



Charles and the Fake News

Greg: [00:07](#) G'day and welcome to Today's Stories from our Past. I'm your host, Greg, and my co-host is Peter.

Peter: [00:13](#) Hey Greg.

Greg: [00:14](#) Hi Peter. This podcast explores Australian social history using events in our own family as a starting point and telling a story that perhaps resonates with you. So, Peter, what's today's story all about?

Peter: [00:27](#) Well, this is the second podcast about the tragic trek that followed the arrival of the Africaine as part of First Fleet to establish the colony of South Australia. In the previous episode, we told the story of the trek of Charles Nantes and five others across Kangaroo Island and how he almost died, but why did they go on such a journey? Today's story is about the fake news that lead Charles to undertake the trek.

Greg: [00:53](#) Fake news, that's a fairly modern term. I didn't know they had fake news back in 1836. What do you mean by that?

Peter: [01:02](#) Okay. Perhaps the term is a bit anachronistic and not historically correct, but the decision for Charles and Co. to trek across Kangaroo Island, was based on report that was clearly wrong and misleading. We need to explore how and why this report was prepared.

Greg: [01:19](#) Okay, fair enough. Who wrote that report and why?

Peter: [01:24](#) Firstly, some background. This covers the background to the establishment of the new colony of South Australia. This is a long story which we need to cover here fairly quickly as our main task here is to understand the origin of the fake news report. We need to go back to 1820 and merry old England, except for many, England wasn't merry at all¹. During the 1820s, England was still in the grip of the effects of the industrial revolution, where country people had flocked to the cities looking for work. England was also suffering economic woes from a war in Spain against Napoleon.

Conditions in the cities were terrible - overcrowding, disease, poverty, hunger, destitution. Crime was rife. As a partial solution, Australian penal colonies had been established in New South Wales, Van Diemen's Land and Norfolk Island to relieve pressure on the British gaols, but this was not a solution that favoured everyone. Another issue in England at the time was that a great number of people worked very hard for very bare sustenance and they had little chance to learn that any other way of life was possible for them, nor they had the

energy to seek the opportunity for change. Many poor English wanted to emigrate to somewhere else where they had better opportunities. To date, that had been America, but this was no longer a British colony. Another group in England at the time were the Dissenters. They were Protestant Christians who had separated from the Church of England. They opposed state interference in religious matters and founded their own churches, educational institutions and communities. Some had emigrated to the New World like the Quakers on the Mayflower, many, many years before. These groups were pushing for a new society with the end to child labour and slavery. Dissenters were looking for new solutions to the problem in England other than just sending convicts to Australia. So, discussion around the idea of starting a new colony, in this case, South Australia, which after all was a British colony, but avoiding the practice in New South Wales, where land was given away in enormous tracts and the labour was provided by convicts which were therefore competing against poor workers coming from England. This new concept was called systematic colonization.

Greg: [03:47](#) Okay, that sounds fine. There's obviously a lot of angst back there in England, and, by the sound of it, some people were looking for a better life or it has to be a better way, but who wrote this report that encouraged people to go off to the other side of the world?

Peter: [04:05](#) Okay. It's time to introduce some of the key players in this story. The three are Edward Gibbon Wakefield², Robert Gouger³ and Captain George Sutherland.



Greg: [04:17](#) I've heard of Wakefield's name a fair bit. So, who was he? Who is Edward Gibbon Wakefield?

Peter: [04:22](#) Well, he's generally regarded as the person who developed the concept for the new convict-free settlement of South Australia. He was the second of nine children born to Edward and Susanna Wakefield, educated at Westminster School and Edinburgh High School before being admitted to Gray's Inn in 1813 to study law, but in 1814, instead, he became secretary to the British envoy in Turin, Italy. He comes back to England in 1816, and he elopes with Eliza Anne Francis Prattle, an heiress and a ward. The marriage was subsequently approved by parliament and Wakefield returned to Italy with a marriage settlement of 70,000 pounds. Now, in 1816, that's the substantial fortune, but there was a promise of more money when his wife reached 29 years of age.

