LAND SETTLEMENT
IN
SOUTH AUSTRALIA
1857-1890

by
Keith R. Bowes, M.A.

This thesis was submitted for the Ph.D. degree at the Australian National University. It is certified that this thesis is the original work of the writer alone.

[Signature]
CONTENTS

Chapter Page

Preface 1

Introduction: The case is stated ii

PART I DETERMINANTS OF SETTLEMENT

1. A land of summer skies 1
   1. The central district
   2. The new wheat lands
   3. The South-East
   4. The pastoral zone.

2. The technology of production 25
   1. The pastoral industry
      (1) Seizing the golden fleece
      (2) The era of capitalization
   2. The wheat industry
      (1) Tickling the soil
      (2) Changing techniques

3. The financial structure of the primary industries 74
   1. The pastoral industry
      (1) Production and prices
      (2) Costs
      (3) Pastoral profits
   2. The wheat industry
      (1) Production and prices
      (2) Costs
      (3) Profit or loss?

4. Parliament and the Administration 114
   1. Parliament
   2. Political radicalism
   3. Political alignments
   4. The Department of Crown Lands
   5. The dominance of G.W. Goyder

PART II THE POLITICS OF SETTLEMENT

5. Differential valuations for pastoral leases, 1857–1865 142
   1. The beginning: Assessment on Stock Act, 1858
   2. The interim: Administrative difficulties
   3. The conflict: Goyder's valuations
   4. The climax: The 1865 elections.
## Chapter 6. Preferential treatment for the pastoral leases in the interior, 1865-1869

1. The expansion  
2. Investment and speculation  
3. The drought  
4. Goyder's Line  
5. Changing attitudes  
6. The politics of necessity

## Chapter 7. The introduction of credit selection, 1857-1869

1. Survey and sale  
2. Conservative attitudes  
3. Investment in land  
4. Criticisms of the land system  
5. The cry for reform  
6. The Waste Lands Amendment Act

## Chapter 8. Credit selection and the northward expansion, 1869-1881

1. The northward expansion  
2. Availability of agricultural land  
3. Methods of sale  
4. Conditions of purchase  
5. Bona fide settler versus investor  
6. The nature of Government policy

## Chapter 9. Agricultural leasehold and Land Boards 1882-1890

1. Judgment on the North  
2. Introduction of agricultural leasehold  
3. The introduction of Land Boards

## Chapter 10. Towards a new pastoral policy 1869-1890

1. Extension of tenure  
2. Resumption and retreat  
3. The demand for sub-division  
4. Towards a liberal policy.

## Appendices

A. Wool production and prices 1857-1890  
B. Wheat production and prices 1857-1890  
C. Export of wheat and flour 1857-1890  
D. Occupations of the members of the S.A. House of Assembly 1857-1890

## Bibliography
LIST OF TABLES

1. Percentage of farms of various sizes, 1867 51
2. Number and size of holdings, 1870 and 1886 69
3. Prices of South Australian wools in London, 1860-4 84
4. Percentage of sheep farmers in various income groups, 1885 and 1894 96
5. Quinquennial average wheat production, 1860-1884 102
6. Effect of railway on wheat prices 108
7. Public revenue and expenditure, 1853-1857 145
8. The location of the sheep industry, 1857-1864 176
9. Applications for land, 1861-1865 210
10. Age structure for males for selected districts, 1876 256
11. Age structure for males for selected districts, 1881 257
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Abbreviation</th>
<th>Description</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>CLO</td>
<td>Crown Lands Office, incoming correspondence</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CLO Letter Book</td>
<td>Crown Lands Office, outgoing letters</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>R.G.S.A.(S.A.)P.</td>
<td>Royal Geographical Society of Australasia, (South Australian branch), Proceedings</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>R.S.S.A.T.</td>
<td>Royal Society of South Australia, Transactions</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>S.A.A.</td>
<td>South Australian Archives</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>S.A.F.A.</td>
<td>South Australian Farmers' Association</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SAPD</td>
<td>South Australian Parliamentary Debates</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SAPP</td>
<td>South Australian Parliamentary Papers</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SC</td>
<td>Select Committee of the Legislature</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SGO</td>
<td>Surveyor-General's Office, incoming correspondence</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>V.A.P.(H.A.)</td>
<td>Votes and Proceedings, House of Assembly</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
I am indebted to the many people who have courteously and will­ingly assisted in the collection of material and in the ordering of this manuscript. The South Australian Director of Lands, Mr. A.H. Peters, kindly granted access to the extensive archives of his Department. The staff of the South Australian Archives gave valuable assistance in the provision of manuscripts and in answering many detailed and sometimes obscure queries. The staffs of the Australian National University Library, the National Library (Canberra), the Mitchell Library (Sydney), The Melbourne and Adelaide Public Libraries gave continual aid.

To Mr. L. Fitzhardinge who supervised this work for a time and especially to Dr. R. Gollan, I am deeply grateful. Their work as encouragers and critics has brought much more order to this work than it possessed originally. The other members of the staff of the History Department deserve more than anonymous mention for their provocative thought and genial assistance. The members of the Wool Seminar, organized by Sir Keith Hancock, helped me to see the wider perspective of the wool industry.

I would also express appreciation to the Australian National University for the provision of the scholarship, without which this work would never have been written.
Introduction:

THE CASE IS STATED.
Introduction:

THE CASE IS STATED.

The chief aim of this thesis is to show how South Australian land legislation came to be passed and administered, and why it was reluctant and inadequate until 1868 and thereafter more ready and constructive. The answer to these questions is attempted first, by a survey of the chief geographical, technological and economic factors of settlement (chapters 1-3); second, by an examination of the composition of parliament and of administration in the Department of Crown Lands (Chapter 4); and third, by a study of the political issues that in varying degrees induced the Legislature to accept responsibility for rural producers.

The treatment is deliberately parochial because the people involved were parochial. For this reason little attempt has been made to relate their experience with that of the eastern colonies. Where appropriate, some broader framework has been sought by testing the beliefs and expectations of settlers against the findings of modern theory and practice. The relevance of this ex post facto relation is that it provides a useful measure for the adequacy of each legislative provision and of the settlers' changing attitudes to their land.

The starting point of this work is 1857, the year South Australia became a self-governing colony. At that time agricultural settlement was concentrated in the districts within ninety miles
of Adelaide, while pastoral stations were scattered throughout the Mid-North. The turning point is 1868. Land laws were passed with reluctance until then, but more readily thereafter. For this reason the events leading up to 1868 are examined in more detail than are those of the later years: the post-1868 chapters in fact are intended to highlight the change rather than to give a highly detailed chronological account of the period. The finishing point is 1890. By this time settlement had extended a further 200 miles northwards and had expanded greatly in the South-East, while pastoralists had taken up almost all the land in the interior except for the desert in the North-West. By 1890 the pattern of modern settlement in general had emerged.

The major sources used in this examination have been the debates of the Legislature, the printed papers of the Legislature (especially the evidence of the many Select Committees), the correspondence and books of the Crown Lands Department and the Surveyor-General's Office, the metropolitan and country press, and the personal jottings of men involved in this political situation. Of these the voluminous files of the Crown Lands Department have been the greatest single source, a veritable mine of information which previously has not been examined systematically. This serves to point out that the emphasis of this work is as much upon the work of the Crown Lands Department as it is on the deliberations of Parliament.
Part I.

DETERMINANTS OF SETTLEMENT

Chapter I.

A LAND OF SUMMER SKIES
CHAPTER 1.

A LAND OF SUMMER SKIES

South Australia, in common with other territories settled in
the nineteenth century, includes a great diversity of soils, terrain,
vegetation and rainfall. As the settlers pressed inland they en­
countered conditions which they had not experienced previously.
Through observation and experience they recognised this diversity.
Yet at the same time they were dominated by the Wakefieldian idea
that all land was equally usable. Looking at the land through these
prejudiced eyes, they confidently believed that, though there was
diversity in land, concentration of settlement was possible as well
as desirable.

The direction and nature of settlement thus was influenced by
a curious mixture of shrewd observation and misguided preconceptions
concerning the capabilities of the soil. This chapter is concerned
with these two aspects, namely, the varying geography of the colony,
and the beliefs and anticipations of the settlers. In both cases
the point of interest is the suitability of the land for the pro­
duction of either wheat or wool.

In analysing the land itself considerable use will be made of
recent scientific investigations and of practical experience through­
out the years. It is not suggested that the frontiersmen could
either predict or be guided by the findings of modern experience.
Nevertheless this "ex post facto" approach does provide a satis­
factory standard by which to measure the suitability of the land
for continuous production and permanent occupation. While the
settlers could judge and act only as they viewed the situation, the validity of their beliefs and expectations had to stand the test of the years.

For our purpose South Australia may be divided into four areas, the basis of division being chiefly historical rather than geographical. This is illustrated by the terms used to distinguish them, terms which were in current use at the end of our period, about 1890. These areas are:

1. The Central District. This includes the land which was settled before the passing of Strangways' Act in 1869.

2. The New Wheat Lands. These lands in the Mid-North, Upper-North and on Yorke Peninsula were settled during the expansion of the 'seventies and 'eighties.

3. The South-East. Throughout the whole period under review the South-East was a geographical entity almost apart from the rest of the province, so much so that there were at times strong feelings for separation from the rest of South Australia. Nevertheless it was an important area of settlement, sharing both in the early settlement and the later expansion.

4. The Arid Pastoral Zone. This is the land beyond the three previous areas. Few in 1890 thought of using this land for agriculture.

The terrain, rainfall, soils and vegetation of these four areas are examined in turn, with discussion of the beliefs and anticipations of the settlers being interwoven in the analysis. The
discussion that follows is concerned with a moving frontier, or more correctly, two moving frontiers, the one pastoral, the other agricultural. Both were on the move.

1. THE CENTRAL DISTRICT.

When self-government was established in 1857 settlement had reached a point a few miles north of Clare, about 90 miles from Adelaide. This area, of about 130 miles long and 20 to 30 miles wide, was confined almost entirely to the Mount Lofty Ranges and the Adelaide coastal plain. The police-treepor Alexander Tolmer, who was not accustomed to uttering compliments, described the Ranges as "beautifully varied with low ground between undulating hills and well wooded up to their summits." Their general direction lies north-south with wide alluvial filled valleys between the often parallel ridges. In the south, high scarp faces, broad valleys, deep gorges and level plains constitute a varied relief. About 20 miles to the north of Adelaide the western side of the Ranges passes into a plateau, while on the eastern side the average height declines to a succession of rounded knolls and saddlebacks. Even with the undeveloped agricultural techniques of the 1850's the gentle relief of the ranges to the north of Gawler normally enabled cultivation over both hills and valleys,

although some steep parts defied the plough. Springs, permanent
creeks and wells ensured adequate water supplies for the settlers of
these regions. The farmers considered that they had settled on the
best wheat-producing lands. But this was an incorrect judgment.
It has been demonstrated recently that: the length of the rainfall
season and the amount of "influential rainfall" is of greater
importance to successful wheat-growing than the amount of annual
rainfall. "Influential rainfall" is defined as the amount of rain
which falls during the growing season. This begins when moisture
is sufficiently greater than soil evaporation to initiate and
sustain vegetative growth, and ends when that condition ceases.
The districts to the south of Gawler experience an average rainfall
season of more than 7.5 months, and during that period an average
fall of 20 inches is experienced. This concentration of the rain-
fall causes a leaching of the soil, which, over a period, reduces
soil fertility and lowers the yield. Hence, despite the early good
harvests gained in these districts, the first settlers did not
choose their sections in localities where wheat-growing could be
continuously successful. This is, of course, hindsight. Viewed
from their position the choice was wise and logical, for these
conditions were the nearest approach to those previously experienced
in England.

4. H.C. Trumble, 'The climatic control of agriculture in South
   Australia', R.S.S.A.T., Vol. 61 (1937). Experiments have shown
   that growth is possible when the rainfall over a period of
   weeks is approximately one-third of the evaporation from an
   open 36 inch tank. (pp. 43-46)
5. Ibid, p.60, map.
The chief districts brought under wheat production during the 'fifties and 'sixties lay to the north of Gawler. Here the rainfall season varies between 6 and 7.5 months, during which time 15 to 20 inches of rain are received. These totals are both within the range of optimum conditions for the growth of wheat, and do not cause any great leaching of the soil. The farmers, however, did not appreciate this, for they were concerned at the strong likelihood of very dry years. To illustrate this we may compare the rainfall of Mount Barker (20 miles south-east of Adelaide) with that of Kapunda (50 miles north of Adelaide). While Mount Barker experiences a rainfall season of less than 6.4 months only once in 20 years, Kapunda has one of less than 6.1 months every five years. The rains in spring and autumn, which are three or four times as effective in stimulating growth as rain in mid-winter, were also far less reliable in the newly-opened districts. The majority of farmers were convinced that the lands to the south of Adelaide were superior to those to the north.

The soils and vegetation of the central district change as the rainfall becomes less. By and large the soils to the north are more suited to wheat-growing than those to the south. In the

7. George Sanders to Jacob Hagen 9 March 1858 (S.A.A. 1300)
10. Wark, 'The variability of the length of the rainfall season in South Australia', loc. cit., p.251.
higher rainfall area in the south podsolised sands predominate, with an ashy-grey sub-surface overlying yellowish-grey clay sub-soil. On these the hard-leaved eucalypti (gums and stringy bark), wattles and a thick undergrowth of bushes and shrubs flourished, rendering clearing difficult and costly. To the north red-brown earth or grey soils overlie retentive sub-soils. The retentiveness of the subsoil is an important factor governing the effective use of rainfall by the wheat crop. These soils, like most in South Australia, were deficient in phosphate content even before exploitation by the farmers. The settlers found the trees here to be not so large and wider spaced, and the undergrowth much less, than in the south. This was especially true of the valleys, described as "slightly wooded".

In addition to these lowlands, the Adelaide Plains formed an important part of the central agricultural district. Adelaide was an agricultural as well as a commercial centre and its environs experienced the annual round of ploughing, sowing and reaping. The plain extends from Brighton, nine miles south of Adelaide to the head of St. Vincent Gulf, being bounded on the east by the Mount Lofty Ranges. Alluvial soil, gently undulating ground and tall kangaroo grass growing between thinly-spaced trees offered an

attractive starting-point for the farmers and graziers alike.
With the coming of the plough and sheep, the kangaroo grass gradually
disappeared and in its place came the waving heads of corn and
the increasing flock of sheep.

The central district, then, although it was early regarded
as excellent agricultural land, was not generally ideal for the
growing of wheat. It was a starting point from which the settlers
launched out into the newer lands, and as such, with rainfall more
approaching English conditions than elsewhere and with only moderate
difficulty,"clearing, it served its purpose well. But the land was
not suitable to remain the chief agricultural district.

2. THE NEW WHEAT LANDS.

The regions occupied during the expansion of the 'seventies
and early 'eighties were, firstly, in and near the Flinders Ranges,
and secondly, the mallee lands of Yorke Peninsula and vicinity.
The pattern of alternating ridges and valleys with a north-south
trend, already noted in the central district, is continued in the
Mid- and Upper-North. In many parts the ridges meet at both ends
to form an imperfect oval, perhaps twenty miles long and eight to
ten miles wide, although the Willechra and Walloway Plains are far
more extensive than that. The ridges, which rise from 400 to 1,000
feet above the intermontane valleys, have proved unsuitable for
cropping. They become more steep to the north and west, the

17. Howchin, op.cit., p.95. A. Grenfell Price, The foundations and
settlement of South Australia, 1829-1845, p.125.
descent to the coast of Spencer Gulf being sharply defined. Horrock's Pass, to the south of Port Augusta, and the Pichi Richi Pass, to the north, provided means of descent to the sea which were difficult for the bullock teams and carters alike.

In the Mid-North, the land is drained by the Broughton River which has cut its way across the mountain-valley formation. The Walloway Plain, further to the north, has no defined drainage system, although the water tends to flow towards Lake Frome by means of the tributaries of the Siccus River. The waters rarely travel far, usually evaporating or soaking into the ground. Further north still, the Willochra Creek drains about 2,000 sq. miles, cutting the western scarp of the Flinders Ranges near Quorn to flow towards Lake Torrens, while the Hookina Creek system serves the land near Hawker. These drainage systems were important not only for their effect on soils, but also as a source of water for domestic and farm use. The Broughton River normally provided adequate supplies, but the streams to the north were, and are, mainly dry stony beds which contain water only for a brief time after heavy rain.


