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Introduction

Moorundie, chosen by Governor Grey on the recommendation of both Sturt and Eyre, was to be a government station, ration depot and police station from 1841-1856, a whole 12 years after Eyre declared that ‘even at the risk of being deemed egotistical, important and beneficial results have accrued at Moorundie’ 1; in 1844, when Eyre departed, the entire Upper Murray was considered to be safe for settlers and stock and the Aborigines peaceable. So it is perhaps surprising then that E. B. Scott, following a short period when William Nation was Acting Sub-Protector, should stay at Moorundie as long as nine years at a time of great stringency in the colony’s budget. In this paper I shall look at Moorundie at the end of Eyre’s term and suggest reasons for the Station’s continuation in the first instance under William Nation until 1846, and then look at Scott’s work as Sub-Protector of Aborigines and later as Inspector of Native Police. Finally I will suggest reasons for the South Australian Government’s willingness to keep him at this location after 1852 - a crucial time in Scott’s term - until 1856 when the position was abolished and the Depot was closed.

Moorundie at the time of Eyre’s departure.

When Edward John Eyre left Moorundie in November 1844, supposedly on leave in England, many considered that he had done a tine job. In a span of three years, the severe hostilities between the Upper Murray Aborigines and overlanders had been settled in the Europeans’ favour, and the ‘morose savage-looking’ Aborigines who had from time to time committed ‘numerous outrages and killed, plundered or destroyed property, stock and life’ were now not only ‘quiet, good-natured fellows’ but:

The white man is as safe among them as he would be with his own countrymen - much is due to Mr Eyre, as the wise and judicious treatment shown by him has been the cause of this pleasing alteration, in the change of the native towards the European. 2

Brock had been around this part of the river at the time of the Rufus River massacres in 1841 and passed through again with Sturt’s party in 1844. He was astonished enough to exclaim on the latter occasion that the Aborigines ‘are all afraid of Eyre - he is known amongst them as “Uu-cu-matta” or a great chief’. Eyre in his Journals explained that he had reduced the ‘bitter hostility’ between the Aboriginal people of the River Murray area and the overlanders by ‘conciliation and kindness’ and by going ‘personally amongst the most distant and hostile tribes’ and explaining to them the white man’s wishes. 3 Unfortunately, we do not have the story of this pacification from the point of view of the ‘pacified’.

Given the past hostilities and the importance both of the overland route from New South Wales to South Australia, and the rapid expansion of sheep and cattle stations along the river 4, it was not surprising that Governor Grey, despite orders to make drastic cuts to government expenditure, should go to the expense of establishing Moorundie in 1841, ‘even at a time when the colonial finances were at their lowest ebb’. 5 Eyre had been wily enough to defray the Costs of running the Station by getting Governor Gipps of New South Wales to pay for the 96th Regiment to be temporarily stationed in South Australia.

Besides a police trooper, one sergeant, one corporal and 13 members of the regiment were to stay at Moorundie until 1845 building the station, stores and barracks. 6 Not only could the Aborigines in the area see that the Government meant business, but so too could the settlers. For example, the pastoralist, Hawker, wrote that he ‘had difficulty in getting a man to go to the Murray until explained that the natives were perfectly quiet’. 7 Scott at this time owned property and was familiarising himself with the area. Not only had he helped Eyre in setting up the establishment, but he was also supplying mutton to the soldiers and police. 8 With the military in situ, police presence was reduced to two constables, but, with peace established between the local Aboriginal people and the settlers and overlanders, even this was too many and P.C. McLean, who was stationed there at the time, stated that ‘the duties to be performed at this station were more like pleasure than anything else’. 9

Moorundie station could have been closed after Eyre’s departure for, expense aside, it was very badly situated, being no longer on the Overland route and also subject to annual inundation. Certainly it appears that the Governor and several members of the Legislative Council would have welcomed the chance to close it down. Dutton mentions ‘that every year witnesses a fresh motion on their part to withdraw the establishment as useless’. During the session on June 1845, the same motion was made again and, ‘His Excellency the Governor appears to have been under the impression that Eyre himself had considered the Station might be abandoned’. 10 Unfortunately for the Government, the settlers, though appreciative of Eyre’s work, were not entirely convinced the area was safe. One month after the debate the Editor of the Southern Australian wrote:

Near the Rufus river, there are large tracts of available country which will certainly be occupied in the course of a year or two, perhaps sooner and this occupation must take place under the protection of the Moorundie magistrate: the protection is cheaply purchased. 11