Edward Gibbon Wakefield. Image courtesy of SLSA: B63785.

Greg: [05:16](#) That's a good idea, marrying an heiress.

Peter: [05:19](#) Eliza bore him two children, a daughter, Susan and a son, Edward, but she died in July 1820. This is before she's 29 years of age, so that left Wakefield with a substantial life income, but without the additional money he really wanted. The success of his first elopement seems to encourage Wakefield to try again. So, in March 1826, he abducted another wealthy heiress, fifteen-year-old, Ellen Turner after luring her from school. They fled to Gretna Green where they were married and then off to Calais in France, but this time, Wakefield had misjudged the anger and determination of the bride's family for they pursued him to Calais where they persuaded Ellen to return to the family. This marriage was annulled

by parliament and Wakefield was charged with abduction, and along with his brother, who was tried as an accomplice, both were sentenced to three years in imprisonment in Newgate Prison. Since the age of consent for girls was then 12 years of age, Wakefield escaped the more serious charge of carnal knowledge, but he was effectively disgraced. He then attempts unsuccessfully to overturn his former father-in-law's will to gain access to the first wife's money. Suspicion that he committed forgery and perjury in pursuing this case further compromised his reputation. So, we now know that Mr Wakefield is not up to stopping at forgery and perjury as part of his character.

Greg: [06:57](#) He comes across as a bit of an unsavoury type, almost.

Peter: [07:01](#) Anyhow, while in Newgate Prison, Wakefield turned his attention to colonization, perhaps as an attempt to remedy his lost reputation. He published "*Sketch of a proposal for colonizing Australasia*" in 1829 and then "*A letter from Sydney, the principal town in Australasia*" - in association, he wrote this with Robert Gouger. So, he's developing this concept of systematic colonization where he argues for concentrated free settlement. That's everybody settles in the same area, not all over the place. Sale of land at sufficient price to deter labouring emigrants from acquiring it immediately. In other words, poor people who came to the colony, had to work for a while before they could buy land effectively, and directing the income from the land sales to supporting assisted immigration for these labouring families. Now you need labouring families because you didn't have free labour in terms of convicts.

Greg: [08:00](#) Interesting that they're focusing on families, not just single young men.

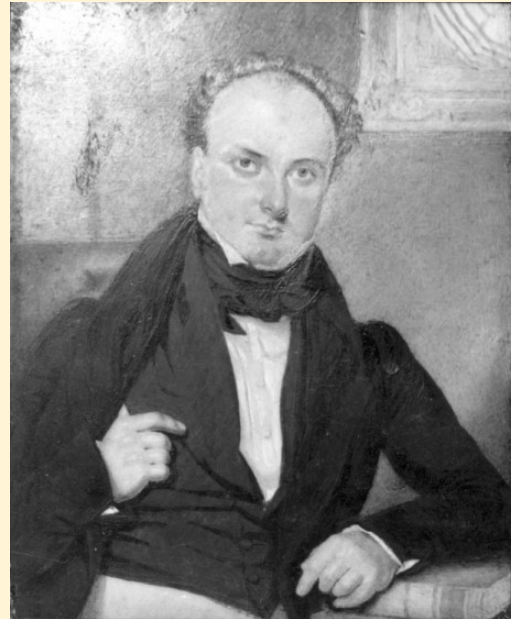
Peter: [08:03](#) Yep. So, Wakefield advocated his ideas at every possible opportunity and inspired a number of followers, notably, Robert Gouger, and initially Robert Torrens. He also helped draft the 1834 South Australia Act, which defined how the colony would be established, but, by this time, he'd sort of become disillusioned with the whole thing and he sort of drops out of the scene.

Greg: [08:28](#) Okay. It does seem somewhat ironic that the principal man behind a convict-free settlement was a convict and, that he really did come up with some good ideas and his attitude to eloping with young women, chasing money, was a big part of his character. Well, he talked about Gouger though. What's Robert Gouger like?