20. Artesian water exists beneath parts of the Willochra and Walloway Plains, but this was not used during the period under review. Blackburn and Baker, 'The soils of the Southern Flinders Ranges', loc. cit., p.9.
The climate of this region is largely determined by its relationship to the waters of Spencer's Gulf and by the terrain. It is one of marked winter rainfall and summer drought, characteristic of the southern portion of the colony, although monsoonal influence from the North is displayed in the occasional summer rains and thunderstorms. The annual average precipitation ranges from 22 inches in the Bundaleer Hills to 9 inches at Round Hill, near Quorn. Although most centres record falls of more than 10 inches, the annual variability of rainfall is as much as 20% to 30% from the mean. The isohyets of rainfall are generally in the shape of an inverted U, following the contours of the land. Hence the rainfall decreases far more quickly eastwards from Melrose than it does northwards. Also, more rain falls on or near the mountains than on the plains.

Although annual rainfall was important for the first settlers in supplying much needed water in the summer months, the precipitation in the growing months was more important for their crops. Trumble has shown that the districts below Wilmington in the South Flinders experience an influential rainfall period of six months, generally May-September, during which time between 10 and 15 inches of rain falls. This is satisfactory for the proper growth of wheat. Districts between Wilmington and Quorn have on the average an

22. This area includes the rich wheat-lands of the Broughton, centred around the townships of Gladstone, Jamestown, Georgetown and Laura, and the plains to the north of Melrose. In this area the line of six months' influential rainfall is about thirty miles to the north of Goyders' Line. In other parts the two almost coincide.
influential rainfall season of only five months, during which 5 to 10 inches of rain are received. But a growing season of five months or more occurs only one year in five at places like Hammond within this area, while even at Yongala, in the more favoured region, in one year out of three the rainfall is likely to prove inadequate. Beyond Quorn (and during the late 'seventies and early 'eighties wheat-growing was attempted for more than 50 miles beyond this point) the influential rainfall season is too short and the pre-
ception too slight to enable a mature crop to grow. This analysis, of course, postulates the average. In exceptionally good years excellent harvests are possible, as was demonstrated in the early years of settlement.

The long dry summer has both advantages and disadvantages. On the positive side, the quality of the wheat was good. Recent experiments have indicated that the protein content of wheat is at its highest when temperatures are high and the soil moisture content low. Although the farmers were not aware of this during the last century, millers soon realised that wheat grown in the Mid- and Upper-North made splendid flour and bread. The wheat found a ready market. On the negative side, production was uncertain. The hot summers are often plagued by frequent northerly winds and dust storms, which can cause havoc amongst a growing crop. The north-

---

south valley formation offers little protection from such perils.

The soils of this region can be classified under the general heading used by Piper, namely, red-brown earths. They vary from brownish loams to sandy loams. The organic matter and nitrogen contents seem to have been low even before wheat-growing was commenced, and under the unscientific husbandry of the last century what little there was quickly disappeared. On the other hand, the phosphoric acid content was no less, if not more, than that in the soils further south. In some areas the content was relatively high, as for instance in the Hundred of Belalie.

More detailed work in particular Hundreds has demonstrated the wide variety of sub-types within this broad classification. Some soils are described as sandy loam, some as silty loam, others have clay mixed with sand, while some are heavy textured and others light textured. The colours vary from brownish-grey to light loam and red. Broadly, the light textured loams (especially the silty loams) are good soils for wheat-growing. To the pioneer farmer, however, all soils looked very similar, especially when there was no change in vegetation from one series to another. Yet within the space of a few miles the soil might change for the worse as far as wheat-growing was concerned.

28. Stephens distinguishes nine main series in seven Hundreds within County Victoria, while Blackburn and Baker name eleven series within three Hundreds in County Frome.
The northern limit of the red-brown earth roughly coincides with the line of five months influential rainfall. Beyond this 'desert leams' are encountered, and rocks in the soil increase in number. The soil is completely unsuited for continuous cereal production. The transition, however, is not particularly noticeable. Rather, the eye of the newcomer is diverted by the apparent sameness of the land in the long north-south valleys. It is not at all surprising that the pioneers ignored the warning of the Surveyor-General and his (Goyder's) Line and kept advancing.

The vegetation of this region shows a similar changing pattern. When first settled the Lower-North was an open savannah woodland, in which wallaby grass and iron grass predominated on the plains. Some sheoaks and sandlewood occurred, and in parts there were dense copses of tea-tree, but generally trees did not impair the progress of the plough. The much-coveted Booborowie Flats, for instance, were open grassland, with little or no timber. Further to the north the timber became more and more confined to the creeks and hills, with shrubs, especially salt bush and blue bush, covering the plains. This kind of vegetation continued for mile after mile, perhaps becoming a little thinner to the North.

29. Prescott, 'A soil map of Australia', loc. cit., p. 7 and map. Trumble, in his edapho-climatic zone map includes this area in "Arid pastoral, marginal." Trumble, 'Climatic control of agriculture', loc. cit., map 3. For some reports of surveyors from the Lands Department, see SAPP 1878 No. 197, 1879 No. 192 and 1885 No. 89.


The other important part of the New Wheat Lands was Yorke Peninsula and the land just to its north. This region is one of subdued relief, rarely being more than 500 feet above sea level. The annual rainfall ranges from 15 to 20 inches, the Peninsula enjoying a longer period of influential rainfall than do the plains to the north. Although the whole region is well within the safe limits of agriculture, the precipitation may vary from 15% to 20% from the mean. Snowtown, for instance, can expect once every five years an influential rainfall season of less than five months. As the precipitation on any one day is rarely high, no definite drainage system has emerged. There are no creeks worth the name on Yorke Peninsula. The calcareous soil allows the water to soak in without leaching and hence the soil structure is the more easily maintained, but this also makes the problem of water supplies a serious one. The soils, which vary from reddish-brown to light fawn in colour, possessed little humus and only small quantities of phosphoric acid. On the other hand, the silt and potassium contents were relatively high, to the distinct advantage of the farmer. Mallees scrub flourished on these soils, forming one of the greatest hindrances to agricultural settlement. At the foot of the Peninsula the thick scrub, together with poorer soils, prevented

---

35. Wood, 'Floristics and ecology of the mallees', loc. cit., p.359. SAPP 1872 No.152, Proposed new Hundreds. The term "mallees" is used to define the various species of eucalypts which branch from the roots and have leaves only at the ends of the branches, so forming a canopy-like collection of leaves.
any large scale wheat production. Beneath the mallee and the shrubs associated with it seasonal grasses flourished when rain came, but withered away in the heat of the summer.

Generally, then, most of the New Wheat Lands proved to be well suited for the production of wheat. The only doubtful areas were those fringing the arid pastoral zone in the north and east, where uncertain rainfall and poor soils rendered wheat-growing hazardous. Over the remainder of the New Wheat Lands, however, the rainfall was adequate, although at times unreliable. The soils were of fair to good quality, with some excellent patches. The vegetation, except on Yorke Peninsula, was no great barrier to the plough. The farmers who occupied these areas either had good luck or judged well the capabilities of the land.

3. THE SOUTH-EAST.

The extent of the area termed the South-East was rarely defined. In general it meant all the land to the south and east of the lower reaches of the River Murray. Settlement, however, was almost entirely confined to the districts to the south of the Ninety-Mile Desert, with an isolated outpost around Bordertown. It is this area which is here described.

Most of this region experiences an annual rainfall of more than 25 inches, while the Millicent-Kalangadoo-Mount Gambier area normally records more than 30 inches. Although the length of the rainfall season is greater than elsewhere in South Australia with the exception of a small part of the Mount Lofty Ranges, the South-East can still be
said to have a summer semi-drought. However, the rainfall during winter is very reliable. Mount Gambier, for instance, has a 98% reliable rainfall during the winter months of June, July and August, and during almost a century of recording, the township has had only one year when a "drought" occurred, and even then 18 inches fell during the year. The terrain of this region is without parallel in the rest of South Australia. It is essentially one of subdued relief, very rarely exceeding 300 feet above sea level, but superimposed on this lowlying terrain are a series of about 13 or 14 dune "ranges", which are sub-parallel to each other and to the coast. In some cases the ranges are well-defined and long, in others they are merely un-connected ridges. The inter-dune flats, or corridors, reach their maximum width near Penola, where the Naracoorte Range and the Stevarts and Cave Ranges are 14 miles apart. Generally the width of the flats is about three to four miles. Rarely do the dune ranges rise more than 100 feet above the adjacent plain, the transition being sometimes marked by a gently intervening slope.

There are few natural drainage channels, and these are either intermittent or empty their waters into the flats. The heavy winter

rainfall thus caused many flooding problems for the early settlers, the difficulty being made more acute by the flow of surface water from the adjoining counties of Lowan and Follett in Victoria. Impounded by the series of dune ranges, the water moved to the northwest, following the gradient of the land, but as the slope is less than a foot per mile in some places, movement was sluggish, except in times of flood. Although considerable amounts of water found an outlet into the Coorong, throughout winter and early spring (and, in wet years, much later) swamps and lagoons dotted the interdune flats. From the 'sixties artificial drainage schemes were begun, at first with only partial success, but by the 'nineties hundreds of sq. miles had been drained successfully. Permanent lakes and swamps also occur, the largest of which is Dismal Swamp, between Mount Gambier and Penola. In the limestone country near Mount Gambier surface drainage is almost non-existent, but subterranean channels through the porous and cavernous limestone enables the water to drain away, to emerge either nearer the coast as springs (especially between Mount Gambier and Port MacDonnell) or into the sea.

Most of the dune ranges show a predominance of podsolised sandy soils. These are very acidic, both the nitrogen and phosphate status being low, and will thus not sustain wheat production. Brown stringy

41. Sprigg, 'Geology of the South-East province', loc. cit., p.17.
42. The Woakwine Range is an exception, having a predominance of terra rosa soils.
43. Crocker, 'Soil and vegetational relationships in the lower South-East', loc. cit., p.151. The nitrogen content is normally less than 0.1% and the phosphate less than 0.01%.
bark trees dominated the dry sclerophyll forests on these ranges, while beneath them were an abundance of shrubs (chiefly honeysuckle, blackwood, native box and wild cherry) and an undergrowth of yacka, tea tree and grass tree. Natural grasses occurred only sparsely.

The podsolised sands are not confined to the dune ranges, but occur also on the flats to the south and west of Penola. Generally these areas were covered by savannah, dominated by red gum with numerous gum saplings and grasses. Today much of this country has an open woodland appearance, but this has been achieved largely by scrub felling, burning and clearing from a previously denser association which included bracken fern. To the north, however, near Naracoorte, there are indications that the original association was thinner, and, except for grasses, undergrowth was virtually absent.

To the south and west of Naracoorte, in the Reedy Creek-Conmurra Plain, and in the vicinity of Millicent, rendzina soils are prominent. They are frequently called "lime humus soils" because of the humus and free calcium carbonate contained in them. The nitrogen, phosphorus and potash content were higher than in other soils of the south-east, with the exception of the volcanic soils. Their comparative richness early attracted the wheat-farmer. Trees were almost entirely absent on them, cutting grass, thatching grass, black butt, and what is known locally as "white tussock" being dominant.

Although a dense honeysuckle growth is thought to have been originally present, clearing was not difficult.

Terra rosa soils, which form a great part of the Australian wheat belt, cover an extensive area to the south of Mount Gambier. Stringybark grows in these better soils, but the trees are poor and scraggy in comparison with the similar forests of the Mount Lofty Ranges, rarely exceeding 20 feet in height. The country was open with few undershrubs, and was thus ideal for early agricultural settlement.

Near Mount Gambier itself there are several sq. miles of a highly fertile volcanic ash. This appears to have been covered with stringybark, honeysuckle, bracken fern and blackwood. The fine sandy, loamy soil beneath the ash has a fairly loose composition of high phosphoric content. In the Barker Range also there are numerous, but small and isolated, basaltic ash and tuff hills caused by former volcanic activity, but there the volcanic soil lies beneath the yellow and grey podsolised sands.

Altogether the South East offered much to the early settlers. The rainfall was more than adequate and very reliable. In the Mount Gambier and Millicent districts and on the Reedy Creek-Conmurra Plain good soils were found, together with a fairly open vegetation. The fact that much of these regions were used later for sheep instead of wheat was due to the greater profitability of the former rather than to any unsuitability for wheat production. During the 1860's especially, and during the early years of the following decade, the South East was regarded as amongst the best agricultural land in the province.

47. Ibid, pp. 154, 158.
4. THE PASTORAL ZONE.

The preceding analysis has been concerned mainly with the possibilities of agriculture. Before the arid pastoral zone is examined, it is desirable to look again at the higher rainfall districts from the pastoral point of view, as this area was occupied by stockowners before the farmers moved in.

The average daily requirement for a sheep is 3 lbs. of feed. The feed available needs to be palatable and digestible, otherwise the sheep may refuse to consume adequate amounts. A deficiency in supply leads to lower wool production and losses in lambing. The native pastures of the Mid-North were able to meet these requirements, and, moreover, the supply generally was fairly constant because of fresh growth after effective rains. Such growth is of high quality 49 and very digestible.

The pioneer pastoralists were greatly attracted also by the savannah woodland of the Mount Lofty Ranges. At first this opinion seems to have been the result of their delight in its resemblance to the Old Country. The native vegetation of the woodland, in fact, was of negligible value for grazing purposes. The Kangaroo grass which abounded there quickly disappeared under grazing. However, when trees were felled in an attempt to increase the growth of grass,

the tall-growing perennial species were replaced by tufted, short-grass perennials in which Wallaby and Spear grasses predominated. These grasses were the same as in the Mid-North. Although not of high feed value in comparison with the sawn grasses of today, these "Danthonia pastures", as they were called, were the best of the native pastures.

This favourable result led to the widespread belief that clearing and stocking improved the carrying capacity of the land. The same tactics of clearing and grazing were adopted by stockowners in their move northwards.

"The first steps in forming a new station among our wilds are not only toilsome but very disheartening; even the natural beauties, which induce a settler to make his choice of a certain locality, are converted almost into ugliness. The forest must be hewn down...." 53

But this generalization from a particular experience broke down under other conditions. Clearing in the north often led to little immediate improvement in grass and ultimately contributed to soil break-up and erosion. In most of the Mid-North, however, clearing was not a major problem for the sheepowner. With Wallaby grass

51. Rupert J. Best (ed.) Introducing South Australia, p.149. Professor Donald's claim that these native pastures were of "negligible value" for grazing is based upon comparisons with today's pastures, and should not be taken as an absolute judgment.

52. For an assessment of these lands by the Chief Inspector of Sheep see SAPP 1861 No. 101. See also R.H. Moore, 'The effects of wool growing on the Australian vegetation' (Paper read to Wool Seminar, 1957, Australian National University) pp.1-3.

53. Edward Child to John Sutcliffe, 1 June 1856 (S.A.A. Dem. 3434)

54. For examples of this view see 1865 SC Selling Crown Lands, question 1675 and 1860 SC Cooke and Mark, questions 131, 645. Compare the experience in South Africa, where it was widely held that burning invariably improved pastures. J.G. Wood, The vegetation of South Australia, p.19
abounding on sparsely timbered plains, he considered himself in a pastoralist's paradise. Whether or not the pastures were good was determined by the height and thickness of the grass.

As the pastoralists moved even further to the north they were not pleased to see the familiar grasses disappearing and salt bush becoming prominent. The comment of one pastoralist about the Pichi Richi area — it was "half barren... nothing but stones and Porcupine grass" — was typical. In actual fact the grasses in that area were well suited for the immediate use of sheep. Also, under intermittent grazing, which took place at first, salt bush grows more vigorously than it does in the absence of grazing. The chief limiting factor in the Upper-North was not grass but water. There were few permanent springs or lakes and the rainfall was unreliable.

In the South-East the problem was just the opposite — a surplus of water. There was abundant feed, for the summer sun that followed the flooding ensured quick, luxuriant growth. By using a dry winter run in conjunction with the wet country, the pastoralist was able to provide adequate feed while avoiding footrot and coast's disease, two of the curses of this region. The pastures of the South-East were highly favoured in pastoral circles. In fact, because it experienced a more reliable rainfall than the Mid-North, the South-East was regarded as the best tract of pastoral land in the province.

55. Ibid.
56. Best (ed), op. cit., p.149.
57. Moore, 'The effects of wool growing on the Australian vegetation', loc. cit., p.4.
58. SAFF 1861 No.101, Report by Estimator of runs. In nearly every instance runs in the South-East were estimated to carry more than 200 sheep per square mile.
The "arid pastoral zone" is not a well defined area. For our purpose it can be stated as all the land not included in the Central District, the New Wheat Lands and the South East described above. In short, it is the land in which wheat-growing had not been attempted prior to 1890. It is impossible to give any concise and yet accurate picture of it. The interior of South Australia is extremely diversified, as these extracts from a surveyor's report of a journey of only several days clearly indicate.