But it was to be Eyre in England who would feel strongly enough to write to correct the Government’s misreading of his intentions. He felt indignant and perhaps undervalued and tried to convince the Colonial Secretary that the Government had misunderstood his request for a job that would pay more and give him ‘full scope for activity and exertion’. 12 He did not mean to imply that the Moorundie position was no longer useful or unnecessary; on the
contrary, he threatened that they may ‘eventually have great reason to repent their success’ if it was to be closed. He admitted that after the initial hard work his duties were ‘reduced to a matter of routine’ and that ‘anyone of ordinary prudence, and firmness’ could carry on and he urged that the Moorundie station should continue to operate. The Government acquiesced, perhaps counting the expense of establishing new facilities elsewhere, and so Moorundie was to stay for the present. Routine rather than suppressive duties were performed by Scott and Nation for the next 10 years - periodic distribution of blankets and flour to the Aboriginal people, reporting on Aboriginal population figures and their general health and condition, and travelling widely throughout the district to keep in contact and on friendly terms with the Aborigines, rather than the ‘exertive’ and more challenging work that Eyre would have preferred.

William Nation 1844-1846 - Acting Sub-Protector

It is not clear why an immigration agent, William Nation, rather than Scott, was appointed as temporary Sub-Protector and Resident Magistrate during Eyre’s leave. Scott had helped Eyre to establish Moorundie, was familiar with the area and the people and would have been the likely choice. However, there is no record of his being offered the position and he certainly was busy; he may have been preoccupied with setting up his property and business ventures.

Nation, like McLean, did not find his job onerous. His instructions were to ‘preserve the most amiable relations’ between the Europeans and the Aboriginal people and to ‘improve conditions of the natives’. Nation’s quarterly reports were similar in tone to the ones that Scott was later to submit - ‘the natives have conducted themselves extremely well ... there are no complaints from the settlers who generally find them useful’. As Scott and other Sub-Protectors were to do later, he gave extra rations to those who had assisted the Europeans. He stated:

I have occasionally caused flour to be issued to natives as rewards for services performed on account to the government. The two Rufus natives for instance who brought letters from Captain Sturt received two pounds of flour a day each.

A humane man, he regretted that there were ‘insufficient blankets for the applications’ and that ‘many natives residing a great distance up the river were obliged to return without their blankets’. Nation, like Eyre before him, ensured that the more influential members of the distant tribes each got their blanket:

...... as they have generally speaking great influence among their people and may thus be the cause of maintaining the friendly feeling which at present exists between the Europeans and the natives.

Nevertheless, though the Aborigines appeared to be peaceable, there were enough rumours and unfounded fears for the Government to be persuaded to maintain the Depot. Exaggerated rumours of the massacres of overlanders and Sturt’s party were responsible for at least two settlers - Mr. F. Jones and Mr. F. H. Hancock of ‘The Islands Station’ at Chowilla - requesting ‘police protection and or in the event of this being impractical, blankets or flour for distribution amongst the natives’.

Being aware how far Moorundie was from this unprotected part of the district, Nation said in his 1846 report:

Within the last 6 months many overland parties have arrived and now the river has become settled on both sides up as far as the boundary of the colony, the most suitable place for a police station would be at Lake Bonney where large numbers of natives collect.

Dispossession probably caused this state of affairs, but Lake Bonney had always been an important regional meeting place.

Moorhouse agreed with Nation and recommended that ‘the foundation of a station is desirable’ but was doubtful about the likelihood of the Government opening another station. He agreed with Nation’s suggestion that settlers in distant parts of the colony should be able to distribute monthly blankets ‘to prevent further hostilities between the settlers and natives’ but he was aware that the Government has resisted all along the idea of settlers themselves handing out rations; their argument being that ‘if one settler should be supplied there would be no end of applications.’

The following year Moorhouse again pressed this point, suggesting that the Aborigines should be divided according to their dialects and the property they are near, i.e. ‘Mr. Hawker’s Blacks’ or ‘Mr. Hughes’s Blacks’. The Government did not accede to this plan but did see the advantage of having a Police Depot near the border of South Australia and New South Wales. Indeed, a Police Station was opened at Chowilla in 1852 during the Victorian and New South Wales gold-rushes, only to be closed almost immediately when most members of the police force deserted to join the rush to the goldfields.