Peter: [08:54](#) Well, Robert Gouger is a very important player in this story. After all, he's the one who employed young Charles Nantes to be his clerk in the new colony. That's the only reason Charles was on the *Africaine*. Robert Gouger was the son of a wealthy London merchant. He was a devote Dissenter and he preferred worthy causes than actually working very hard and he was often short of money as a result. In 1829, he considered joining the colonizing venture to the Swan River - that's the West Australian colony - but changed his mind after visiting Edward Gibbon Wakefield in Newgate Prison. Gouger became an enthusiastic supporter of Wakefield's concept and became its chief publicist. During a brief spell in King's Prison for bankruptcy for debts arising from 50 pounds printing costs on the first pamphlet, he learned a bit more about South Australia. So now we know that both Gouger and Wakefield.

Greg: [09:51](#) They're both jailbirds!

Peter: [09:54](#) Yes, both jailbirds and for dubious financial trading. Anyhow, on his release from King's Bench Prison, he formed the national colonization society hoping to interest the colonial office in a scheme to help resettle pauper immigrants. That society soon floundered. But then news of Captain Sturt's explorations in southern Australia renewed his interest in systematic colonization. In 1831, he drew up two proposals for the Colonial Office, one with Wakefield and one on his own. Both were rejected. Undaunted, in December 1833, Gouger formed the South Australia Association with others, hoping to persuade the British government to grant a charter to found this new colony. Once again, the proposal was rejected, but Gouger was an indefatigable promoter, however, and had aroused the interest of many hopeful emigrants. He continued to organize meetings, write to the press, lobby members of parliament, and finally won the support of the very influential Duke of Wellington. If we remember the Duke beat up Napoleon somewhere.



Robert Gouger, 1833. Image courtesy of SLSA: B48189

Greg: [11:11](#) That's right - had a date with him at Waterloo?

Peter: [11:12](#) Indeed he did.

Greg: [11:13](#) I find it intriguing that they're out there promoting these things and that are really quite young. I mean Gouger's around about 30 and he's pushing these ideas. I wonder if he would get such a hearing in the modern day?

Peter: [11:27](#) Well, I don't know. Are people all that different? Anyhow, Wakefield had helped draft the South Australia Act by now and when the South Australian Colonization Commission was finally gazetted in May 1835, Gouger was appointed as the Colonial Secretary. So, what happened was that all of the appointments for the new colony were made in England before they departed - the Governor and the, you know, the Surveyor-General, all these sorts of things. So, Gouger lobbies himself to be the Colonial Secretary. Now, part of his job was to sell the land, to pre-sell, the land before they took off. One of the requirements of South Australia Act was a certain amount of land had to be sold. Gouger took this on very vigorously because he got the proceeds of commission for the land sales. Using that commission, he marries Harriet Jackson on 22 October 1835, and then in June 1836, he and his wife set sail on the Africaine with Charles Nantes headed for South Australia. Soon after arriving Harriet gave birth to a son. Now, she'd been pregnant for most of the trip and hadn't been very well and she gives birth to this son in a tent on the day that the Proclamation of the South Australian Colony was made. Unfortunately for Gouger, both died soon after in March of 1837. It didn't get a lot better for Gouger in South Australia after he was suspended from his duties as Colonial Secretary because of a public brawl with Osmond Gilles. Gouger returns to England and remarried before returning to Adelaide in June 1839. He resumed his role as Colonial Secretary until the arrival of the new governor, Governor Gray, at which time Gouger becomes Colonial Treasurer. Always got an eye for the money,

Mr Gouger. He held that position until August 1844 when he took leave because of a mental affliction. We don't quite know what that is, but nevertheless he did not return to work, instead he returned to England where he died a short time later in August 1846.