"... poor swampy and sandy country, surrounded by dense mallee scrub ... good, open, well-grassed flats and rises bounded by thick mallee scrub ... a desert ... poor sandy soil, destitute of grass ... heavy sandhills ... saltbush plain.......

The Lake Torrens Plateau, nevertheless, will serve as an example of the country that was occupied solely by sheep. The rainfall is uncertain, being influenced by both monsoonal summer rains and the Antarctic winter rains, so that showers can be expected in any month of the year. The average rainfall, recorded over a period of years, is between 6½ and 7 inches, the variation from the norm being considerable. On occasions most of a year's rainfall has fallen in one day. About two-thirds of the plateau is undulating country covered with gibbers and characterized by a low scrubby vegetation, stretching for miles in a wide unbroken expanse. Although various grasses (the Mitchell grass, for instance) do appear, the chief plant is bladder saltbush.

60. "Gibbers" is the term applied to a mass of small stones that completely cover the soil.
It is a widely held belief that saltbush country is, and has been, the great sheep region of Australia. This is quite inaccurate. Certainly the saltbush proved to be a far more palatable and nutritious plant than was first thought, but such vegetation does not rank with the Danthonia pastures, let alone with the sown pastures, of the higher rainfall areas. Saltbush country is capable of carrying only a sparse sheep population. Provided that continuous grazing over long periods is not allowed, the vegetation is able to withstand severe drought, but should such over-stocking occur the saltbush is to a certain extent choked out by samphire and other subdominant species such as bluebush and bindyi, useless for stock fodder. Because heavy seeding is not an annual occurrence, regeneration is a slow process once destruction of the saltbush has taken place. Knowledge of these facts is the result of considerable research and long experience of the country. The pioneers knew little or nothing of it. They saw abundant grass and shrubs after rain and stocked accordingly. This experience was repeated in the Channel county in 61.

---

64. See the comment of Goyder on "the astonishingly nutritious properties of the vegetation in good seasons" on which, he claimed, it was impossible to overstock (1867 Commission, Rums suffering from drought, questions 3925 and 3853). For early opinions on this country see SAPP 1858 No. 119, Mr. Stuart's explanation, and 1859 SC on the petition of B.H. Babbage, passim.
the North-East of the province, where a fine covering of grass after flooding induced pastoralists to introduce sheep rather than cattle to this generally arid land.

In the lake Eyre basin, in the Arunta Desert, in the far North-West and West there was the dismal view of mile upon mile of fixed dunes—all sand and no feed. Smaller areas of desert occurred in many other parts. In other places, like large parts of the Nullabor Plain, although vegetation existed, no water could be found. By the turn of the century, South Australians were beginning to realize that a large part of their territory was arid, too arid even for cattle.

Lands with a wide range of soils, vegetation and climate were occupied during the years 1856 to 1890. It remains to be seen in the following chapters how this wide range affected the success or otherwise of occupation and also the political steps taken to open up the land or to deal with the problems of occupation. At this juncture, however, three points can be emphasised.

In the first place, since generally the climate, soils and vegetation were very different from those previously encountered, every expansion of settlement had to be accompanied by, if not preceded by, a change in attitude to the land. Beliefs about climate and the quality of land were as important factors in settlement as the land itself.

66. SAPP 1876 No.19, Journal of Mr. Lewis's Lake Eyre expedition 1874-5.
67. SAPP 1880 No.191, Examination of country north-east of Eucla.
Secondly, although land suitable for either agricultural or pastoral production was available to the north of Adelaide and in the South East, as population expanded there was not enough to satisfy the demands of both industries. This intensified the struggle between farmers and pastoralists for possession of the fertile lands of the province. Hence the pattern of settlement was often determined by economic and political factors as much as by the natural potentiality of the land.

Finally, the greatest limiting factor was the lack of water. The unreliable rains seriously retarded wheat and wool production, while droughts proved disastrous to farmers and pastoralists alike. Rainfall, however, is only judged accurately over a period of years. It is inevitable that settlement includes times of misjudgment and retreat as well as of correct assessment and advance. The capabilities of the land could only be truly assessed as it was occupied and put into production.
Chapter 2.

THE TECHNOLOGY OF PRODUCTION.
CHAPTER 2.

THE TECHNOLOGY OF PRODUCTION.

Profitable production, and hence permanent settlement, necessitates techniques that are suitable for the land, the skill of the settlers and the cost structure of the industry. In this chapter an analysis is made of the methods which were employed to produce wheat and wool. The purpose of this discussion is twofold. First, it seeks to establish that the general level of technology was inadequate for successful, permanent settlement. Second, this analysis prepares the way for the discussion of the following chapter on the cost structure of the wheat and wool industries.

In brief, this is what we shall seek to establish concerning technology. Initially it appeared to be adequate in both industries, but this was only because the pastoralists of the 'sixties and the farmers of the 'seventies were concerned more with exploitation than with permanent settlement. When continual exploitation on a large scale was rendered impossible, crises developed, in the wool industry at the end of the 1860's and in the wheat industry in the early 1880's. New methods of production — arising partly from imitation of the eastern colonies, partly from shrewd experiments and partly from good luck — were then tried and were found to be more adequate than the old. By the 1890's the wheat industry was on the verge of such things as the use of superphosphate, complete
harvesters, and new wheat varieties that were rust-proof, but before that time the farmers were struggling with inadequate techniques. Pioneers in the pastoral industry, too, tried new methods of production, this time in the 1870's, but high costs prevented the new techniques from being adopted quickly and from becoming widespread. Thus in each industry technology limited both the extent and success of settlement.

At the outset it should be stressed that chapters 2 and 3 should be read as one. Some important aspects of technology, such as transport and marketing procedures, which are passed over in this chapter are discussed in some detail in the following chapter. Moreover, some of the conclusions of the analysis on profits have been used in judging the adequacies of the techniques of production. What makes technology "adequate"? This writer regards techniques as being adequate if they enable land to be settled permanently on an equitable basis. They cannot be regarded as inadequate merely because they can be improved. The criterion of judgment is rather the experience of the settlers themselves as they sought to earn a living from the land. The major point of this chapter, then, is not that there was a process of change and obsolescence, which is inevitable in any case, but that this process was rarely swift enough to keep pace with the changing conditions of settlement and the economics of the market.
1. THE PASTORAL INDUSTRY.

(1) Seizing the golden fleece

Mildred, an ex-pastoralist himself, claimed in 1858 that the stockowners "had seized upon the golden fleece, and nuggets of gold were dropping out of it into their pockets". This picturesque description indicated the accepted notion of wool-growing. All that one had to do was to place sheep upon the land. The rest would follow as a matter of course. The only active agents in this business were the sheep and Nature.

The pastoralists had little experience to guide them in their work. A few, like the Dutton family and the Bowman brothers, came to South Australia after sheeprunning in other Australian colonies, and some others, such as C.B. Fisher, A.B. Murray, John McTaggart, Alexander Grant and John Hope, knew something of the sheep trade in Scotland or England. But most seem to have come from backgrounds that provided no practical training in the industry. Some of the more prominent men in this regard were George Hawker, a Master of Arts of Trinity College, Cambridge, the Browne brothers, doctors from Glascow, John Ellis, who had made a fortune by shipping tea from the East to England, and Arthur Hardy, a brother-in-law of J.S. Mill and a student of law. Even reading books like Hillyard's work on agriculture and Blakeleek on Sheep, as Hardy did on the

1. SAPD 30 Sept. 1858, col. 279.
2. Biographical notes of these pastoralists can be found in Pastoral Pioneers of South Australia (2 volumes), compiled by R. Cockburn.
voyage out, or touring the London decks for information about tools likely to be required in the South Australian bush, a task which Charles Pearson assiduously undertook, would not have prepared them for the unexpected capriciousness of the pastoral lands which they were shortly to occupy. Yet they made money. Frederick Sinnett, by no means antagonistic to the squatters, summed up the position when he wrote,

"You find plenty of rich squatters who it is palpable could not have got on in any other calling demanding much mental power, either natural or acquired - men who have been fortunate enough to take on the one pursuit in which they could not help making money in spite of themselves".

This situation was reflected in the very primitive techniques that were adopted in a great part of the industry until the early 'sixties. But fortunately for the efficiency of the industry many of the early men withdrew from the practical management of the runs, leaving the day-to-day details to capable managers like Morris, Pitt, Waite and Stekes, most of whom had previous experience in the pastoral industry. Their influence led to the development of new techniques.


4. The term "squatter" did not have the same connotation in South Australia as it attained in the eastern colonies. It was used as an alternative to "pastoralist", without any note of antagonism.

5. Frederick Sinnett, An account of the colony of South Australia, p. 34.
The level of stocking attempted by many stockowners reflected their certainty that the rainfall would be adequate and that the land would improve with use. In the Lower North and in the South East lessees assumed that there would be ample rain and thus ample grass, enough to last during the months of November to February (and perhaps to March or even April) when no fresh growth could be expected. The semi-droughts experienced in the North, some of them confined to small localities, during 1857, 1859 and 1861 did not extend to these fertile areas and even the widespread severe drought of 1864 to 1867 left them relatively untouched. Hence continuous heavy-stocking of these runs, almost at their maximum capacity, was possible and was achieved with success.

In the Upper North, it was held, drought conditions could be expected one year in five. The lessees knew that the rainfall was not as reliable as it was in the south, but nevertheless the dry year was regarded as the exception, not the rule. They stocked their runs accordingly - at the maximum number the run could carry in a good season. There was no fear of deterioration, for did

6. Goyder's Line, drawn to mark the southern limit of the drought, left the Lower North outside the drought area. Both the Lower North and especially the South-East were used by the northern lessees as temporary grazing stations for their stock when they were able to get them out of the North.

7. Even after the intense drought of 1864-5 the Northern Runs Commissioners (Bonney, Cavenagh and Valentine) stated that 15 years' experience had led to the belief that only one year in five or six would be a dry year.
not the grass improve with trampling and use? Hence, during these years of on-the-whole favourable seasons existing runs were stocked at a level designed to produce quick, high returns. Production, in relation to the area effectively utilised, rose considerably, and so production costs were lowered. This was a major factor, in addition to the stable high price paid for wool, in the increased prosperity of the pastoral industry during the first ten years of colonial self-government. At least one of the factors in this prosperity could not be sustained for long. Land had not been reserved to cope with the emergency of the dry season. When several of these came one after the other, the pastoralists were unable to reduce their flocks sufficiently to avoid overstocking. This, coming hard upon prolonged heavy grazing, caused enormous damage to the vegetation, and the feed on many stations did not recover for several years. This experience taught a valuable lesson. Subsequently, although naturally there were individual mistakes in assessing the optimum stocking level for the northern stations, calculations were not based upon the false assumption that the pastures would improve

8. The same Commissioners cast doubt upon this widely-held assumption. Before, only Morris, and he guardedly, had queried it. (SAPP 1861 No. 101, Report by Estimator of Runs, p.1) For definite statements of this view see 1860 SC Cooke and Wark, questions 131 and 645 and 1865 SC Selling Crown Lands, question 1675.

9. Quick returns were sought in two ways (a) increased production, with which we are immediately concerned, and (b) higher prices for the sale of stations. Sales were conducted on a per head basis. The greater the number of stock the greater was the selling price and hence the profit.
under any kind of stocking.

Although there was some attempt to produce sheep capable of growing the kind of wool that would give the best cash return, scientific breeding was not general. The five stud farms in the province generally held annual sales at which choice rams and ewes were offered to other pastoralists. In 1856, for instance, 214 rams were sold from the Mount Crawford stud, at prices ranging from £3 to £25. Buyers, however, seem generally to have been limited to a few of the bigger stations, although on occasions some who ran sheep on a small scale purchased as well.

During the early 1860's the Bradford manufacturers, unable to secure adequate supplies of long wool for the expanding worsted industry, issued propaganda designed to foster the growth of wool with a staple of four to seven inches, even throughout the whole length, and free from burrs and other vegetable matter. The "Pastoral Section" of the General Committee for the 1862 Exhibition - comprising most of the prominent sheep farmers - considered the idea, but agreed that the South Australian climate, with its periodic drought, prevented such a wool from being grown successfully. All, however, were not of that

10. e.g. SAPD 16 Aug. 1877 col. 680-681.
13. e.g. J.B. Hack to Giles and Smith, 2 Dec. 1861 (S.A.A. 394) and letters of James Anderson, printed in Advertiser 19 Nov. 1929.
opinion. Murray, at the Mount Crawford stud farm, sought to breed sheep "with as much quality, length of staple, softness and lustre as possible, with ample yoke, but never losing sight of great weight."

Despite this interest the general situation was quite clear. The three members of the Northern Runs Commission - all with considerable experience on the land - were extremely critical of the poor management which they observed and which resulted in an average clip of only $2\frac{1}{2}$ lbs. of greasy wool. There is no evidence of any general increase in yield per sheep before the middle of the 'sixties, or of the development of a type of wool that would secure better prices.

Such lack of interest in wool quality was matched by the pastoralists' general apathy to the spread of disease. On this point the Chief Inspector of Sheep, H.T. Morris, was quite outspoken.

"I am inclined to attribute (the spread of scab) principally to the carelessness of the sheep farmers themselves. They have the sheep in large flocks and allow them, when scabby, to camp out at night. By this means they get lost and stray into clean sheep. They are often very carelessly shepherded in the day time and are lost, and very frequently they believe them to be cured before they are and mix them with clean flocks and afterwards find they have multiplied the number of their diseased sheep by the number of flocks they allowed them to mix with. It is well known that scabby sheep merely passing over the ground is sufficient to and does spread the disease. On some of the stations the overseers are incompetent or careless and the stations are sometimes left without the necessary medicines and appliances for dipping the sheep when they are diseased..."
The discovery of a satisfactory, and relatively inexpensive, remedy for the disease failed to put an end to the evasions by stockowners of the laws relating to scab prevention. It was only through more stringent laws and the vigilance of inspectors that outbreaks were kept to a minimum.

The basic technique of sheep management was the drafting of sheep into flocks to be tended by shepherds. Shepherding was still the normal practice in 1865 when Goyder thoroughly inspected all the pastoral leases in the province. Pastoralists generally preferred to employ married shepherds, the wife acting as hutkeeper. The huts and yards were placed near surface water or wells, the sheep grazing during the day near the water and returning to the yards at night. The constant trampling gradually decreased the amount of feed available near the water, while the area the sheep could graze upon was limited by the necessity to return to the yard at night. Only upon well watered runs could anything like the whole of the run be utilized for feed. The returns of Goyder in 1865 revealed considerable variation between stations in the provision of huts and yards. Some were very poorly equipped, with only temporary shelters for the shepherds, while others had huts and yards dotted all over the run.

20. The cures tried were (1) corrosive sublimate for dipping and spirits of tar for spotting, (2) quick lime, (3) arsenic and (4) tobacco and sulphur, this last being effective. John Hensley, 'Autobiographical sketch', p.13 (S.A.A. 1131). CLO 2917 of 22 Oct. 1864, report by Morris on the scab problem.

21. CLO 574a of 25 July 1859.

22. CLO 2917 of 22 Oct. 1864 and 2617 of 12 Nov. 1862.

23. SAPP 1865-6 No. 137, Valuation of Runs, South-East District, p.2.

The average medium-sized station possessed about 10 huts and yards. The sheep were generally divided into flocks in accordance with age and sex, although the "mixed" flock was not uncommon. The trend was to increase the number of sheep in the charge of one shepherd, and so lower costs, although few were so economical as to place one shepherd, and that a woman, in charge of 6760 sheep, which happened on one occasion. The average flock size was between 1250 and 1500 sheep.

At the turn of the 1860's fencing began to appear on sheepruns in the South-East of South Australia. The change from shepherding to paddocking sheep in this area was rapid. At the beginning of 1862 about 900 square miles of pasturage was enclosed, two years later the area had trebled, and by 1865 there were very few runs without extensive fencing. Only five runs were without paddocks, on three the dual system of shepherding and paddocking was pursued, while the rest were fenced both around the boundaries and into paddocks. At first the fences were brush or post and rail, both laborious to construct, but by 1865 post and wire was the general rule.