The other preoccupation that Nation had, as did Eyre, was with the annual migration of the Moorundie Aborigines to Adelaide. At the annual Queens Birthday distribution of food and blankets in Adelaide, the Moorundie people often outnumbered the local Kaurna people, and there were frequent fights between them, with the Encounter Bay tribe usually allying themselves with the Kaurna. There was also considerable tension between the Moorundie children and the Kaurna children at the Native School in Adelaide and a separate school eventually had to be established for the former at Walkerville. Moorhouse and the Government continually urged the Sub-Protectors to maintain more control over the Moorundie people and to keep them in their districts. Scott inherited this problem, which was exacerbated by the progressive dispossession of the Aboriginal people from their land and the increasing difficulties they had in finding sufficient food, particularly in winter.

By December 1846 when Nation resigned, Government attempts to close Moorundie had been shelved, as too much cost and effort had gone into setting up the station.

Scott as Sub-Protector of Aborigines
When Scott took over at Moorundie in the beginning of 1847, he came with the highest recommendations from influential people such as Sturt and Eyre. Sturt had said of him:

> There’s not on the river so expert in throwing a spear, in taking a kangaroo or fish or in the canoe as he is. He is so mixed with the natives that he may be said to be one of them himself.

Their devotion and attachment is very remarkable and every native on the river knows ‘Merrili’ as he is called. 26

The Colonial Office in offering him the position agreed:

> Your acquaintance with the native tribes on the River Murray as well as your knowledge of their language has recommended you to the Lieutenant Governor. 27

Like Nation, he was to continue ‘the amiable relations’ and suggest ‘improvements of the conditions of the natives’ 28 To give him more authority as Protector, he was also appointed Magistrate of the Province on matters connected to the Aboriginal Department. Scott’s area was a large one - seven miles on either side of the River and as far as the Rufus; at this time there could have been approximately 400 to 500 Aborigines in his area. 29 It is known that 246 people received rations at Moorundie alone on June 15, 1850. 30

The Government by now had changed its mind about the settlers in remote places handing out rations, because in 1847 at settlers Jones’ and Hancock’s request, Scott had been ordered to:

> Proceed at as early a date as possible to the station of the above gentlemen on the Rufus with a supply of flour, fishing tackle and a few blankets and distribute them among the Aborigines of that district. 31

The possibility of the Rufus people becoming hostile was still feared, for the Police Commissioner sent a Police Constable to accompany him. These fears were apparent in Dashwood’s report of 1849 when he considered it time for a redistribution of police strength away from outposts like Moorundie, ‘where the spread of civilization has rendered the services of a strong detachment less necessary’, 32 to the more remote areas like Ral Ral, from where petitions had come from settlers for protection from Aborigines of a ‘ferocious disposition’. However, the alarming tone of this report is at odds with the ‘peaceable’ nature of affairs that Eyre and Scott stated to be the case; in fact the Ral Ral Station, like Chowilla, closed within the year.

These reports do show how Scott was continually on the move in the large area that needed to be covered, and how unsuitably situated Moorundie was. Scott, however, liked being in ‘constant communication’ and fulfilling his role of ‘civilising’. Although he sometimes despaired of ‘ever being able to suppress savage customs’, he believed that he was ‘instrumental in modifying their laws to a great extent’. 33

Other than occasional pilfering of flour from huts, there were very few crimes or ‘aggressions of a serious nature’ 34 unlike in the northern and western regions at that time. Scott was a man of sound common sense and with his knowledge of his people, tended to be flexible with his dealings with them. For instance, he was not prepared to act without direct evidence against them and was willing to bide his time until their return from Adelaide on the occasions that they had been accused of stealing flour and tobacco from huts. This understanding and flexible manner occasionally caused complaints from settlers who saw him as siding with the Aborigines against the Europeans. On two occasions memorials were issued to the Colonial Secretary for abusive language and Scott’s indifference to a stockholder’s complaint against an Aborigine. Scott could see that occasionally pilfering was a consequence of the late arrival of supplies.