Greg: [13:51](#) Okay. So, he dies still a fairly young age, but we've had a couple of jailbirds, a chap, perhaps not in complete control of his mental faculties and he got commission from the land sells, sounding very reminiscent of events in Queensland about 30 or 40 years ago⁴. We know that the commissions for selling can induce people to oversell their products. Tell me a little bit more about that though. How did that work?

Peter: [14:24](#) Well, the land sales. Yes. The South Australia Act, which Wakefield helped draft, included provisions for things like religious freedom and the fact that no convicts would be sent out to South Australia. South Australians still carry on about that. But a central item was this idea of the sale of land before the establishment of the colony. So, people had to buy land sight-unseen. The terms of settlement for buying this land were very attractive. On payment of just 81 pounds, I guess that's a reasonable amount back then, but pretty big sum. Eighty-one pounds, the intended colonist acquired 134 acres of country land with all rights reserved to him of timber and water on the surface and of possible minerals underneath. He also acquired, by lot, an acre in the first town laid out in the future capital of the colony. So, for 81 pounds, you've got 134 acres of land, all the timber, all the water, the minerals, but you also got a block of land in the CBD of, what's now, Adelaide. So that sounds pretty attractive proposition.

Greg: [15:34](#) They're trying to make it a nice place to come to.

Peter: [15:36](#) Anyhow. So, Gouger wants to get his commissions. He wants to sell the land. He needs a prospectus to market his product, and this is where our Captain Sutherland comes in.

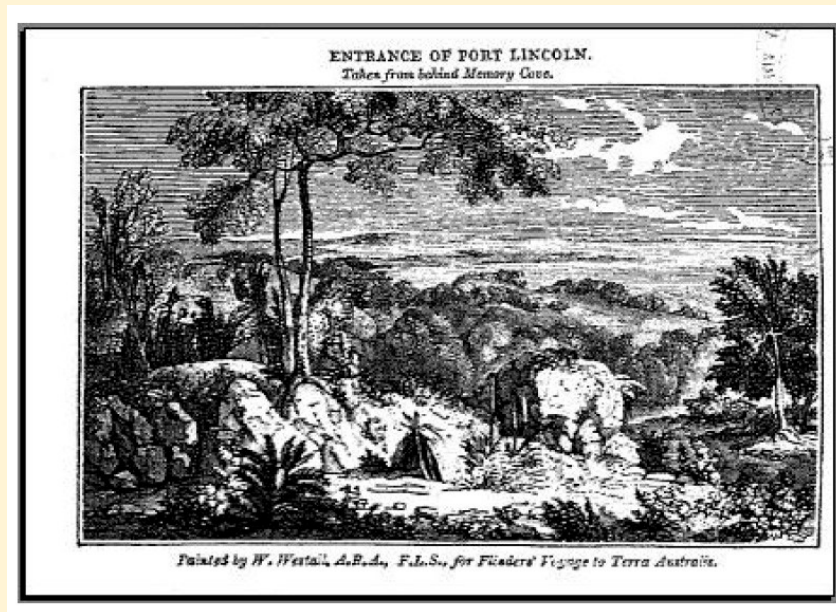
Greg: [15:46](#) Ah, what do we know about him?

Peter: [15:49](#) Well, he's a quite important character in this story, but largely unknown. We know virtually nothing about Sutherland's family background, only his professional career as a ship's captain. Now for many years, Captain George Sutherland had been employed in the import export business between England and New Holland. That's what Australia was known as at the time, and he was the owner of land in Van Diemen's Land. He resided there for a length of time and in his sailing, he visited different parts of Australia. In 1819, he was engaged by some merchants in Sydney to command the brig, the "Governor Macquarie"⁵ to obtain salt and seal skins from Kangaroo Island. So, on this sealing voyage, he remained on Kangaroo Island for seven months from January to August 1819. Then in 1831, Captain Sutherland subsequently wrote "A Report of a voyage from Sydney to Kangaroo Island and of Observations made during a stay of seven months on or near Kangaroo Island".