The reasons for this change cannot be pinpointed exactly. The early fencing of runs in Victoria not many miles away must have been

---

25. SAPP 1864 Nos. 102 and 105, 1865 Nos. 30 and 30A, 1865-6 Nos. 86, 87, and 126 give full details of Goyder's inspection.
26. 'Anstey and Giles' Shearing Book, Penton Vale, Yorke Peninsula, 1859-1862' (S.A.A. 2467)
27. 1858 SC Assessment on Stock, question 274.
28. GLO 21 of 24 Nov. 1856.
29. 1858 SC Assessment on stock, question 274; 'Anstey and Giles' Shearing Book', op. cit.
31. SAPP 1865 No. 30A, Revaluation of Crown Lands Under lease and SAPP 1865-6 No. 126, Detailed valuation of runs.
32. 1864 SC Pastoral Lease Valuations, question 1228.
a contributory factor, especially as many of the lessees ran stock on both sides of the Border. The erection of boundary fences in preference to paddock fences seems to indicate that the securing of boundaries in dispute and protection from travelling stock, perhaps scab-infested, may have been foremost in the squatters' thought. Whatever reasons induced the change, very soon they were convinced of the advantages of fencing. In January 1861 a 'South-Eastern squatter' wrote to the Register claiming that fencing already had enabled him to carry one-third more sheep, to produce more wool per sheep, to lower costs and to eradicate scab.

Apart from the South-East the only other area in South Australia where pastoral lands were being fenced was the freehold land to the north and south of Adelaide. Elsewhere extensive fencing was almost non-existent. Although George Young, a squatter's agent, might regard fencing as "an indispensable improvement", his principals retained the old methods of shepherding. The two or three miles of fencing erected on some runs by 1865, nevertheless, indicated a possible start on a policy to fence the stations, beginning at the head-station and working outwards, a procedure common to the pastoral stations of Australia.

Adequate water supplies were, of course, essential. Although wherever possible the pastoralist relied on surface water, many showed

33. Register 23 Jan. 1861, p.3.
34. SAPP 1863 No. 6, Agricultural and Live-Stock Statistics, Report, p. 4.
35. 1864 SC Pastoral Lease Valuations, question 633.
36. Butlin, op. cit. p.5. Gleeson's Middle Run, Woolundunga and Moorowee were examples of such fencing procedure. SAPP 1864 No. 105, p.7, 1864 No. 105, pp. 2,4 and 1865 No. 30, p.4.
considerable enterprise and energy in digging wells and constructing dams in creeks. By 1858 John Ellis could report an expenditure of £10,000 on water search, £3,000 of which was spent on his Hummock's Run, at the head of St. Vincent's Gulf, but such sums were above the ordinary. By 1865 the average expenditure on water conservation was £2,000 per lease, although about half of that amount had been spent in unsuccessful attempts. As a result of this expenditure some lessees possessed 10 to 20 wells on their stations. The general situation, however, was poor. Goyder's report of 1865 revealed the inadequate supplies of water on many runs. Much of the spending of some pastoralists was designed to increase personal comfort rather than the carrying capacity of the land. For instance, Goyder remarked that if half the expenditure on the new large stone house at Yongala had been devoted to well-sinking, the run would have been able to carry double the number of its present stock. On the other hand, the £8,876 spent on the Crystal Brook run had been spent judiciously.

"The improvements on purchased land consist of the Crystal Brook head station, houses, hut, stable, garden, paddock and well; the Naperby sub-station on leased land, with large new stone house, new and old woolshed, yards, fences, new and old reservoirs, men's huts, shops and wells; the Broughton sub-station comprising two houses, well, paddock and yards, ten dams and waterholes and fifteen wells... the lessees have endeavoured to make the whole run available, and have expended considerable sums in constructing dams, waterholes and reservoirs".40

37. 1858 SG Assessment on Stock, question 539.
38. 1865-6 Northern Runs Commission, Report, p. 4. On 63 stations for which figures were available £128,728 had been spent in water search, £57,982 of which had gone in unsuccessful attempts.
39. SAPP 1864 No. 102, Revaluation of Crown Lands under lease, p.4.
40. Ibid, p. 4.
Generally, however, the detailed evidence submitted by the Surveyor General clearly revealed the extent to which the pastoralists relied on natural assets rather than upon capital expenditure.

The preparation of the wool for market was likewise primitive, although there were moves towards greater care being taken. In contrast to the procedure of the pastoralists of the eastern colonies, most of South Australia's wool was marketed in the grease. Again the South-East proved to be the major exception, but even there only about 40% of the runs valued by Goyder in 1865 possessed facilities for washing sheep. In many cases natural waterholes or creeks were utilized after a few primitive improvements had been made. Not until 1868 was the first elaborate washpool, with hot and cold water spouts, erected. Most of this washed wool was exported through Melbourne, or directly to England from the South-Eastern ports. The pastoralists in the northern districts left their wool in the grease. Early efforts to wash the wool were abandoned there, either because the water, which generally had a high mineral content, did not wash the fleece white or because there was an inadequate water supply. The tradition of washing died hard, mainly because of the conviction that washed wool commanded a better market and hence brought a higher return than did greasy wool. A few stations persisted in washing, and at least

41. SAPP 1865 No. 30, Revaluation of Crown Lands under lease, and 1865 No. 126, Detailed valuation of runs.
44. Kopio, Eyre Peninsula, and Wonoka, Far North were still sending washed wool to market in 1865. See Chronicle 15 Oct. 1864 for details of the July sales, for an indication of the proportions of scoured, hand-washed, and greasy wools.
one wool merchant traded solely in washed wool. Several wool-
washing firms in Adelaide, advertising that they were prepared to
"wash, scour and sort wool on reasonable terms", provided a sub-
stitute for station washing but at greater cost. Pastoralists were
not greatly attracted. They sent their wool to market as it came
from the sheep's back.

Shearing, sorting and packing were often carried out by extra
hands, hired on contract. Shearing was generally more efficiently
done than either packing or sorting, the latter stages being completed
in a very perfunctory manner. Classes noted in wool reports (and
some of this wool may have been resorted in London) were lambs,
hoggets, rams, dams, locks, pickings and skins with wool. Few
attempted to sort the wool by quality, even in a general way, but in
this they were little behind their counterparts in the eastern
colonies. Handpresses were widely used for packing, although at least
one of the wealthy pastoralists installed a hydraulic press.

Generally the bales were dumped by hydraulic pressure at the agent's
port store before being screwed down in the ship's hold.

45. L. Glyde, Chronicle 15 Oct. 1864, p. 3.
46. e.g. Register 8 Nov. 1862, p. 1.
47. e.g. the return of station hands at Bungaree, 1858 SC
   Assessment on stock, question 700.
   of wool from its shipment to its conversion into cloth."
50. 1864 Pastoral Lease Valuations, question 2040.
This analysis has revealed a relatively low level of technology in the pastoral industry of the 1860's. However, this did not necessarily mean that the techniques were inadequate. Owners of the inner runs were generally making large profits at the time for costs were low and production and prices were high. Techniques of production on these runs were adequate enough at the time to maintain permanent settlement. But the situation on the interior runs - those in the Far North and on Eyre Peninsula - was not as bright, for few of these were being worked at a profit. The same techniques were being employed as were being used successfully on the inner runs, but here they were proving inadequate as was clearly revealed in the disastrous drought of the late 1860's. This inadequacy was significant because it was in the interior that future pastoral development was to take place.

(2) The era of capitalization.

There had been some increase in the level of technology, as we have seen, prior to 1870. The next two decades saw a continuation and intensification of this development. The major feature was not so much the introduction of really new techniques as the large-scale spending on capital equipment. Water conservation and fencing schemes became the rule rather than the exception. Together with the trend to larger stations, this spending altered the structure of the pastoral industry. In addition, more attention was paid to
the careful breeding and culling of sheep and much greater care was exercised in sending the wool to market in the best possible condition. In short, the industry was growing in proficiency.

The big drought of 1864-8 had a great impact on the pastoral community. Very few escaped without some financial loss, but it was very evident that those who had paddocked sheep fared considerably better than those who had relied solely upon shepherding. In addition, pastoralists saw the advantages of large runs, with the possibility of reserving part of them for periods of drought.

The few owners of small runs that remained at the end of the drought were convinced that their future security lay in larger blocks, while the large holders were the more determined to develop the country on a vast scale. The reaction of Peter Waite was fairly typical. He emphasized that

"the North-East required watering places capable of lasting at least two years to tide over drought periods, and a large spread of country to permit more flexibility in the depasturing of sheep. He also contended...that success hinged on the developing a type of sheep capable of walking long distances to water and of standing up to hot and dry conditions associated with the plain country where there is almost a complete absence of shade. To achieve this objective it was essential never to jeopardise the survival of the breeding ewes by attempting to hold too many dry sheep." 53

Hence from the late 'sixties there was increasing interest in sheep breeding and an evident determination to fence the runs and provide

52. Very few small holders remained after the drought. On Eyre Peninsula Smith and Swan bought out all the small holders and Elder and Waite did likewise near Paratoo.
more adequate water supplies.

Several factors, however, severely retarded this development. In the first place, the swift advance of the agriculturalist into former wool producing districts forced many of the pastoralists to retreat to other fields. Thus during the 'seventies many owners of established runs, not knowing whether they could secure the freehold of the land, limited their expenditure on capital equipment. This was true also of those in the 'fringe districts, that is, in the districts just beyond the agricultural frontier. Uncertainty of tenure prompted restriction of expenditure and a succession of dry years made this a necessity. In addition, those who occupied new country during the 'seventies were generally not keen to launch into immediate heavy expenditure. Some of this country in the Far North, on the eastern borders of the province and on Eyre Peninsula - had been held under lease during the brighter days of the early 1860's, but had been abandoned during the prolonged drought of 1864-8. The pastoralists approached the re-establishment of these runs with the greatest caution.

In short, there was in South Australia little similarity to the enormous outlay in the construction of station assets that occurred on the Western Plains of New South Wales. Neither the bona fide

---

    Butling, 'Australian Pastoral Investment', op. cit., passim.
stockowner nor the speculator regarded the pastoral industry, especially in the interior districts, as a rapid producer of wealth. Many of those who had invested heavily in the earlier pastoral expansion transferred their activities to the more attractive prospects in the eastern colonies. As a result pastoral technology was but a modest advance on that of the 1860's.

On the inner runs fences were erected at a fairly slow rate, first around the boundaries and then to form large paddocks. On the interior runs, fences, although deemed to be ultimately desirable, were erected only when neighbours or terrain forced the hand of the lessee, and were most flimsily built. Station buildings were not pretentious, designed for use rather than for display of social status. Once again the main emphasis was on the search for water.

54a. A distinction has been made throughout this work between investors and speculators. Some such distinction is very necessary. Those who were genuinely concerned with winning profits from production have been termed "investors", whilst those who purchased lands or leases so that they could resell as soon as possible to advantage have been termed "speculators".

56. e.g. CLO 1002 of 1874; 44 and 366 of 1875; 93, 130, 1400 and 1455 of 1876; 1216 and 2201 of 1878; 401 and 559 of 1879.
57. These trends can clearly be seen in the evidence given to the 1891 Pastoral Lands Commission.
which amounted to from 40% to 50% of the total capital expenditure during these years. Although the existence of artesian water was known in the 'seventies, few attempted to tap it before the 'nineties. The pastoralists waited for the Government to experiment. In the meantime the traditional well-sinking methods were pursued. This, as one prominent pastoralist put it, was as fortuitous as entering a lottery. The common method was to sink on low ground, preferably in a dry creek bed. This practice was based upon the assumption that because water ran on the surface there must be water underneath.

The chanciness of finding water has been splendidly portrayed in the verse story of the Birthday Well, in which bush legend has ornamented the original incident.

"'Twas thirsty time at the Oakden Hill,  
And the men were out with pick and drill  
Seeking for water - now here - now there -  
In the station paddock - and everywhere;  
On the rising knoll - in the stony creek,  
Seeking as only the thirsty can seek,  
On the rocky hill - in the drifting sand,  
But they found no well in the thirsty land.

'Twas the end of a long and desolate day  
When 'Manager Jack' threw his sorrows away.  
For Manager Jack was a jovial soul,  
And drowned dull care in the flowing bowl.  
At the end of a somewhat irregular night  
Manager Jack was - if anything - tight,  
So he called for his men and his four-in-hand,  
And he drove away through the thirsty land.

58. SAPP 1890 No. 61, Statement re compensation for improvements on pastoral leases. When Government expenditure is included, it is evident that South Australian pastoralists spent more, proportionately, on water conservation than did the pastoralists in the eastern colonies. Cf. Butlin, 'Australian Pastoral Investment', op. cit., pp. 3-4.


60. Richard Dewdney, 'Yardea 1866', pp. 8-9 (S.A.A. 408) and SAPP 1868-9 No. 194.
"He drove his horses fast and straight
To a point to the north of the southern gate,
And he said, "Now, my lads, you will find me a well,
Or you'll sink till you get the gate of Hell."

The men they grumbled, the men they swore,
But the drunken manager's word was law;
So they delved and they sank in the drifting sand,
They sank for a well in the "Thirsty Land".
They sank some thirty feet or more
Till they came to a stop at a granite floor.
Then they said it was more than a man could stand,
They had better be dead in a thirsty land
Than seeking for water where none could be
At the freak of a boss on a drunken spree.

Now just as the grumbling was at its worst
Jack came to his men in that region curst.
When he tells the yarn it runs this way:
"Well, yes, old man, it was my 'Birthday'.
I came to the place, for, you see, I knew
They were just at the point where the stream came through.

I took a pick that lay on the crown,
I ordered the men to lower me down,
I found the spot where the waters flow,
And I broke the rock with a mighty blow.
The water burst out with a rush and a roar
And carried me up from the granite floor.
It squirted me out twenty feet in the air,
And the force of the water held me there.
There's a mulga scrub just near at hand,
Or my bones would be white in the thirsty land.
They cut a pole from a mulga-tree,
'Twas all they could do to reach it to me.
They pushed me off from the top of the stream
And I slid down the side like a man in a dream....."

The quest for water, however, was no joke. With few exceptions the
many pastoralists examined by the 1891 Pastoral Lands Commission
lamented their inability to provide sufficient water for the number
of sheep they were convinced the lease could carry.

61. Norman A. Richardson, The Pioneers of the North-West of South
    Australia, 1856-1914, pp. 34-35. This tale is still told in
    these parts to this day.
There were a few notable exceptions to this general position. Thomas Elder, Robert Barr Smith and G.C. Hawker, with financial resources far beyond those of the average stockowner, were prepared to invest in their stations, knowing that it might be many years before they would receive adequate returns for their outlay. Hawker, for instance, spent more than £20,000 in completely fencing the Paralana and Carriewerloo stations, while Elder divided the 894 sq. miles of the Paratoo and Pandappa runs into 20 large paddocks, at a total cost of about £55,000. In addition, large sums were spent on water improvements. At Paratoo, Waite, manager and part-owner with Elder, pioneered the building of large dams, scooped out of the ground. Using a Government well as an initial base, Waite gradually extended a network of dams all over the station, thus providing water where wells had been a complete failure.

Although the agriculturalist took over much of the highly prized pastoral land, a number of the stockowners were able to secure sizeable freehold properties. In 1890 more than half of the province's sheep were depastured within the settled areas. Small mixed farms

---

63. CLO 52 of 1877 and 1232 of 1878. Both include sketches of the paddocks. SAPD 3 Oct. 1882, col. 1138. Cf. the figure of £100,000 in New South Wales, Butlin, "Australian Pastoral Investment," p.3.
64. The Mutooroo Pastoral Company Limited: After Fifty Years, pp. 11-13; SAPD 3 Oct. 1882, col.1138. The cost had been £93,000.
65. "Reports on freehold land of 5,000 acres or more, belonging to one person or a company, with plans," 1889 (S.A.A. Temp. Acc.134) This gives detailed remarks on all improvements, together with plans.
did not account for more than a small portion of the four million sheep involved. It should not be overlooked that throughout this period a considerable proportion of South Australia's wool was produced on the higher rainfall areas, on freehold land. It was here that the lavish spending of the eastern colonies was repeated, although on a minor scale and often for different reasons. While there was considerable outlay on fencing and water improvements, much of the spending was directed towards personal comfort and social prestige. The following extract from the diary of one aspiring pastoralist, written at a time when a fortune was almost within his grasp, indicates the motive behind some of this extravagant spending.

"I have already spent thousands in imagination making up accounts and building more castles. I am at home with a house full of nice people and a stable full of big hunters. All my friends are provided for and everything is jolly." 67

On one occasion even the beams of one woolshed boasted of mouldings and other ornamental work, and at Anlaby even the dogs had miniature houses, complete in every detail. The sheep, however, were by no means forgotten. Such properties as these, although small in area compared to the interior stations, were much better equipped to produce wool at low cost.