One of Scott’s constant problems was the annual exodus of the Moorundie Aborigines to Adelaide. There were frequent complaints from the public and the press who urged him to encourage them to return to the Murray. Again Scott could see the Aborigines’ point of view. He acknowledged that, ‘scarcely any offer is sufficient to induce them to remain (at Moorundie) in the winter months’. 35 Nevertheless, he did deplore the fact that each year they returned from Adelaide ‘more squalid and possessed of greater vices and more difficult to manage’. He saw this as a much greater problem than he could handle and felt that the Government should ‘issue instructions’. Moorhouse reported in July 1853 that he ‘endeavoured to persuade them to remain in their own district as their services are in great request by the settlers’, but that this has been a failure since ‘they can’t resist the pleasure of a visit during the winter months’. 36

It could be concluded from these reports and examples that Scott was an efficient, understanding and fair-minded official valued by the Government.

1852 - A critical period for Scott

1852 was to be a critical year for Scott, when allegations of misconduct on his part led to his resignation. Rumours that he had ‘native girls living with him’ 37 apparently had been circulating for some time, and Moorhouse’s reference in a letter to Scott on 11 May 1852 to ‘THE native girls’ (sic) indicates that he was aware of the allegations at that time. However, Moorhouse was also concerned that the Governor himself had also heard the rumours, and therefore he felt he had no alternative but to suggest two options to Scott; ‘quietly resign’ or undergo ‘an investigation into the charge by two or three impartial parties’. 38 Scott promptly resigned on 21 May, and his resignation was immediately acknowledged by the Colonial Secretary, who ordered him to remain until a successor was appointed.

There appears to have been no public call to fill Scott’s position, since it was not gazetted, but there were two applications within a week from friends and neighbours of Scott, pastoralists Eardley Heywood J.P. and John Williams. 39 It is likely that Scott himself suggested to them that they apply. However with remarkable speed, they were both informed, on 31 May, that:
By the Lieut. Governor’s direction that Mr. Scott’s resignation not being accepted, there is no vacancy at present in the Sub-Protectors of Aborigines at Moorundie.  

Significantly, three days earlier, on 28 May, Scott received a letter from the Colonial Secretary that instructed him:

To engage and supervise natives, to remove at the first moment the lowness of the river will allow of its being done effectively, all snags etc from channel of the Murray up to and if possible, beyond the Darling River.

There is no record of wages paid to Scott’s Moorundie Aborigines, so presumably the usual blankets and rations for ‘exceptional services rendered’ was the exploitative norm.

It is probable that the Colonial Secretary’s instructions were connected to a long letter written by Governor Young on 23 May 1852, five days previously, to Mr. W. Younghusband, a shipping agent, which acknowledged:

the receipt of a memorial signed by 13 elected members of the Legislative Council to consider favourable the proposition of Capt. Cadell’s to place a small steamer on the River Murray to navigate thereon for a limited period.

Governor Young believed:

The steam navigation of the River Murray in the promotion of which my exertions have been unremitting since my arrival in the colony, will confer on the province the advantage of a carrying trade more useful and desirable than subterranean wealth, and will also afford great facilities for future geographical discovery and for the plantation of additional civilized communities in the interior of this great continent.

He had businessmen and 13 members of the Legislative Council behind him willing to offer rewards and incentives to people like Cadell and Randell to make steamboat transport a reality. Scott had previously accompanied the Governor in 1850 from Moorundie to the Rufus River to assess the viability of that form of river transport. Sub-Protector Mason at Wellington had also been employed in this quest when he and a few of the Wellington Aborigines were used to row the Governor, and a number of Aborigines from the Wellington area went aboard Cadell’s paddle steamer Lady Augusta on its pioneering 1853 voyage from the Murray mouth nearly to Echuca and back.

The accusation against Scott of impropriety with native girls - which could have been spread by vindictive neighbours - had come at a very bad time for Young and the Legislative Council. Scott’s knowledge of the river was unsurpassed; he had assisted W. Pullen in a survey of the Murray Mouth in 1839 and had covered 800 miles in the Waterwitch helping Eyre survey the parts of the Darling that were not charted by Mitchell. His influence and control of the Murray tribes at Moorundie was essential to the planners of the riverboat trade, which required much cheap or free labour and local know-how.

The reliance on Aboriginal skills and labour were essential components in the broader economic and imperial plans to exploit the potential of the Murray as a trade route, a communication channel and as the foundation for new settlements. Aboriginal labour was a vital resource to the manpower-starved region. and Scott’s knowledge and abilities provided the key to facilitating these developments.

Governor Young planned to join a party in the following year, 1853, which with Cadell as Captain of the Augusta, was to be publicly acknowledged as the first steamboat crew to navigate the Murray. Again, Scott’s presence at Moorundie and the use of the Moorundie Aboriginal people was essential to these plans. Likewise in New South Wales Commissioner Lockhart stationed at Moorna on the Darling. (later to be Scott’s property) was to give orders for the New South Wales Aborigines to clear the river of snags there, for which they were to be paid £10 per year.