Greg: [16:52](#) Now that's, say, 12 years later, isn't it?



Peter: [16:56](#) Yeah. Twelve years after the event. It was a very valuable document because it was about the only observation of South Australia that had been made by a person who had some experience as an Australian farmer and as an experienced navigator. Essentially nobody had been to South Australia at that time. In his report, Sutherland wrote amongst other things, "*This large island containing the finest pastures with timber suited for ship and house building will afford secure protection*"⁶. So, on the basis of this largely, Kingscote, at the eastern end of Kangaroo Island, and Kangaroo Island itself, was chosen to be the site of the new colony.



Entrance of Port Lincoln



North View of Kangaroo Island

(The above pictures are taken from "The New British Province of South Australia or a Description of the Country illustrated by charts and views with an account of the principles, objects, plan and prospects of the new colony")

Greg: [17:36](#) Okay, I can understand that, but can't help but think that the character of all of these people who seem to be deeply motivated by money, which is probably not unusual. Do you think he was actually paid to guild the report on South Australia?

Peter: [17:49](#) Well, We'll never know because you've got to wonder what his motivation is for writing this report 12 years after the event. Anyhow, whether he was paid or not, his report was used to market the land sales for the colony of South Australia, and then a second report was published anonymously in 1834 - that's three years later. It's generally believed that the anonymous report was written by one, Edward Gibbon Wakefield. Now this report is entitled "*The New British Province of South Australia or a Description of the Country illustrated by charts and views with an account of the principles, objects, plan and prospects of the new colony*". I just love those old that book titles that go on and on and on and on.

Greg: [18:37](#) That's right.

Peter: [18:38](#) Anyhow, this book reads just like you'd get a prospectus for a modern investment, a real estate investment or, you know, investing in blue gums⁷ or something. It contains sections like the South Australia Land Company, what it's all about. The South Australia Association, the theory of colonization, the practice of colonization - It's like transplanting a fully-grown tree, it says. The natural features of South Australia, the relative position of the colony, the mode of colonization, the inducements to emigration, the government of the new colony, and at the very end, there's a prospectus of the South Australian Church society. I don't know why that's there, but it is a prospectus to get people involved.

Greg: [19:25](#) Yeah, and I know we were talking about Dissenters earlier and people, some people of principle who were wanting to keep convicts away. Somewhat ironic though given that it seemed to be convicts who driving it. Okay. What happens?

Peter: [19:42](#) It is under the natural features section that Captain Sutherland's 1831 report is extensively used. For example, in a section called Soil, Captain Sutherland writes,

"I had an opportunity of seeing much of the interior of the island, having crossed the country in company with two sealers, who had been residents on the island for some several years. The land wears every appearance of being fertile; a deep loam with coarse grass, abounding with kangaroos and emus: where these animals feed, the grass is much better for pasture: occasional ponds of rain water are seen, and a plentiful supply of pure spring water is always attainable by digging for it. The land here is as good as any I have seen in Van Diemen's Land. In the neighbourhood of Sydney, I have not observed any equal to it. Trees are scattered everywhere over the plains—the Swamp Oak or Beef wood, and the Wattle (both of which indicate good land) are growing in abundance here. Close on the shore, within from a quarter to half a mile from the sea, the wood is very thick; but when this belt of wood is passed, you come on to an open country, covered with grass, where there are often hundreds of acres without a tree; I calculated, by comparison with New South Wales and Van Diemen's Land, there might be on this plain, on the average, three or four trees to an acre. I once crossed the Island, a distance of about sixty miles in two days. Once past the belt of wood which surrounds the Island, we walked straight on and over the plains, found plenty of water in ponds, saw abundance of kangaroos and emus, and met with no difficulty or trouble. As we crossed the Island I looked to the right and left, and saw everywhere the same open plains, now and then changed in appearance by close timber of great height, on high points and ridges of land. In some places we found the grass very high and coarse in patches, but where

*the greatest number of kangaroos and emus were found, the grass was short and close. In the other places, close short grass was found between the coarse high patches."*⁸

So, it was this description with the combination of good sealing and whaling prospects as well, that caused everyone to believe Kingscote on the eastern end of Kangaroo Island would be the best site for the settlement of South Australia. It was also this description of the open grassy plains that induced Charles Nantes and his fellow trekkers to set off across Kangaroo Island with those tragic consequences.