66. Total sheep numbers in 1890 were about seven million. The diagramatic presentation of the distribution of sheep in the settled areas in SAPP 1883-4 No. 76 clearly shows the importance of freehold pastoral properties and the relatively small numbers of sheep in purely agricultural areas. Cf. Barnard, op. cit., pp.16-18.

68. 1891 Pastoral Lands Commission, question 4652.
69. This was observed during a visit by the writer to this station. A photo of the dog houses, together with many views of other stations can be seen in Our Pastoral Industry, published by The Garden and Field.
Some of these improvements increased the yield of wool per sheep. Calculations based on quinquennial averages of production and sheep numbers show an increase in yield from 4.0 lbs. in 1860-4 to 6.3 lbs. in 1870-4 and to 7.9 lbs. in 1875-9. In the following period 1885-9 there was a decline to 7.6 lbs. This overall increase cannot be attributed solely to improved techniques. As these statistics do not distinguish between washed and greasy wool the almost complete abandonment of washing wool (although the percentage of washed wool was never great in South Australia) would give the impression of an increase in yield. In addition the greasy wool of the dusty interior lands had a greater dust content than the wool previously marketed, thus again giving an apparent increase. On the other hand, the wool from the Far North tended to be finer, and of less weight, than the medium quality wool of the Mid-North. A large contributory factor in the increased yield was the greater attention given to culling and classing the sheep. Machine shearing was relatively rare before the 'nineties and thus its influence at this stage can be ignored.

The preparation of the wool for market was further improved along the lines introduced in the 1860's. No longer did the pastoralist carelessly pack the fleece while it was wet. The bales were more

---

71. "Medium quality" refers here to the thickness of the fibre, technically known as its "count". Care should be taken with any contemporary comment about quality, which generally seemed to refer to "style" rather than degrees of fineness.
72. John Lewis, Fought and Won, p. 163
efficiently pressed, in many cases by hydraulic power, thus cutting cartage costs because a greater weight could be sent in the same space. Further, the pastoralists who had tried to wash the wool at the station gave up the attempt, falling into line with the Australian trend of sending away all the wool in the grease.

In general, then, the success of pastoral settlement was limited, as far as techniques were concerned, chiefly by the inability to find adequate water supplies. This factor was more important in the period 1870 to 1890 than in the two decades before that. Otherwise the change in location of the industry was accompanied by technological changes which could have provided the foundations for successful settlement.

There is little wonder, then, that the pastoralists should have anticipated profits being won from the runs and that, when this did not prove so in many instances, they laid the blame for failure at other people's feet. However, the plain fact was that, despite the marked improvement in the level of technology, the techniques were nevertheless inadequate for profitable production. The state of the market and the exigencies of the weather did not allow such heavy expenditure to be incurred without seriously jeopardizing the industry.

The pastoralists themselves faced an unenviable dilemma. Without heavy expenditure on capital equipment they could not run sheep on much of the land available to them. But with heavy expenditure came financial embarrassment. The one thing which
offered an answer to this dilemma was the expectations of the pastoralists. In spite of the existing situation they continued to anticipate improvement—improvement techniques, in prices, in production and in Government policy. It was their expectations rather than the realities of the moment that led them to press on with capital improvements. Though inadequate at the moment, these improvements laid the necessary foundation for the pastoral industry of the twentieth century.

2. THE WHEAT INDUSTRY.

(1) Tickling the soil.

The type of tenure and the size of farms exerted a great influence on the techniques employed in the production of wheat. During the 1850's and 1860's a large proportion of South Australian farmers did not own the land they cultivated. In 1867, 1,263,027, or more than one-third of all alienated land, was held on lease, while in the agricultural districts of Counties Gawler and Adelaide land held on lease amounted to 54% and 40% of sold land respectively. When allowance is made for freehold land used for purely pastoral

---

purposes and for the small size of leasehold blocks, it seems that tenant-farmers amounted to at least half of the total number of farmers during the 'sixties. In addition, a large number of the freeholders of that time had not long risen from the ranks of tenants. One large dealer in land estimated that about four-fifths of the land put to agricultural use had been acquired through renting with the right of purchase. Even though they had become freeholders, their techniques were influenced by their period of waiting as tenants.

A further division existed between those who cultivated on a small scale and the gentlemen-farmers. If holdings of under 50 acres are excluded (most of these were used for orchards, vineyards, gardens, etc.) we find that in 1867 28% of the colony's farmers worked blocks of 50-99 acres, 35% of 100-199 acres, 23% of 200-349 acres and 14% of 350 acres and more. This latter 14%, who cultivated 39% of the wheat lands, represented the upper crust of the agricultural community, the gentlemen-farmers. It was they who were conspicuous and vocal, who agitated for better communications and organized Farmers' Clubs to

75. The district council area of Port Gawler can be cited as one example of the prominence of leasehold farming. During 1861-1867 23,469 acres were purchased from the Crown, but the area farmed by freeholders actually diminished while the extent of privately owned land which was leased increased by 23,500 acres. For details, see the Agricultural and Livestock Statistics in SAPP 1861 No. 87 and 1867 No. 10.


spread the gospel of better cultivation.

Although small, medium and large farms were found side by side in all the agricultural districts, the newer the district the greater likelihood there was of finding larger farms. In Table 1 selected areas indicate the trend, which reflected the changing concepts of optimum farm size. Whereas at the beginning of settlement 80 acre blocks were accepted as sufficient, by the middle of the 1860's the belief that farms small, than 400 acres could not be profitably worked was gaining credence. When the Blyth Plains were occupied during 1865, 1866 and 1867 almost without exception the farms were of at least 80 400 acres. There were three separate trends which contributed to

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>TABLE 1.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Percentage of farms of various sizes. 1867.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>District</th>
<th>50-99 acres</th>
<th>100-199 acres</th>
<th>200-349 acres</th>
<th>350 acres &amp; above</th>
<th>Total No. of holdings</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Talunga</td>
<td>35</td>
<td>37</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>254</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Port Elliott &amp; Goolwa Munno Para</td>
<td>26</td>
<td>33</td>
<td>26</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>176</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>West</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>37</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>184</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gilbert</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>29</td>
<td>37</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>217</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Port Gawler</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>26</td>
<td>31</td>
<td>34</td>
<td>196</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

78. For the most part we are forced, because of the nature of the evidence we possess, to see the farming community through the eyes of gentlemen-farmers.

79. SAPP 1867 No. 10, pp. 20-21. Farms of less than 50 acres are omitted as before. The units were all district council areas, except Gilbert, which was a Hundred. They were settled approximately in the order given.

80. 1866-7 SC Port Wakefield Improvements, questions 1010-1011.
this desire for larger farms. In the first place, a minority were impressed by the advantages of mixed-farming, which could not be pursued easily on small blocks. Secondly, as more and more land was surveyed and sold, commonage rights were increasingly limited. Landowners were entitled to depasture on unsold land twelve sheep or two large cattle for every five acres they held, provided there was sufficient unsold land in the Hundred to do this. Farmers had eagerly availed themselves of these rights, and thus, as the amount of commonage decreased, farming activities were restricted and profitable sidelines became virtually impossible. The 80-acre farm became even more inadequate than before, and farmers sought to purchase land nearby or to buy a larger farm elsewhere. The expansion during the sixties in the districts of Alma Plains, Blyth, Gilbert, Muddla Wirra, Rhynie, Stanley and Upper Wakefield in the North and Naracoorte, Penola, Mount Gambier and Tatiara in the South East was ample indication of this trend. However, others found it impossible to expand or move. They were forced (and some were content) to contract their operations within the confines of a single 80-acre section, concentrating all efforts on growing wheat. In the third place, a greater reliance was being placed in some districts upon wool and fat sheep production and less on wheat cultivation. In 1861 Peter Anderson, farmer of Morphett Vale,
although he had been making a profit sufficient to pay off past debts, purchased 200 sheep to depasture in addition to cultivating his 150 acres of wheat. In 1863 his wool clip amounted to 1024 lbs. Others seized the opportunities presented by departing neighbours to enlarge their farms, in many instances utilizing the additional land for stock purposes. Hence, as wheat production fell or remained stationary in the Counties of Adelaide and Hindmarsh and portion of Gawler, the stock population rose steadily. The future of these areas lay with wool and meat, not flour and wheat. That necessitated an enlargement of existing holdings.

Many an advocate of scientific farming quoted the words of the poet, "tickle the land with a hoe and it laughs with a harvest" in derogatory description of the current methods of husbandry in South Australia. Although unfortunately the land did not always show such a kindly face, it was generally true that, as with wool production of the same time, methods of production were primitive.

What previous knowledge of agriculture the farmers of the 1860's possessed is at present little known. Dr. Pike has suggested that perhaps many of the early emigrants who stated that they were urban dwellers were in fact of rural origin. Whether or not this was true of a later period is a difficult question, but some at least would

84. Ibid, 8 Apr. 1861, 12 Dec. 1861 and 26 Oct. 1863. The harvest of 1862 had averaged only six bushels per acre.
85. The figures for sheep and lambs in 1861 and 1867 in the following district council areas in these regions were - Aldinga, 722 to 7,564, Talunga, 1,071 to 4,442, Munno Para West, 811 to 2,727 and Kondoparinga, 3,993 to 7,719.
86. William Harcus, South Australia, p. 60.
have seen something of the agricultural practices of England, even if they had had no practical experience. The England that they knew was the England of the 'forties and early 'fifties, not the time of the "golden age of agriculture". Within memory was the depression which lasted for two decades after the Napoleonic wars, a depression which left scarcely a solvent tenant in the Wealds of Sussex and Kent and which drove many farmers to work on the roads. At the advent of Queen Victoria most agriculturalists farmed by experience and intuition on holdings that were inconveniently small, using antiquated implements and methods of sowing, reaping and thrashing which reached back into antiquity. These memories gave no cause for rejoicing in the achievements of English agriculture.

However, some of those who sailed for the distant shores of South Australia had witnessed the beginning of "high farming", the application of science to agriculture. The initial stages were slow and halting, often crowned with failure rather than success through the misapplication of new techniques, but in many instances farmers reported much higher yields and greater profits. Farmers began to learn by experience that the more they put into their land the more they could get from it. Considerable capital was invested in drainage, artificial manures and implements. These new ideas were brought to the

88. Lord Ernle, English farming past and present, p. 324.
89. Ibid, pp. 354-356.
90. The beginnings of agricultural science is usually dated from 1840 when Liebig published his Chemistry in its application to Agriculture and physiology. John Lawes and Joseph Gilbert carried out experimental work at Rothamsted during the 'forties, Lawes patenting a process for the manufacture of superphosphate in 1842. C.S. Orwin, A history of English Farming, pp. 63-64.
colony by immigrants with personal experience and were also disseminated by the daily and weekly press, and by the Farm and Garden magazine, which continuously advocated scientific farming. The Agricultural and Horticultural Society, with its annual Shows and incentives for inventions, was modelled very closely on the Royal Agricultural Society of England. Individual farmers conducted experiments on their own holdings in the manner of many English agriculturalists. From the foundation of the colony both by precept and practice there were advocates of scientific farming.

They were, in comparison with the total farming community, but few. For the most part agricultural practice was not as advanced in South Australia during the 1860's as was English practice in the 1820's. The president of the Smithfield Farmers' Club, Mr. Scoular, in a paper entitled "Theoretical and practical farming", claimed:

"If we interfere with nature's operations we are almost sure to run counter to her, most likely to our loss.... Manure in Britain is enhancing the productiveness of the land to an unlimited extent, but it is another question whether or not that system may not be, as it were, purging the land, overfeeding the land in fact, and so carrying off its inorganic constituents much sooner than nature designed them to be consumed.... As farmers, then, let us not despair. Theorists tell us we do small things to what we might do (if we would only listen to them). It is one thing, however, to theorize, and another to practise. I am hard to believe in theories, and have no scruples in saying, were the...

92. Register 27 Apr. 1861, p. 2, address by G. Muller to the Farmers' Club.
94. Register 5 Apr. 1860, p. 3, letter by J. D. Cave, reprinted from Farm and Garden; and Register 27 May 1867, p. 3, letter from E. R. W.
"theorist to put his fancies into practise in this country on a large scale, it is a question whether they would prove advantageous to him. As farmers, we have done better for ourselves than ever our forefathers did, and we have just said while we are in the midst of plenty there is no cause to despair. When needed, nature will tell our farmers, as well as those in Britain, how to produce the greatest amount of animal food at the least possible cost, and this is after all the point the frugal farmer will ever bear in mind, if he respects his own and his children's independence".95

Scoular represented an extreme view, but his distrust of theorists was widely shared. In many ways there was a complete break from the practices of English farming. Even at the beginning of settlement the colonial landlords did not insist upon his tenants manuring and falling the land, nor did he provide rules to prevent exploitation of the soil, all of which had been normal conditions imposed on tenants for hundreds of years in England. Moreover, even if no strict rotation system was demanded by the landlord, most tenants in England chose a four year rotation of, say, wheat, turnips, barley and clover. Yet there is no evidence of any widespread attempt to farm in this way when the first settlers arrived in South Australia. Wheat, and wheat alone, was accepted as the major crop from the beginning.

Whatever the initial cause, mono-culture became the accepted practice, and as time passed this tradition became more powerful than the tradition of the Old Country. The South Australian husbandry was defended against attacks from the advocates of scientific farming, and

95. Register 23 Jan. 1867, p. 3. The emphasis was his own.
97. Ibid, p. 83.
98. C. T. Hewett, To the farmers of South Australia, p. 5
accusations of "slovenly and unskilful mal-cultivation" were met by arguments such as these:

"To take possession of a naked section, to build, clear, fence, cultivate, and get to market, requires a strength of body and mind, as well as the endurance of many privations which such late arrivals as the Doctor knows nothing of." 99

There was much truth in this. The farmers' great asset was labour, not capital. His first task was to clear the land which was sometimes heavily wooded, at other times open. The chief difficulty was not expense but time. Gradually the production of the farm was increased, not by the employment of additional capital but chiefly through the hard work of the farmer. The increase in the area under cultivation from 175,865 acres in 1857 to 300,000 acres by 1861, 400,000 acres by 1865 and 500,000 acres by 1867, represented a tremendous effort of manpower.

Many of the other processes on the farm were accomplished by the sweat of the brow, with the aid of a few primitive tools. At ploughing time, men, women and children could be seen on some plots turning over the land with picks, shovels, hoes or other such implements. Some possessed single furrow, wooden swing ploughs, with perhaps a wrought iron mould-board and share which required pointing and setting at frequent intervals. During the 1850's iron ploughs began to replace the wheel-less wooden types, and shorter mould boards which would pulverize the soil were developed. In 1860 the

100. Lewis, Fought and Won, op. cit, p. 2
Agricultural and Horticultural Society offered prizes for double-furrow ploughs in recognition of the importance of their development, but the single furrow plough remained the common implement of the 1860's.

Although a few used scarifiers and harrows, most only ploughed and then sowed. The seed wheat was pickled, generally with bluestone, although the strength of solution and duration of dipping varied enormously from farmer to farmer. Sowing was achieved by broad-casting, either on foot from a tin, on horse back from a bag or from a tub on a cart. The seeds were then hoed or harrowed into the ground. The resultant irregular spacing of the wheat shoots made cultivation during the growing season difficult. Weeds were left to grow in between, robbing the wheat of soil nutrients.

The harvest was gathered partly by hand, largely by machine. Although 89% of the crop in 1867 was reaped by machine, hand reaping was largely used in the wheat lands of the Adelaide hills and the districts where tenant farming was common. Many whose wheat was gathered by machine did not own the stripper but arranged to have the crop harvested by a neighbour who possessed one.

103. Register 14 July 1860, p. 3.
104. e.g. 1858 SC Taxation, Appendix, p. iii, submission by Thomas Hogarth.
105. 1868-9 Commission, Diseases in Cereals, Appendix pp. xlvi-xlii, answers by farmers to questionnaire.
108. A common practice was to reap the crop on "thirds"; that is, the owner of the machine received a third of the proceeds of the crop. Henry Pitcher, 'Journal', 2 Dec. 1869 (S.A.A. Don. 3192).
"In the Christmas holidays, '64-5, I was keen to go with Septimus stripper-harvesting for neighbours, who paid £1 per acre for it. After two days I was praying for the holidays to be over to get out of it. The stripper was an early one, murderously heavy and not too well geared. It took 10 bullocks to pull it about, and in the crop they had to be overdriven or the beaters didn't revolve fast enough to thrash the wheat. At the pace, the team could only stand 1½ hours in the morning and again in the afternoon. One man on foot drove the leaders, while I had a pony to keep the tailers up, and a man was on the machine to steer. We had to find a team with the machine, the man we were working for another, and the man we were going to next a third. It was a rotten job! 

