova Scotia etc 1845-6, Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts, MSS S.P.G. “E” Vol. B, Typescript copy, 2, Anglican Archives, Brisbane.
4. John Mackenzie-Smith, Evan Mackenzie, pioneer merchant pastoralist of Moreton Bay, MA thesis, 1991, University of Queensland, 167-205.
5. See for example, Ludwig Leichhart, *The letters of Ludwig Leichhardt*. Trans. M. Arousseau. Cambridge University Press, 1968, 50; and Henry Stuart Russell, *The genesis of Queensland*. Sydney: Turner and Henderson, 1888, 175.
6. Brisbane news in *Sydney Morning Herald* 9 December 1844.
7. Rev. Keith Rayner, The history of the Church of England in Queensland, PhD thesis, 1962, University of Queensland, 47.
8. *Anglican Focus* September 1989, 3.
9. *Colonial Observer* 2 October 1842.

10. Bishop W. Broughton, Report to the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in the Church in the colonies, Nos I-IX no.5 *Two journals of visitation to the north and south of portions of his diocese by the Lord Bishop of Australia in 1843.*
11. *Rev John Dunmore Lang, Cooksland in north-eastern Australia.* London: Longmans, Brown, Green and Longmans, 1847, 475.
12. Gregor, S.P.G. response, 4.
13. Lang, op.cit., 475.
14. *Sydney Morning Herald* 22 August 1843.
15. Gregor, S.P.G. response, 2.
16. Thomas Archer, *Recollections of a rambling life*, Yokohama: Japan Gazette, 1897, 105-6. Rayner, thesis, 40 concludes "There was none of that mutual confidence that should mark a healthy relationship between priest and people."
17. Rayner, thesis, 40.
18. Rev. John Gregor, *The church in Australia, Part II, two journals of missionary tours in the districts of Maneroo and Moreton Bay, New South Wales in 1843*, London: S.P.G., 1846, 24.
19. Lang, 476.
20. Gregor, missionary journal, 1843, 22-3.
21. Gregor, S.P.G. response, 3.
22. Rev Denis Martin, *The foundations of the Catholic Church in Queensland.* Toowoomba, Church Archivist's Society, 1988, 9-24.
23. Gregor, S.P.G. response, 2.
24. Gregor, S.P.G. response, 5.
25. *ibid.*
26. *ibid.*
27. Conveyance, John Clements Wickham to John Gregor MA, 3 January 1845, half of allotment 25, Kangaroo Point, EX56-1, and conveyance, Andrew Gregor to John Campbell, half of allotment 26, Kangaroo Point, 12 August 1845, EX63-1, Queensland Titles Office, Old System section, Brisbane.
28. Gregor, S.P.G. response, 6.
29. New South Wales Legislative Council Votes and Proceedings, 1846, 16-20.
30. Henry Mort to his mother and sister, 28 January 1844, typescript, MSS OM 78-72, McConnel family letters and papers, John Oxley Library, Brisbane.
31. Martin, op.cit., 9-24.
32. Mackenzie-Smith, thesis, 137-166.
33. Lang, *Cooksland*, 475-6.
34. *Sydney Morning Herald* 21 March 1846.
35. Lang, *Cooksland*, 476.
36. Gregor, S.P.G. response, 2.
37. Archbishop Rayner provides some evidence that Gregor was unpopular among a section of the squatters for his inaccessibility, presumably before his self-exile at Zion's Hill (Rayner, thesis, 44).
38. *MBC* 6 May 1848, 2.
39. Gregor, S.P.G. response, 4.
40. *ibid.*
41. *ibid.*
42. *MBC* 6 May 1848, 2.
43. *MBC* 10 October 1864, 2.
44. *Sydney Morning Herald* 26 October 1846.
45. *MBC* 28 January 1848, 2.
46. *MBC* 6 May 1848, 2.
47. Saint Matthew's Anglican church, Drayton, pamphlet, typescript, 1991.