Greg: [22:41](#) Yes, I can see because his report, Sutherland's report, makes Kangaroo Island sound like a wonderful place, but I can recall from the earlier podcast, it didn't quite seem that way when the people were walking across and some did perish. How factual was it really?

Peter: [23:02](#) Well, Fisher, Robert Fisher, is one of those who survives the trek and he writes a letter. Well, in fact it's more like a diary to the newspaper at the time, the South Australian Gazette and Colonial Register⁹. He writes this after eight months after the trek, and he says in part:

Peter: [23:22](#) *"I have now no hesitation in declaring that nearly the whole of Captain Sutherland's report is one mass of falsehood. Our belief in its truth at that time has been the means of sacrificing two valuable lives; for, as will be seen in the sequel, Dr. Slater and Mr. Osborne perished. Had we not had confidence in Captain Sutherland's report, we should not have been induced to go further into the interior, but have returned to the coast, and made our way along its shores to Nepean Bay."*

Peter: [24:04](#) Now, we mentioned in the first podcast that Mary Thomas, one of the ladies on the Africaine, kept a diary¹⁰. In it, she writes about the day when the Africaine, which had been waiting at Kingscote, had to leave and go to the other place where Colonel Light had set up the real colony. Now in that journal, she describes how she and her husband went for a walk around Kingscote. They got completely lost in really thick scrub and they couldn't find anything that in any way resembled what Captain Sutherland's report described.

Greg: [24:40](#) Yeah. Well, we do know that there were a small group of white men on the island but did they write up any stories about the island? Did they bother to explore much?

Peter: [24:53](#) The sealers and their aboriginal women certainly explored the island, the women certainly did, but I haven't been able to find anything where they described the land and this is a great pity because they might have been more accurate in their description. Perhaps they didn't describe it because they were largely illiterate too, that might be part of it.

Greg: [25:15](#) Well, that's right.

Peter: [25:16](#) Anyhow, there is one little interesting clue about the validity of the report that we can construe from this stuff. Firstly, I'd like to remind you about a comment in Mary Thomas' diary¹¹ on the day in which the trekkers were sent ashore at the western end of Kangaroo Island. And she says, after a whole lot of things, at last we discovered the boat approaching the vessel - now this is the boat that had dropped the six trekkers off on the island - with all those safe who meant to return, and one of the adventurers whose heart failed him when they reached the unknown shore. The other six, all young men, were left

to proceed on their way as best they could. So, what's she's saying is that in addition to the six trekkers, there was another person who initially wanted to go across the island but lost his nerve.

Greg: [26:12](#) Yep, in that context, he might have been the smartest bloke there, but who was he?

Peter: [26:17](#) Ah, well, the publication of Fisher account of the trek¹² in that newspaper provoked a letter from Robert Gouger¹³. This is the Colonial Secretary who had been on the boat with them and he writes into the newspaper. Now Fisher had blamed Captain Duff for not staying longer at Nepean Bay, at Kingscote in order to ascertain what had become the exploring party and hopefully pick them up, you know, the Africaine moved on. Now, Gouger defends Captain Duff action, and he hinted that these young men went ashore against Captain Duff's advice, who was very reluctant to allow them to land, and that they went on the expedition entirely for their own gratification. In response to Robert Gouger letter, Robert Fisher writes a response¹⁴, and I'll read this one out.