There was so much time lost changing teams that we worked on as late as ever the wheat would thrash. I often saw father's receipt for the machine—£126."

Often the importance of the Ridley stripper in this period has been over-emphasised. Despite claims to the contrary, mainly made by large proprietors, the use of the stripper was strictly limited for many years after it was marketed. Few could afford to purchase one, for even secondhand they were priced from £45. In addition, the "red strawed" wheat normally sown hung its head when ripe and could only be reaped by machine with considerable waste. Also merchants and maltsters preferred hand-threshed wheat. Nevertheless large numbers considered the stripper to be their great saviour, for it made possible the profitable growing of wheat on a large area where yields were not high. Even where the stripper was used, the final

109. Quoted in Geo. C. Morphett, The Herberts, a pioneer family of the Yankalilla District.
110. A. E. Ridley, A Backward Glance, the story of John Ridley, a pioneer, chapters 6 and 7.
111. Pike, Paradise of Dissent, op. cit., p. 329.
113. Hewett, To the farmers of South Australia, op. cit., p. 6.
processes of thrashing and winnowing were accomplished by hand. Altogether, then, from seed wheat to bagged wheat nature and labour were the most important contributors to production.

The results of this system of husbandry were becoming obvious during the 'sixties. Cropping without returning anything to the soil through rotation or fertilization immediately lowers the nitrogen, phosphate and organic content of the soil, as well as breaking down the soil structure. For a few years the reserves of the soil can be drawn upon, but shortly their deficiency has a marked effect on yield. This was especially true of the soils first used in South Australia as they were deficient, according to the world standards, in nitrogen, phosphate and organic matter.

The greatest factor in the decline in yields was the practice of continuously cropping the same piece of land year after year. This view has been disputed by Dunsdorfs, but his evidence is unconvincing. He has used the answers of farmers about their cropping

115. Callaghan and Millington, The Wheat Industry in Australia, op. cit., pp. 72-73, 75-76, 116. For instance, an average wheat crop of 15 \frac{1}{2} bushels per acre contains about 19 lbs of nitrogen in the grain and 9 lbs in the straw.
116. Ibid, pp. 75, 94, 116. In 1846 Dr. Ure reported that the soil needed "rich animal matter", and suggested Peruvian guano. (Price, Foundations and Settlement, op. cit., p. 228.) In 1867 C. H. Cossins and A. Thomas reported on selected soils. Of the first sample they stated that it "shows evidence of sterility. It contains only a trace of lime; is almost devoid of available silica; and is wholly deficient in sulphuric acid..... As remedies we would suggest a moderate application of superphosphate ... and an additional quantity of lime." (Report of the South Australian Agricultural and Horticultural Society, 1867, pp. 24-25.)
117. Dunsdorfs, Australian Wheat-growing Industry, p. 139.
habits obtained by the 1868-9 Commission on Diseases in Cereals, but has overlooked two important points. Firstly, the questionnaires were sent only to farmers who were likely to be of assistance in finding the causes of red rust. In other words, only "intelligent" farmers, keen observers, were approached. It is dangerous to generalize from such a sample. Secondly, Dunsdorfs has included in his calculations those who had just commenced farming. To count these amongst those who did not over-work the soil is manifestly wrong. Both of these factors invalidate his conclusion. In fact, the evidence of the farmers tends to point in the direction of continuous cropping. For instance, of the fifty-two farmers in Muddla Wirra who replied to the questionnaire, twenty-two had begun farming within the previous three years, thirteen admitted continuous cropping for periods ranging from four to twenty years, nine claimed to have used an occasional fallow, while only eight gave the ground periodical rest. There is little doubt that contemporaries believed, from observation, that the majority of farmers were sowing crop after crop upon the same land. There is no real reason to doubt their opinion.

There were, however, signs of change, mainly confined to the larger farms. The proportion of cultivated land allowed to remain in fallow was increasing especially in the newer farming areas. In 1867,

118. 1868-9 Commission on Diseases in Cereals, Appendix, pp. xxxvii-xxxviii.
119. Advertiser 16 Sept. 1865, p.3, meeting of Smithfield Farmers' Club; Sanders to Hagen, 11 Mar. 1859; 1868-9 Commission. Diseases in Cereals, Report, p. viii. The Commission stated that the land was being robbed of its phosphate content without anything being returned by manures. The analysis of soils, "though pre-eminently necessary in South Australia, was neglected with an indifference as reprehensible as it was unaccountable".
for instance, 26% of the land under cultivation in County Gawler lay in fallow and 19% in County Light. The figures for Counties Adelaide and Hindmarsh, the older agricultural areas, were only 13% and 9% respectively. The use of fallow enabled a distribution of the work of ploughing over a longer period, and it was also meant to expose the ground to "the rarefying influences of the sun and the ammoniacal riches of the air". In addition, it enabled a greater amount of weed control which, indirectly, led to moisture conservation. Fallowing was not sufficient to restore to the soil the nutrients required for wheat growing, but it was a step in the right direction.

Despite these signs of improvement in technology, the overall picture in the 1860's was not a rosy one. By any standards the general level was poor. But more significant than that, the techniques were inadequate to enable continuous profitable production. Bankruptcy or poverty were the lot of many farmers unless they were able to supplement their incomes by earnings from other work. Some did make good profits for a few years but this was

---

at the expense of the land and could not be maintained. When the expansion of the next decade occurred the farmers took with them techniques that had not proved successful. They entered the new wheat lands with high expectations, expectations that were not justified by experience.

(2) Changing techniques.

With the passing of Strangways' Act in 1869 the wheat industry of South Australia entered a new era. In that year closer settlement extended only for a hundred miles north of Adelaide, with a further pocket of population in the Lower South-East, both areas of relatively high rainfall. Little more than a decade later, farmers were tilling the soil as far afield as Blinman, nearly 300 miles from the metropolis, while settlement had extended quickly in the South-East. Numerically, the farming community doubled. These questions are raised. Where did

120a. See pp. 63-67 for discussion on profits.
121. SAPP 1884 No. 74, Census 1881, part viii. I have assumed that approximately 1 in 20 of those who had migrated during the 1870's were under 15 years of age in 1881. This figure was arrived at after analysis of the ages of immigrants on arrival, statistics for which were printed in the Immigration Report for each year.
the new farmers come from and what previous experience had they of farming?

The 1881 census recorded in the frontier districts a significant number of immigrants who had arrived during the previous decade. As all ages unfortunately are lumped together, the statistics do not allow accurate calculation, but the general pattern in some of the districts can be discerned. In the district council area of Caltowie, for instance, about one-fifth of the male population above 14 years of age had migrated to South Australia since 1870, a large majority of these, in fact, having arrived in the years 1876 to 1881. Whether or not these immigrants had begun farming, or whether they served as labourers or shopkeepers we cannot tell. Some, at least, must have been farmers.

Generally, however, the frontier was pushed forward by the second generation of South Australians who, even if they were not born in the colony, had been reared on its sun-burnt land. In the districts of Caltowie, Georgetown and Tatiara between 40% and 50% of their residents in 1881 were South Australian born, while between 30% and 40% had arrived in the colony between 1836 and 1869. The reference by the 1879 Select Committee to the successful settlement by "the sons of our 1879 SC Crown Lands Acts, Report, paragraph 25. horny-handed old eighty-acre farmers" revealed the belief of the time as to who were the frontiersmen. This conclusion is reinforced by the previous occupation of the selectors, as stated in their applications for land. An analysis of eight selected Hundreds, covering 565

122. The Tatiara and Georgetown areas showed a similar, although slightly lower, proportion of recent immigrants.
selectors, shows that three-quarters listed themselves as farmers. Even allowing for some mistatements, we can assert with certainty that the movement into the frontier regions was accomplished by farmers.

The numbers of those who came from occupations other than farming were not inconsiderable. Their proportion generally increased as settlement expanded northwards, so that in the Hundred of Arkaba, in the vicinity of Hawker, as many as 40% of the selectors had little or no previous experience of farming. This was a contributory factor in the failure of farming in the area. Of the non-farmers, about 20% were labourers, 15% spinsters or widows, and 10% either teamsters or contractors, while the remainder came from a wide variety of vocations.

The extremely optimistic attitudes towards the fertility of the land and the reliability of the rainfall, which were widely shared during the 1870's, cannot be explained in terms of lack of farming experience. Two ideas gained credence during the decade, one concerning the influence of forests on climate and the other concerning the

124. Credit Books Nos. 1-23 (Stack A, Lands Department Archives, Adelaide) The eight Hundreds fall into three groups, according to the time of settlement. (1) 1870-1871. Bundaleer (Mid-North), Melville (Yorke Peninsula) and Naracoorte (South-East). (2) 1875 Yongala (Mid-North) and (3) 1877-1878. Coonatto, Boolcunda and Arkaba (Upper-North) and Tatiara (South-East). Because of the inadequacies of Directories in this period, it has been impossible to check the accuracy of occupations stated. It is probable that "farmer" was used to denote intended rather than previous occupation, but a sample check did not reveal many inaccuracies.

125. e.g. Bundaleer 29%, Yongala 30%, Coonatto 35%, Boolcunda 18% (the exception) and Arkaba 40%. Melville (Yorke Peninsula) had 12% and Naracoorte 27% and Tatiara 25% (South-East)
influence of cultivation upon climate. Commonly these two were often confused, and were referred to as the belief that "the rain follows the plough". Early advocates of extensive tree-planting to improve the climate included Dr. R. Schomburgk, the Director of the Botanical Gardens, and F.E.H. Krichauff, M.P., but later they were out-shone by J. E. Brown, who was appointed Conservator of Forests. He enlarged the influence of trees upon climate almost to the point of suggesting complete control. Variations of these views were examined and supported by the country press. One editor prophesied that an intelligent and vigorous tree-planting policy would result in posterity seeing "the present narrow belt of cultivation extended far into the interior, and thousands of thriving homesteads and busy towns, where not even sheep can live, except in winter time."

The parallel theory about cultivation improving the climate was so widely held that there were few attempts to explain the theory on scientific grounds. The idea that "rain follows the plough" gained popularity during 1874-5, and for six years was rarely doubted. The Surveyor-General remained the voice crying in the wilderness. He ended most of his official descriptions of the land that was being opened for occupation with the words "rainfall unreliable". Only when the farmers encountered the drought years of the 1880's did they

---

126. For a full and excellent discussion of these ideas, see Donald W. Meinig, 'The South Australian Wheat Frontier 1869-1887' (ms. in possession of the Geography Department, Adelaide University) chapter 5.


129. J.E. Brown, A practical treatise on tree culture in South Australia.

130. Port Augusta Dispatch 3 Nov. 1877.

take heed of his expert knowledge. Then, gradually mania died and sanity returned. None of the farmers examined by the 1888 Land Commission clung to the belief that the rain followed the plough.

It should be noted, however, that these beliefs were not peculiar to South Australia. Similar ideas were expressed in other parts of Australia and in the United States at the same time. Professor Meinig has suggested that these folk theories were attempts to explain the surprising result of wheat being grown in "the desert". Whatever the theory devised to explain it, the fact remained that wheat was being grown in districts that never before had been regarded as potential wheat lands.

We turn now to consider the nature of land tenure during the 1870's and 1880's. The new land laws enabled farmers to buy land from the Crown upon easy terms, but the selectors did not secure the titles to the land until all instalments had been paid. In one sense, the State became the largest land agent, taking over from the private dealers much of their business. The major difference between the two was the nature of the terms, the State offering easier financial terms but demanding stricter conditions of management. The expansion, then, did not necessarily mean a change from tenant-to freehold-farming. For those who intended to build a permanent farm for the family, it could mean that. But others, taking advantage of the rising prices in land, resold again as soon as the final payment had been made, and

moved on to select again. They, in fact, remained tenants. In addition, private trade in land was by no means slack. It is extremely difficult to determine the proportion of land that was leased by dealers, as the division between freehold and leasehold land was not consistent in the official statistics, but it appears that even in the heart of the wheat districts of the North up to one-third of the land was worked by tenants.

The increase in the size of holdings, noted earlier, continued during the 'seventies and 'eighties. Table 2 clearly indicates the trend. In all districts small farms of up to 100 acres decreased in importance, while in the important wheat-growing areas of the Upper-North and Yorke Peninsula they were almost non-existent. Moderate sized farms of from 100 to 500 acres were the most numerous throughout the colony as a whole, mainly due to their predominance in the Central and South-East districts where small scale grazing and dairying industries were important. In the wheat-growing areas of the colony, the farms were generally greater than 500 acres. These conclusions are reinforced by the statistics of cultivated land. About two-thirds of the colony's cultivation was carried out on farms of more than

134. Register 27 Aug. 1926, Reminiscences by E. Donaldson. Several ministries tried to legislate against this practice, but failed to gain adequate support. CLO 256 and 304 of 1878 and 372 of 1879.
135. Lands held under credit regulations were sometimes included as leasehold and sometimes as freehold.
136. SAPP 1879 No. 3 Statistical Register for 1878, part 3, pp. 8-22 and 1880 No. 3, Statistical Register for 1879, part 3, pp. 8-22.
137. SAPP 1871 No. 8, Agricultural and Livestock statistics, pp. 16-21 and SAPP 1886 No. 114, Numbers of holders of land of one acre and upwards etc.
500 acres. Such sized holdings in the Lower North accounted for more than one-quarter of the total cultivated area and on Yorke Peninsula for more than one-fifth. The days of 80-acre farming had disappeared.

Table 2.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>51-100 acres</th>
<th>100-500 acres</th>
<th>500 acres and above</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>No.</td>
<td>%</td>
<td>No.</td>
<td>%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1870</td>
<td>1,620</td>
<td>26</td>
<td>4,004</td>
<td>65</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1886</td>
<td>986</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>2,909</td>
<td>60</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>B</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1870</td>
<td>163</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>662</td>
<td>67</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1886</td>
<td>119</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>1,160</td>
<td>36</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>C</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1870</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1886</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>513</td>
<td>44</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>D</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1870</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>109</td>
<td>56</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1886</td>
<td>46</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>851</td>
<td>45</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>E</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1870</td>
<td>260</td>
<td>33</td>
<td>411</td>
<td>53</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1886</td>
<td>152</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>914</td>
<td>56</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>F</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1870</td>
<td>2,256</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>5,996</td>
<td>64</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1886</td>
<td>1,448</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>7,421</td>
<td>50</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The techniques of production did not undergo such a transformation in this period as is sometimes thought. The main advance was in mechanization. In 1885 there were 58 factories producing agricultural implements, while hardly a township was without a blacksmith's or

138. A = Central Districts, B = Lower North, C = Upper North, D = Yorke Peninsula, E = South East and F = the total for the whole province.

139. The average size of South Australian farms appears to have been little different from that in the eastern colonies. See Dunsorffs, The Australian Wheat-growing Industry, op. cit., pp. 117-118.
mackinist's shop where implements were either repaired or, in some cases, made. The Ridley machine was being manufactured in large quantities, and at a cost which enabled most farmers to possess one. Two, three, and four-furrow iron ploughs were in use, and complete harvesters were being invented and tried. Also the invention of the stump-jump plough enabled the scrub lands to be cultivated at a reasonably low cost. In a letter to John Ridley, the inventor of the stripper, a prominent miller described this South Australian invention in these terms.

"The most notable invention in South Australia since your invention of the reaper is the invention of a jumping plough. In this country there is an immense deal of so-called mallee country, generally water-less... It has been found that this country, which was once thought valueless, grows a few crops of excellent wheat, but the cost of grubbing is more than wheat-growing will pay. So a farmer has invented a sort of gang plough, each share upon a separate shaft, preceded by a wheel. When the wheel comes to a stump it raises up the particular plough share which follows it until it has passed the stump or stone. The other shares not having interest in that particular stump go on their way unconcernedly until it comes to their own turn to be helped, like a lame dog, over a style or stump. I should have told you that the mallee is first cut down nearly level with the ground and allowed to lie in the blazing sun a few weeks or months, then set on fire, when a great many of the mallee roots (being filled naturally with a kind of oil) burn out very completely.