It was also in October 1852 that Scott married Celia Williams, which would have helped allay rumours of moral impropriety.

Without these factors, it is difficult to understand how Scott not only retained his position of Sub-Protector, but was also made an Inspector of Native Police at the end of the year with an additional salary of £120 per year- (a salary as high as Moorhouse’), at a time of stringent cut-backs in Government spending.

Scott as inspector of Native Police

It is perhaps understandable that a Native Police Corps proved to be useful in the Port Lincoln area and on Yorke Peninsula in the early 1850s when racial conflict was taking place, but it would have been more difficult to justify their presence at Moorundie and Wellington where Eyre, Nation and Scott had established amicable relations with Aboriginal people. Governor Young was aware of the use of Native Police in the Port Philip area, and favoured the establishment of a similar force in South Australia. He asked Moorhouse to investigate the feasibility of training local Aborigines to form a police force. Moorhouse, however, believed that while they could be useful for tracking and detecting Aboriginal offenders, relieving one-man stations such as Willunga or as orderlies and stable assistants, he did not believe that Aboriginal police should be used for such tasks as apprehending European offenders, serving summonses, or supervising prisoners in custody.

In 1852, Scott, encouraged perhaps by Governor Young, proposed the establishment of a Native Police Corps at Moorundie and his proposal was approved two weeks later.

Previously, the Colonial Secretary, Sturt, had written to the New South Wales Government about removing snags on their portion of the River Murray and in February 1853, Commissioner Lockhart, stationed at Moorna, was given permission to employ Aborigines for this purpose at £10 per annum, equivalent to the wages paid to each of the six native police troopers that Scott was permitted to employ. Scott’s new duties were ‘exclusively confined to his locality’ and Police Commissioner Tolner was instructed ‘to abstain from interfering with him in the management of the same’.

Scott was to issue clothing, equipment, horses and other items, and the whole expenditure was to be borne by the
Lands Fund, which also provided for equipping and training another six native police troopers at Wellington under Sub-Protector Mason. Both Sub-Protectors were appointed as Inspectors of Native Police and with their 12 Murray Aborigines, were to be involved in the program of clearing the river of snags.

This was also the time when large numbers of men were travelling to the New South Wales and Victorian goldfields. Trouble was anticipated and occasionally occurred on the river road and near the borders, and the Native Police and Scott’s two corporals were used to patrol and maintain the peace. Overland Corner was in fact a more logical place as a frontier station than Moorundie, and again there were occasional calls from settlers to establish a station there. Ironically, because of the manpower shortage, it was Scott himself and his Indigenous troopers who were to erect the Overland Corner station in 1855.

The perceived extravagance of maintaining Moorundie and the position of Sub-Protector as well as a constable at Overland Corner, was criticized in the Register after the release of the Land Fund estimates of 1856. Firstly, Police Commissioner Warburton was censured for ignoring the Native Police in his reports and then the duplication of salaries was questioned. The newspaper asked:

Now surely we may ask of what utility are these Sub-Protectorates?......cannot the necessary protection be afforded to Aborigines by the police and might not the native police distribute the Government blankets and flour under the direction of their Inspectors”

The Register article did not begrudge the projected sum of £4,315 if it were really expended on the Aborigines’ but it seemed that most of the money was spent on the salaries of men who were already on the spot:

To compound this criticism, Warburton when questioned by the Committee on the effectiveness of the Native Police and whether they could be dispensed with, replied that he considered them to be ‘purely a matter of State policy and not police efficiency at all’ and that only ‘such able officers as Mr. Scott of Moorundie or Mr. Mason or Mr. Minchin’ could make as much out of the natives.

This note of praise serves quite well as a summary of the effectiveness of Scott’s term as Inspector of Native Police - he had established a good working relationship and as far as the Government was concerned, he and the Murray Aboriginal people who worked for him had played their part in the development of the river-boat trade.

Conclusion

The Report of the Select Committee on the Estimates of 1856 marked the beginning of the end of the Government’s role in the ‘Christianising and civilizing’ stage of Protectorship, which ended with the 1860 Select Committee Report on Aborigines. The Select Committee recommended the abolition of the position of Protector, and found Scott’s and Mason’s positions of Sub-Protector to be ‘quite unnecessary’. The Select Committee suggested that:

their services be dispensed with or transferred to some of the outer stations where their services may be of benefit to the Aborigines and public.