Mark: [27:04](#) *SIR—I am reluctantly compelled to notice the letter in your last number, pretending to be explanatory of Captain Duff's proceedings at Kangaroo Island, signed "Robert Gouger." Why Mr. Gouger should take upon himself to defend Captain Duff, I know not. I suppose Mr. Gouger had reasons for not daring to refuse Captain Duff's orders. My brother "wanderers" were unaware, as well as myself, of the dangers and difficulties we had to encounter, and I unhesitatingly assert that Captain Duff had no right whatever to have allowed us to land, much less to have treated us with the cool inhumanity he did after our safe arrival; nor ought Mr. Robert Gouger to have been the first to urge such a mad-headed project, and the first to decline going. Such was the fact.*

Peter: [28:06](#) So Fisher here is saying that it was Gouger who was the one who promoted the idea to walk across the island and he's the one who lost his nerve.

Greg: [28:13](#) Yes, it certainly seems that way.

Peter: [28:15](#) Anyhow, Fisher goes on to say:

Mark: [28:16](#) *What does Mr. Gouger mean by saying we "did it for our own gratification, and contrary to the advice of Captain Duff, who, with great reluctance, acceded to our wish to land"? Did not Mr. Gouger particularly wish Mr. Osborne to go, and obtain a promise from him that he would, while his real friends advised him to the contrary; and thus one life was sacrificed? And did not Mr. Gouger himself urge us to the expedition because he wished some information about the soil of the island?*

Peter: [28:55](#) Ah!, so Fisher here is saying that it's Gouger who wanted them to go to really find out what was on the island. I think that this means that Gouger knew that the news was fake.

Greg: [29:06](#) A bit of self-interest there perhaps.

Peter: [29:08](#) Anyhow, Fisher letter continues...

Mark: [29:10](#) *If Captain Duff was at all reluctant, he would not have ordered two days' provisions, six bottles of rum, and a little brandy to be got ready, and allowed us the use of a*

boat, and desired the chief mate to go with us to see that we were safely landed. It is too bad that Mr. Gouger, who himself planned the journey, and was the readiest to shirk the danger it presented, should now come forward to slander those who had the courage which he wanted!! I have no scruple in declaring that I attribute the loss of Dr. Slater and Mr. Osborne, and all the sufferings the survivors endured, to their following Mr. Gouger's own scheme, for which had it been successful, he would probably have claimed the credit, as he did, of writing letters from Sydney to his grandmother, but of which he was the copyist only, the author being Mr. Wakefield. By a rather singular coincidence it happens that I know this fact, having printed these letters, and therefore had more to do with their composition than their title-page author. I am, Sir, Your most obedient Servant, ROBERT FISHER.

Peter: [30:34](#) Now Gouger doesn't respond to this and his silence is a bit telling because it's really pointing the finger at him all over the place. Now, is Fisher's account true? Well, it's more or less verified in Mary Thomas' diary when it's subsequently reprinted in 1915. Now, it's interesting to note that Mary Thomas was the wife of Robert Thomas. Robert Thomas was the government printer. He printed all the papers and things. He was on the *Africaine* when they left for the trek. Mary Thomas took guardianship of the 19-year-old Osborne, an East Indian half-caste, so she had a keen interest in all of this and Fisher was employed by Robert Thomas as his printer. So, he's in the engine well here, so to speak.

Greg: [31:24](#) That's right, but he's not one of the promoters of the sale the whole episode which Gouger was.

Peter: [31:28](#) No, but he has a lot of access to the truth.

Greg: [31:33](#) What about Sutherland? Ever hear any more about him?

Peter: [31:35](#) No. He vanishes out of the scheme. I mean when he writes his report, that's it as far as we know.

Greg: [31:41](#) So, it's surprising. You would want to defend what happened. Seems to be very vehement and what's going on but Fisher's accountant reads entirely satisfactory to me. So, Robert Gouger was the one who lost his nerve and didn't go on the trek, but why would he have wanted to go in the first place?