141. Observer 25 June 1887, p. 9. No official records were kept of the number of machines, but Magaret estimated that in 1875 about 10,000 were being used. Thomas Magaret to John Ridley 28 Jan. 1875 (S.A.A. 1053).
143. For a detailed review of the inventions which made farming on scrub lands an economic proposition, see E.M. Smith, Land settlement in South Australia, R.G.S.A. (S.A.) P., Vol. 24, pp. 4-21.
"Without any further clearing the seed is sown upon the ashes and the jumping plough put to work, which does duty as both plough and harrow. When the wheat comes up there comes up also a number of mallee sprouts. These are cut down at expense of a few shillings per acre and allowed to lie amongst the young wheat. An excellent crop appears, a better crop than if the land had been grubbed the first year. The Ridley reaper is put in and the wheat carted off. The stubble and the now dried sprouts make another excellent fire, burning up nearly all the remaining stumps and mallee roots. The second year there is no expense in cutting down mallee sprouts and by the third and fourth year the ground is completely cleared, having been paying its way all the time. They call this system mullenising, from a lazy, or ingenious, farmer named Mullen who discovered that he could grow wheat without grubbing." 144

In some quarters considerable interest was shown in breeding new varieties of wheat which would be rust-resistant and high yielding. Varieties produced by Ward (Port Pirie 1883), Steinwedel (Balaclava, 1884) and Gluyas (Port Germein, 1894), proved to be suitable for the South Australian climate and were widely used.

Apart from these innovations the techniques of the farming community developed little. Crop after crop was planted on the same land, with few attempts to replenish the soil, as prejudice against the use of manure still existed in the minds of most farmers. During the 1870's and 1880's there was a slightly greater use of fallow, but not sufficient to denote any marked change in attitude. The following remarks of farmers indicated the general outlook.

144. Magarey to Ridley 26 July 1881.
145. Callaghan and Millington, op. cit., p. 20. Dunsdorfs, op. cit., pp. 189-190. See also CL0 60 and 87 of 1881.
146. The proportion of land in fallow was: 1860 15.8%, 1870 16.0%, 1880 16.1% and 1890 20.3%. It was during the following two decades that fallowing became a standard practice. Dunsdorfs, op. cit., p. 142.
147. 1875 SC Agricultural Education, questions 316 and 333, and Appendix p. ii.
"I know nothing to beat sufficient rest and fallow—sunburning the land. I would go for that rather than manure."

"While we have to contend against hot winds and rust I don't think that any analysis of the soil would be of any use whatever."

"The wheat-grower, with labour at £2 per week and land at £1.10.0 per acre, has nothing before him but to go on with his double or triple plough from one farm to another while new land is to be obtained. No professor who ever sat in a chair can persuade him out of that simple truth."

The attendances at lectures given by McIvor, one of the leading advocates of scientific farming in Australia, were very poor, the Garden and Field found little support from the farming community in its drive for better farming, and even the distribution by the Government of 10,000 copies of Cossins' article on Agricultural Chemistry evoked little response. The general situation was well summed up by Professor Custance in his first report on the agriculture of South Australia.

"Regarding farming generally in South Australia, in many districts it represents a great contrast to the practice of farmers in other parts of the world. I am not fault-finding, but merely stating facts necessary to explain the observations I wish to make. The farming in many districts consists of sowing wheat on land scarified or ploughed two or three inches, or not ploughed at all, and at harvest...."
"time, by means of the stripper, removing the grain from the standing crop, afterwards burning the straw; these operations of sowing and stripping being repeated until the yield becomes unprofitable, then the farmer "looks out" for new land elsewhere, to repeat the same process. Now this cream skimming has been repeated by a good many farmers, who have done it, from a financial point of view, successfully, that is, as far as the farmer himself is concerned, but very unsuccessfully as far as the progress and welfare of the colony are concerned. The greatest hindrance to agricultural progress and improvement in South Australia is that the farmer does not settle down on his farm (there are exceptions of course) determined to improve the land for himself and those who succeed him." 151

The overall picture, then, was this. By enlarging their holdings farmers were able to conduct operations more economically, and, in some cases, to combine the running of stock with wheat-growing. Through initiative they were able to penetrate the scrub lands of the province and by mechanisation they could the more easily bring a large amount of new land into production. On the debit side, however, stood the ominous fact that they had not yet learnt how to keep the land in production at a level that made wheat-growing profitable. While virgin soil was available for exploitation the problem was not acute, but when the supplies of new land was exhausted, necessitating continuous farming on the same land, and when the seasons were unfavourable, the wheat industry was not equipped for the crisis.

151. SAPP 1883-4 No. 33, Department of Agriculture: first annual progress report, Dec. 31 1882, p.22.
Chapter 3.

THE FINANCIAL STRUCTURE OF THE PRIMARY INDUSTRIES.
CHAPTER 3.

THE FINANCIAL STRUCTURE OF THE PRIMARY INDUSTRIES.

The decision by a farmer or pastoralist to take up and settle new land was influenced largely by his anticipation of reward and his beliefs about costs. Often these expectations were unduly optimistic, but before this was discovered through hard experience, settlement had been achieved. Thus the direction and pace of settlement did not necessarily reflect the current financial position of the primary industries.

In any case for many of the men on the land it was difficult to know the exact financial situation. Very few farmers kept any kind of accounting system: most were Micawber-like in their finances. They sold their produce and paid their bills. If there was a profit, they were content; if not, they either arranged for credit, borrowed money, found additional employment or they sold and moved on to another locality. Generally they also demanded legislative assistance. The pastoralists were somewhat more financially-minded than were the farmers. Only a minority kept detailed accounts, but nearly all the pastoralists did possess some kind of financial record, even though they were often sketchy and generally failed to make a clear distinction between capital costs and current costs. Yet here too, it must be noted, anticipation of future profits was often more influential than the actual cash return in determining the level of stocking.
and in influencing decisions to take up new leases.

Settlement, however, could not be permanent and satisfactory unless production from the land was economically rewarding, not merely for one year but over a period of years, through good season and bad. Hence it is important to determine just how the settlers fared. Did they make profits? Were they forced to borrow? Only when these facts are known is it possible to examine intelligently the political demands made by the farmers and pastoralists, both by the groups as a whole and by sectional interests within them.

This chapter, then, is chiefly concerned with determining whether or not profits were won from the soil. Three points should be stressed at the beginning:

1. The evidence we possess must be used with caution. Several series of statistics concerning production, export and prices were published at the time, but, helpful though these are, they are not entirely consistent and contain inadequacies. Otherwise we are forced to use isolated and incomplete private accounts. These reflect individual management efficiency and preference, and show also regional difference.

1. For a more detailed analysis of the inadequacies of some of these series, see Barnard, *Australian Wool Market*, op. cit., pp. 181-2.

2. Because of the nature of the sources consulted during the compilation of this work, the resultant picture is only a tentative one. This aspect of the economy of the last century demands much greater examination by economic historians than has been possible here. This tentative picture has been included, nevertheless, because the information is not otherwise available, and because without some knowledge of the economics of the industries conclusions drawn about the politics of settlement could be considerably astray.

3. It is not suggested that the framework used here to examine income and expenditure was that employed by the settlers. As has been stated already, few of them kept anything that might be called working accounts. Some kind of framework, however, is necessary. The simple one that has been adopted in this chapter would not be adequate for a detailed economic study of the industries; it is solely designed to allow a general conclusion to be drawn about their profitability.

In addition to this analysis on profitability, there is brief discussion of the question of marketing procedures, including land and sea transport. Apart from the detailed work of Dr. Barnard on the wool market, these important aspects unfortunately

have not been fully analysed elsewhere. Much more detailed work is required here too. The present discussion does not pretend to do that. It is included chiefly to contribute to the goal of this chapter, namely, the determination of profitability.

1. THE PASTORAL INDUSTRY.

(1) Production and prices.

The increase in sheep numbers and wool production from 1857 to 1890 was considerable, but not as spectacular as in New South Wales. The peak was reached in 1881, much earlier than in the eastern colonies. Thereafter the sheep population declined, although the increased yield per sheep enabled production to be maintained at the 1881 level.

The greatest increase occurred in the years 1857 to 1864, when the number of sheep rose from 1,962,460 to 4,106,230, despite a considerable export of stock during these years. Excellent lambing results and seasonal conditions enabled the wants of the expanding pastoral industry to be supplied from the natural

4. For full figures see Appendix A.
5. For example, in the 15 months, Jan. 1863 to Mar. 1864, almost 220,000 sheep (net) were exported from South Australia, chiefly to New South Wales. SAPP 1864 No. 6, Agricultural and Live-
6. 70%-75% lambing was achieved during these years. IS60 Assess-
ment on Stock Act, question 680; Johnson Frederick Hayward, 'Reminiscences', R.G.S.A. (S.A.) P., Vol. 29, p.93. Lambing results on Eyre Peninsula, however, were much lower than in the North. CLO 64 of 11 Jan. 1864.
increase of the sheep. Owners of established runs adopted the policy of stocking at their maximum capacity, other pastoralists were extending the sheep frontier, and dealers in station properties were cramming their stations with stock, since transactions were concluded on a per capita basis. These factors combined to produce a ready market for sheep, and prices were very favourable. Fat wethers averaged from 9/- to 14/- during summer and 12/- to 18/- during winter. The pastoralist was able to convert the natural increase on his station into hard cash at a good profit. In some years proceeds from the sale of stock exceeded those from the wool clip. As most stations were within easy distance of a port or stock market, costs of the sale were small.

During the late 1860's the rate of increase slowed down because of the drought, but regained momentum at the beginning of the 'seventies. Despite the enforced change in the location of the pastoral industry, caused by the rapid spread of wheat-growing, the sheep population increased from 4,436,955 in 1869 to 6,804,377 in 1881, the greatest increase taking place in the years 1871 to 1874. Achieved at first by natural increase, the expansion was maintained at the beginning of the 1880's only by large-scale importing from New South Wales. The demand for sheep was generally greater than in the previous decade, with prices

7. 1864 SC Pastoral Leases Valuations, Appendix, p.vi.
8. e.g. 1867 Commission on Runs suffering from drought, question 4434.
9. Almost one million sheep were imported during 1880-1881. See also Lewis, Fought and won, op. cit., p.160.
ranging from 16/- to 20/- in the winter. Pastoralists were known to ask as much as 30/- for their sheep. The cost of bringing the sheep to market, however, had increased. There was no stock market north of Clare or the Burra, and stations were much further inland than before. Regular charges for travelling stock were also imposed.

From 1881 the sheep population began to decrease. The explanation lay partly in the long spell of dry years, which began in December 1879 and lasted until June 1886. By this time, with feed almost non-existent and stock losses enormous, the pastoral industry was sunk in pessimism. It took three years of good rains before stock-owners increased their flocks again. Parallel with this seasonal adversity was the continual fall in wool prices. The incentive to stock was gone. Lewis recorded the sales of thousands of sheep at from 4d. to 1/6 a head. Sheepowners found it more profitable to boil them down than to sell or keep them.

Wool production followed a similar pattern to that of sheep numbers, although the larger yield per sheep during the 1870's and 1880's augmented the expansion and mitigated the depression. As noted previously, the average yield per sheep rose from 4 lbs.

10. Prices for each month were listed in the Statistical Register for each year.
11. Lewis, op. cit., p. 159.
12. Ibid, p. 158.
15. See above p. 47.
in 1860-4 to 6.3 lbs. in 1870-4 and to 7.6 lbs. in 1880-4. Thus production rose from 9.5 million pounds in 1857 to 43 million lbs. in 1879 (1878 was a boom year, with production reaching almost 57 million lbs.), and remained at about 43 million lbs. until 1890.

Regional differences in yield were considerable. During the 1860's, for instance, when the average clip for the province was 4 lbs., stock-owners on Eyre Peninsula, on the Upper Murray and in the Far North reported yields of 3 to 3.5 lbs., runs in the South East averaged 4.5 lbs., while stations in the Mid-North and on Yorke Peninsula produced yields of 5 to 6 lbs. of "very strong and good wool". In addition, wool from the South-East and Lower-North was considered to possess 'good style'. The inside pastoralists were thus gaining good clips while the outer pastoralists were receiving only small yields. This factor loomed large in the greater prosperity of the inner runs.

Until the late 1870's almost the entire wool-clip of South Australia was shipped to London for sale there. For an appraisal of the monetary return to the sheepfarmers we must turn briefly to consider the state of the London wool market, and the status of Adelaide wool in that Market. English manufacturers who

17. 1864 SC Pastoral Leases Valuations, questions 1154-5.
19. 1858 SC Assessment on Stock, question 616. Lewis, op. cit., p. 163.
purchased Australian wool preferred the washed wool from the eastern colonies. The fact that South Australia's wool was exported in the grease militated against it. The fine, short staple merino wool was well-suited for the English woollen industry which dominated the buying of colonial wool, but that industry was not geared to treat unwashed wool. Much of the South Australian wool was bought for re-export, generally to France, which was the largest Continental buyer in the London market. The French worsted industry, unlike its English counterpart, was able to handle short wool in the grease, and also, by mechanical and chemical methods, to eradicate burrs and grass seeds. The lifting of the tariff barrier in 1860, and the large expansion in France's export of worsted materials, especially to Germany, provided a favourable market during the early 1860's.

Within a few years the pattern of demand changed considerably. Whereas the woollen industry had been the key sector in the English manufacturing field, from the beginning of the 1870's the worsted industry became the dynamic factor, as it sought to meet the growing demands of consumers for soft-wool worsted goods. For the short wool, essential for their manufacture, buyers looked to Australia and other overseas producers, as English sheep farmers had concentrated on the production of long wool. 'Adelaide wool'

23. Ibid, pp. 23-24
shared in the benefits of this demand. Its effect, however, should not be overestimated. South Australian wool was but a small portion of the Australian clip, and, as its brands were not as well known as those of the eastern colonies, the prices gained were consistently lower than those received for wool from New South Wales and Victoria. Moreover, the growth of Australia's wool output was far greater than the increased demand of the English and Continental worsted industries. Nor was Australia by any means the only large supplier of wool to the English market. In 1880 England was re-exporting about half of her imports of wool, chiefly to Continental countries. Even though world demand was sustained throughout this period, the supply was such that prices took a definite downward trend.

From 1878, when Elder, Smith & Co., Luxmoore & Co., and Priestly & Co. first sold wool under the 'European system' of displaying bales in warehouses and then selling without samples, there came into existence an effective alternative mode of selling the wool clip. The incentive for this move came more from the establishment by Goldsborough of a similar market in Melbourne than from the results of previous local sales, held regularly since 1867 by Parr & Luxmoore (later Luxmoore & Co.). In the 'seventies

24. By this time a large amount of the wool from the eastern colonies was being marketed in the grease.
27. Register 2 Nov. 1878, speech by R.B. Smith at the opening of Elder, Smith & Co.'s first sale.
South-Eastern pastoralists showed their preference for sale 28 within Australia by sending wool to the Melbourne market. Elder and Smith, impressed by the support of small growers in Victoria for local selling, sought to attract "the increasing number of 29 holders of small flocks of sheep" to their sales. As in Victoria, so in South Australia the small growers remained the chief users of the local market throughout the 1880's. In spite of the large interests that Elder and Smith held in pastoral properties throughout the province, still more wool was sent direct to London for 30 sale there than was sold at Adelaide.

The prices offered for Adelaide wool in the London market showed the same trend as those for all Australian wool in this period. Throughout the 1850's there was a strong upward trend, the price reaching a peak of 12½d. in 1860. While there were fluctuations from year to year, a high level was maintained until 1866. Then, from 1867 until 1872 prices fell dramatically, only to show an equally spectacular recovery. These short-term movements appear to have been partially the result of special circumstances 31 in Britain and Europe. Their importance for South Australia lay first in the coincidence of the fall in price with the advent of severe drought conditions and hence poor production, and then in

28. 1875 Railway Commission, questions 631-3, 2314.
29. Register 2 Nov. 1878, loc. cit.
31. For a discussion of these factors see Barnard, op. cit., p.201.
TABLE 3

Prices of South Australian Wools in London, 1860-4

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>1860</th>
<th>1861</th>
<th>1862</th>
<th>1863</th>
<th>1864</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Lower North</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Anlaby</td>
<td>15(\frac{1}{2})</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>14(\frac{1}{2})</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bungaree</td>
<td>15(\frac{3}{4})</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>13(\frac{3}{4})</td>
<td>15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hill River</td>
<td>15(\frac{1}{4})</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bundaleer</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>12(\frac{1}{2})</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>12(\frac{1}{2})</td>
<td>15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>East</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mount Bryan</td>
<td>11(\frac{1}{2})</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>14(\frac{1}{2})</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>North</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kanyaka</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>9(\frac{3}{4})</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wilpena</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>10(\frac{3}{4})</td>
<td>11(\frac{1}{2})</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mt. Arden</td>
<td>11(\frac{1}{2})</td>
<td>9(\frac{1}{2})</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>9(\frac{1}{4})</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Eyre Peninsula</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Koppio</td>
<td>11(\frac{1}{2})</td>
<td>10(\frac{1}{2})</td>
<td>9(\frac{1}{2})</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>South Australia</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Average</td>
<td>12(\frac{5}{8})</td>
<td>10(\frac{3}{4})</td>
<td>10(\frac{1}{2})</td>
<td>10(\frac{1}{2})</td>
<td>11(\frac{1}{2})</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The rise in price being simultaneous with the return of seasons of abundant rainfall and rising production. This latter movement gave tremendous impetus to the pastoral industry during the 1870's.