There was no acknowledgment by the Select Committee of the useful services that Scott provided. Archdeacon Hale, however, in a letter to the Register, praised Scott’s work as Sub-Protector and despaired for the Aborigines who were to be abandoned with Scott’s removal. From 1856 onwards, the Police Station at Overland Corner became one of the depots from which the decreasing number of Moorundie Aborigines received rations.

The author of “Notes of a ten day tour of the Murray and the North”, provides us with the following description of Moorundie in 1856:

It would puzzle a stranger to divine the reason that influenced the Government to select this site for their establishment. It is completely out of the world, being connected to nothing and nobody. A few waterbirds and fishes are all there is to guard. Unless when the Natives go there for their rations, as of course they would go to a more central spot if they desired. The whole of the Moorundie Valley is subject to inundation and can never be available for any other purpose than sheep or cattle runs.

Scott clearly carried out his duties as Protector in the same fair and understanding way that Eyre had done. He was respected by, and got on well with the Aborigines and he encouraged peaceful relations between them and the settlers, despite upsetting some settlers with what they perceived as his favouritism for the Aborigines. He managed to keep the station at Moorundie going for over nine years because the Government appreciated his rapport with the local Aborigines and the Native Police and found his handling of them essential in the establishment of river transport - an economic lifeline for a struggling new colony.

Acknowledgements

I would like to thank Helen Scott for kindly sharing information on her ancestor, E. B. Scott. I am also grateful to George Woolmer for useful background detail on the Murray River around Moorundie, and to Rob Foster for comments and advice.
ENDNOTES

5. ibid., p.131.
6. GRG 2-48/2/1841, Grey to Butler.
11. Colonial Secretary, relative to abandoning Moorundie station, January 1846, in Appendix, Dutton, op. cit.
12. ibid.
13. GRG 24-4-1844/686.
14. GRG 24-6/June 30 1845.
15. ibid.
16. ibid.
17. ibid.
18. Protector of Aborigines Letterbook GRG 52/7-June 17 1845.
19. GRG 24-6/1846 and GRG 24-6/1847.
20. ibid.
21. Woolmer, G., Riverland Aborigines of the past (Adelaide 1974), p.10. Scott found them there later on and urged them to leave for Moorundie to collect their rations.
22. Protector of Aborigines Letterbook, op. cit.. August 18 1846, to Colonial Secretary.
23. ibid.
24. ibid., March 5 1847.
27. GRG 24-4/January 9 1847.
28. ibid.
29. Eyre, op. cit., p.112.
30. Rations and blankets were still being presented on the Queen’s birthday, so June always had the highest number.
31. GRG24-4/July 26 1847.
33. ibid., July 1850.
34. ibid., October 31 1850.
35. ibid., Protector’s Report, 1853.
36. ibid.
37. GRG 52/7/1 May 111852.
38. ibid.
39. Later a Legislative Council member.
40. ibid.
41. GRG 24-4/1852.
42. ibid.
44. Francis Cadell and William Randell were competing paddle-steamer builders and captains who were keen to further river trade and transport.
45. Samuel McGlynn, who had complained about Scott’s high-handed manner in 1847, complained again in 1851 of a more serious charge against Scott that an Aborigine had threatened his wife, but Scott had done little about it and had sided with the Aborigines.
48. ibid., p.22.
49. Possibly the daughter of Scott’s Moorundie neighbour, John Williams, who later applied for Scott’s job. Helen Scott, pers. comm. 1999.
50. GRG 24-6/April 6 1850.
51. GRG 24-4/December 23 1852.
52. Withers, op. cit.
54. Register, July 12 1855, 2f.
55. ibid.
Minchin and Mason were Sub-protectors of Aborigines. Mason was stationed at Wellington and Minchin at Port Lincoln. Mason was kept on in his position after Scott’s was abolished probably because Wellington was strategically better situated than Moorundie.

57. Minutes of Evidence on Ordinary Estimates, January 19 1856, Parliamentary Papers, p.141.

58. ibid.

59. In Scott’s report to the Protector in July 1855, he laments the fact that the Aborigines in his region are ‘decreasing in numbers at a rapid rate and it appears to me that as civilization advances, so do they die’.

60. Adelaide Observer, March 29 1856.