Peter: [32:00](#) Well, if I was of a suspicious mind, I might think that Gouger wanted to see for himself how true Captain Sutherland's report was. You know, perhaps he already knew or suspected that that report was fake news, to use that modern term. I don't think we'll ever know, but that's my suspicion. What we do know is that Slater and Osborne died, and my great, great grandfather almost died as a result of Captain Sutherland's report.

Greg: [32:28](#) Okay. Well, one of the themes of our podcast is to ask questions about our past. Were the good old days so good? Are people the same as they were before? So what do you think?

Peter: [32:40](#) Well, when money's involved, I think there's a universal temptation to over-sell products. You see it advertised on television. You see prospectuses that sell Blue Gums. It happened then, still happens today. I don't think anything has changed in human nature in this regard.

Greg: [32:57](#) I tend to agree with you because it does seem we're always willing to believe the best comes out of people and to support these endeavours.

Greg: [33:08](#) We would like your views on this topic. Do you have the similar story in your family? If so, perhaps contact us on our email or comment on our Facebook page. The contact details are on our web page, which is www.todaystories.com.au . Full details of the story available on their website and please remember to subscribe to the podcast and thank you for listening.

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Citations

¹ Brief History of Adelaide - <http://www.exploringaustralia.com.au/history.php?s=adel>

² Edward Gibbon Wakefield - <http://boundforsouthaustralia.com.au/journey-content/edward-gibbon-wakefield.html>

³ Robert Gouger – <http://boundforsouthaustralia.com.au/journey-content/robert-gouger.html>

⁴ The Russell Island Land Scam - [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Russell_Island_\(Moreton_Bay\)](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Russell_Island_(Moreton_Bay)) . The Russell Island Land Fraud in Grabosky, Peter (ed.) Sutton, Adam (ed.): Stains on a white collar, The Federation Press, 1989, Annandale, NSW, ISBN 1-86287-009-8.

⁵ Classified Advertising (1818, December 26). The Sydney Gazette and New South Wales Advertiser (NSW : 1803 - 1842), p. 2. Retrieved December 24, 2018, from <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article2178445> (Capt Sutherland - Governor Macquarie)

⁶ Wakefield, Edward Gibbon. (1835). The new British province of South Australia, or, A description of the country, illustrated by charts and views: with an account of the principles, objects, plan, and prospects of the colony. London: C. Knight

⁷ Blue Gum schemes - Australia's biggest scam comes crashing down. <https://www.smh.com.au/business/australias-biggest-scam-comes-crashing-down-20090512-b14t.html>

⁸ Wakefield, Edward Gibbon. (1835). The new British province of South Australia, or, A description of the country, illustrated by charts and views: with an account of the principles, objects, plan, and prospects of the colony. London: C. Knight

⁹ CAPTAIN DUFF OF THE AFRICAINE. (1837, August 12). South Australian Gazette and Colonial Register (Adelaide, SA: 1836 - 1839), p. 6. Retrieved December 24, 2018, from <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article31749674>

¹⁰ Duncan, Beth. (2007). Mary Thomas: founding mother: the life and times of a South Australian pioneer. Kent Town, S. Aust: Wakefield Press

¹¹ Mary Thomas diary entry about being lost in the scrub - <http://boundforsouthaustralia.com.au/weekly-posts/week-38.html>

¹² SOUTH AUSTRALIAN COMPANY. (1837, July 8). South Australian Gazette and Colonial Register (Adelaide, SA : 1836 - 1839), p. 3. Retrieved December 24, 2018, from <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article31749656> (Fisher's account)

¹³ CAPTAIN DUFF OF THE AFRICAINE. (1837, August 12). South Australian Gazette and Colonial Register (Adelaide, SA: 1836 - 1839), p. 6. Retrieved December 24, 2018, from <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article31749674>

¹⁴ GOUGER'S DEFENCE OF CAPT. DUFF. (1837, September 16). South Australian Gazette and Colonial Register (Adelaide, SA: 1836 - 1839), p. 6. Retrieved December 24, 2018, from <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article31749695>