The overall fall in wool prices from the year 1873 is very evident. Except for the years 1880 and 1889 no break in the fall occurred until the late 1890's. From the peak of 12\(\frac{3}{4}\) in 1872, the price fell to 8\(\frac{1}{2}\) in 1879 and to 7\(\frac{1}{4}\) in 1888.

In considering the realization of growers we must not forget that prices for individual stations ranged 25\(\%\) above and below the
average, as Table 3 indicates. Generally the prices for wool for the outer runs were at least 25% below those for the inner runs, and as pastoralists ventured further and further inland the prices were lower still. Thus not only did the pastoralists in the fertile regions receive higher yields per sheep, but they also reaped the added advantage of higher prices. It was not unusual for an inner pastoralist to have a net return per sheep double that of a pastoralist in the interior.

(2) Costs.

The cost structure can be examined conveniently under five headings: land, improvements, production, transport and marketing. It must be pointed out again that few of the pastoralists kept their accounts in this way. In particular, the cost of station equipment was more often than not regarded as a cost of production.

Especially in the South-East and in the central districts a considerable amount of land used for pastoral purposes was secured at a minimum cost of £1 per acre or £640 per sq. mile. Many of these purchases were achieved initially only through heavy indebtedness, but later, station profits were used to wipe off

32. The prices for individual stations (except Keppie) are quoted from 1864 SC Pastoral Lease Valuations, Appendix, p. vi, and are for the May sales of each year. The figures for Keppie are taken from CLO 64 of 1864, and average prices are cited from Barnard, op. cit., p. 229.

33. See above, p. 86.
the debts and thus build up substantial assets. With land prices rarely falling below the original cost, and for the most part rising considerably, these assets appreciated during the period under review. In the outer districts, on the other hand, the land was leased from the Crown. Payment was in the form of a fixed rental plus an assessment on the carrying capacity of the land. From 1858 until 1867 the combined charge increased greatly, ranging from 4d. to 9d. per sheep for the renewed leases of 1865. Thereafter the charges were reduced, being for the most part 2d. for each sheep depastured on the lease, while during the early stages of development of a run lessees were exempt from assessment altogether.

Until the 1870's expenditure on improvements such as buildings, fences and water improvements was not great. When Goyder valued the runs in 1864-5, the value of improvements on the leases ranged from a few pounds to £9,000. Improvements on freehold land were not included in these calculations, but it is unlikely that more than a few pastoralists had made improvements to the value of £10,000. The position was radically altered during the following decade as the techniques of sheep production changed. Although the relative importance of buildings, fencing and water facilities varied from station to station according to the attitude of the individual pastoralist and to the natural resources of the country,

35. SAPP 1864 Nos. 102 and 105; 1865 Nos. 30 and 30A; and 1865-6 Nos. 86, 87 and 127.
36. See Chapter 2, section 2, above.
34. For details of these charges see Chapters 5, 6 and 10.
broadly speaking water improvements equalled the cost of fencing, with buildings of much less importance. The contract price for well-sinking ranged from 20/- to 50/- a foot, while fences were erected for £20 to £44 per mile. The highest expenditure noted was £93,000 on water improvements and £55,000 on fencing, but for a large number of stations the total cost of improvements was not more than £10,000. When many leases expired in 1888 Geyder estimated that the value of improvements on them averaged £25 per sq. mile.

Generally the pastoralists included these construction costs as current expenditure in their balance sheets. In part they were justified in this, for until 1865 all improvements became the property of the State at the expiration of the lease without any payment whatsoever to the outgoing lessee. But thereafter the conditions of lease were gradually liberalised so that first, from 1865, part of the cost of permanent wells, then, from 1877, all water improvements, and finally, from 1884, all bona fide improvements were paid for when the lease expired. Under such terms the improvements should have been regarded as capital

37. SAPP 1 Nov. 1881, col. 1325 and CLO 1002 of 1874; 44 and 366 of 1875; 93, 130, 1400 and 1455 of 1876; 52, 1445, 1724 and 1986 of 1877; 1216, 1232 and 2201 of 1878; 401 and 559 of 1879; 475 of 1884 and 680 of 1885.
38. CLO 52 of 1877 and 1232 of 1878; SAPP 3 Oct. 1882, col. 1138.
39. See SAPP 1892 Nos. 99 and 111 for detailed accounts of improvements on a number of leases.
40. CLO 1363a of 18 July 1887.
41. e.g. See 1867 Commission on Runs suffering from drought, question 4434 where C.H. Armytage claimed a profit of only £1,663, but included improvements to the value of £4,000 as current expenditure.
assets, not as current costs. An annual allowance for maintenance, depreciation and interest payments covered all current costs, and this would have amounted to no more than 12½% of the initial expenditure.

Estimates of the cost of keeping sheep on the station varied considerably, depending on the quality of management and the nature of the locality. Wages and rations formed the major part of such expenditure. Married shepherds were paid between £35 and £40 per year, plus double rations, while shearers received from 15/- to 20/- per 100 sheep, according to the amount of labour available. When fences appeared the boundary rider and the stockman superseded the shepherd in most parts, and these received higher wages, varying from £52 to £65 p.a. during the 1870's. The changed techniques, however, did cause a slight reduction in the labour force, so that the overall cost of production dropped a little. In addition, the increased yield per sheep meant a greater income. Overall, during the era of shepherding costs ranged from 2/- to 3/- per sheep per annum, depending upon the type of country depastured. The outer runs generally required the higher expenditure and the inner runs the lower. This same difference in costs was maintained with the introduction of

41a. See Butlin, Private capital formation in Australia, p.97, where he suggests a 5% depreciation and a 2½% maintenance allowance.

42. In areas of thick scrub, as in the Streaky Bay district, small flocks were needed and hence more shepherds, CLO 217 of 28 Jan. 1864.

43. Wage rates were published in the Statistical Register for each year.

44. See estimates in 1864 SC Pastoral Lease Valuations, questions 262 and 686; and J.B. Hack to Giles and Smith 20 Jan. 1862.
fencing, even though in both areas the actual costs were slightly lower than previously.

Transport by land was costly throughout this period. At the beginning of the 'sixties charges for carriage averaged 1/- per ton mile, but by the middle of the decade they had fallen by a quarter. Even so, the rates were about double those for the equivalent journey in New South Wales. Costs fluctuated with the seasons: in years of drought teamsters demanded double or treble the normal rates. Most of the land cartage was done by contract, only a few using their own teams, although this was the cheaper arrangement. The majority were unable to release the necessary labour from their station at their busiest time. As the pastoralist was forced inland in the 'seventies and 'eighties costs increased, both for taking in stores and for sending away the wool clip. The greater frequency of dry seasons placed the pastoralist more in the hands of demanding teamsters. Some were forced to pay in drought seasons as much as £50 per ton, but generally the rate for land cartage remained at 1/- per ton mile. Although charges by rail were consistently lower than by road, the advancing railway network did not greatly assist the pastoralists in the interior,

45. SAPP 1861 No. 102 gives cartage costs for each station; 1865-6 Northern Runs Commissions, Report, p.5. For N.S.W. figures see Barnard, op. cit. p.183.
46. 1860 SC Assessment on Stock Act, questions 464, 646 and 933.
47. SAPP 1 Nov. 1881, col. 1324.
48. 1891 Pastoral Lands Commissions, question 4200.
49. 1891 Pastoral Lands Commission, evidence of C. Chewings and T.G. Magarey.
for a large number were still at least 100 miles, and some up to 300 miles from any railway. Most pastoralists in the North-East and Mid-North carted their wool to the broad gauge railway, which was extended in a northerly direction progressively from the Burra to Hallett (completed in 1873) and to Terowie (in 1881), and from Kapunda to the River Murray in a north-easterly direction (in 1878). From these stations wool was railed direct to Adelaide. Then, in the Far North and to the West of the head of Spencers Gulf, the pastoralists carted all their produce right to the wharves at Port Augusta, although some did utilize the narrow gauge railway when it reached Hawker in 1880. The concern of the pastoralists about the high cost of cartage was reflected in their demand for the provision by the State of permanent water supplies along the interior routes. The Surveyor-General shared their concern, and in the late 1870's and early 1880's considerable progress was made in overcoming such obstacles to road transport in the interior. In spite of this, the great difference between the costs incurred by the squatters in the interior and those in the more favoured inner runs was still very much apparent. The lessees both in the Mid-North and in the South-East had only short distances to send their wool to port and they could avail themselves of the cheaper charges of the railways.

For most of the squatters their active part in the marketing of the wool ceased with the loading of the carts. Their agents arranged

50. See CLO 193 and 197 of 1876; and 323 and 697 of 1882.
the details of the sale. There were three main methods of exporting. Many of the wealthy and prosperous pastoralists shipped their wool direct to England by chartered ship. They were prepared and able to stand the delay before receiving any monetary return. Others required an immediate return, and so sought an advance from a wool firm who consigned the wool for sale. At first Omerod & Co., and Lavington Glyde shared a prominent place in this field with Elder Smith & Co., but gradually the latter Company became the dominant wool broking firm. They arranged for London importing merchants to handle the details of the sale.

The third means of export were the banks, who either made advances in cash as an ordinary transaction on security or acted as a consignment agent. During the 'sixties, under the management of Samuel Tomkinson, the Bank of Australasia preferred to make cash advances only, being prepared to advance three-quarters of the amount the wool was expected to realise. The ability of the borrower to pay should the advance prove to be greater than the proceeds was regarded as a security as much as the wool clip itself. There was evidently little enquiry by the bank into the sale itself. So long as the bills were paid no enquiry into the results

51. For an excellent account of the role of agents in the Australian wool scene, see Barnard, op. cit., Chapter 3.
of the sale was made. The other Banks gradually undertook the consignment of wool, their consigning role being taken for granted by the 1867 Commission on Runs suffering from drought. During the 1870's the Banks increased their activities in this field, but in the next decade, regarding any pastoral transaction as a risk, they gradually withdrew from it.

Under the scale of charges fixed by the Adelaide Chamber of Commerce, which came into force from 2nd February 1858, agents were able to charge $2\frac{1}{2}$% for advances, plus a 5% commission for effecting the transactions, which was renewable annually if the account was unliquidated. In addition, they were able to charge $\frac{1}{2}$% for the negotiation of bills of exchange and $\frac{1}{8}$% for effecting marine insurance, and if they provided warehouse accommodation in South Australia a receiving charge of 1/6 per bale. Other expenses incurred by the agent on behalf of the growers were freight, marine insurance itself, the charges of selling agents and storage in London. As most of the South Australian ports were off the normal sailing routes, freight charges were generally higher than for Melbourne, even when copper provided excellent ballast. The average rate during the 'sixties was 3d. lb. from Port Adelaide and up to 3d. from outports. Wool was not sent on

---

54. 1864 SC Pastoral Lease Valuations, questions 1889-1890, 1931-1933, 1948.
55. 1891 Pastoral Lands Commission, evidence of Cowle, Meldrum, Fulford and Tomkinson.
56. Advertiser 1 Dec. 1860.
57. 1875 Railway Commission, questions 917-8, 976.
steamships until the late 1870's but then, although the rates were consistently higher than by sailing ship, the steamers gained immediate favour because of the quicker journey. By the middle of the 'eighties almost half of the South Australian wool clip was 58 being sent by steamship. Marine insurance was also considerably dearer than in Melbourne, there being little or no fall in the rates charged during the period under review. Isolated quotations 59 gave the figures of 57/6 and 60/- per £100. Selling brokers' charges were reduced from 1% to ½% in the early 'seventies, following agitation by the Australian wool producers. Warehousing 60 charges were considerable, amounting to approximately ½d. per lb.

When all these charges - land transport, shipment to England, agents' charges, insurance and so on - were combined, for the inner runs the cost of marketing wool in London was about 20% of total realizations, or nearly double the cost to the grower in the eastern colonies. Stations in the interior incurred even heavier costs, as we have seen, because of the greater distances involved. These costs were the greatest single factor that contributed to the relative unattractiveness of the pastoral industry

58. Barnard, op. cit., p. 185.
61. Barnard, op. cit., p. 187 and Appendix, Table XXV.
62. See also the estimate of A. Scott in 1864 SC Pastoral Lease Valuations, questions 484-488.
in South Australia in comparison with the other great sheep areas of Australia.

(3) Pastoral profits.

Two things have clearly emerged from the foregoing analysis. In the first place, the South Australian pastoralist was in a far less satisfactory position than his counterpart in the eastern colonies. The seasons, especially during the mid-1860's and the 1880's were unfavourable, prices were consistently lower and costs higher than in the east. These factors, and not just the "repressive policy" of the various Governments, as the pastoralists tended to claim, contributed largely to the unspectacular and somewhat disappointing position of the pastoral industry in South Australia. Secondly, within the colonial framework, regional differences can be distinguished. Only in certain favoured districts were large profits made. The frontier region, the land of little water and much sun, did not easily bring forth nuggets of gold from the golden fleece.

Yet there can be no doubt that fortunes were made in parts of the pastoral industry. Even in the 1860's profits of £10,000, £12,000 and £20,000 were reported. Pastoralists and bankers alike admitted the great prosperity of the industry. One squatter wrote to a friend,

"I have done no more than many others, nor more than may be done again by steady perseverance."

63. 1858 SC Assessment of stock, question 493 and 1864 Pastoral lease valuations, question 2018.
"Your son cannot do better than to stick to sheep, for in my opinion this is the best and most certain business in these colonies."

After a temporary time of hardship during the drought of the mid-sixties, the period of prosperity continued. There were few published statements of profits, but the prices at which station properties changed hands indicated the general prosperity. Several were sold in the mid-1870's for nearly a quarter of a million pounds. These stations were all situated in the well watered regions of the Lower-North and Mid-North, but the community in general and the pastoralists in particular based their expectations of profits for all pastoral leases on these successful ventures. From the figures already cited, which indicate the less favoured situation of the interior leases, it is clear that these expectations were often unduly optimistic.

The decade of the 1880's told a different story. Because of the lack of detailed figures it is impossible to check the accuracy of the claims by some pastoralists of large losses, but the general picture is made clear in Table 4. The stated income is a net figure, all expenses incurred in production having been deducted.

64. Register 6 Oct. 1863.
66. For claims of losses see SAPP 14 Aug. 1877, cols. 633, 635; 28 Aug. 1884, col. 809; 1891 Pastoral Lands Commission, questions 1451, 1663; and Register 22 Mar. 1883, pp. 6-7.
67. SAPP 1895 No. 124, Particulars re income-tax payers. See also 47 & 48 Vic. 323 (1884), An Act for a tax on land and on income from real and personal property, professions, trades and avocations, section 12.
TABLE A.

Percentage of sheep farmers in various income groups, 1885 and 1894.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Income group</th>
<th>1885</th>
<th>1894</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Below £500</td>
<td>60</td>
<td>76</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>£500 - £1,000</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>£1,000 - £5,000</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>£5,000 - £10,000</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Above £10,000</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

These figures should be used with caution. Not only are income tax figures liable to understatement, but in addition allowance needs to be made for a margin of error in the estimate of the number of pastoralists in the province at the time. These limitations, however, do not alter the fact that, apart from a small group who were still making more than £5,000 profit from their properties, (and these were the pastoralists in the fertile areas) on the whole pastoralists were not making large fortunes during the 1880's.

2. THE WHEAT INDUSTRY.

(1) Production and prices

The income of the farmers depended largely on three factors, the acreage under production, the yield per acre, and the price. During the thirty years after 1860 both yields and prices diminished as each year passed. Only the acreage increased.

68. See Appendix B.
We shall consider the important question of price first, since, apart from anticipation, it was the chief determinant of the acreage planted and thus, in part, of production.

At the beginning of the 1860's there were two main markets for the sale of South Australian wheat—the internal market for domestic consumption and the market in neighbouring Victoria. Many farmers looked to the internal market for the sale of their wheat. It was not just an accident of geography that the wheat belt extended, first towards Kapunda and then towards the Burra, for these mining towns presented the largest agglomeration of people outside Adelaide. Their decline was regarded as a major catastrophe for the wheat-grower. Equally, the discovery of rich copper deposits at Wallaroo and then Moonta in 1859 and 1861 was hailed with delight. The farmers near Clare carted their produce across the sandy plains to feed these growing centres. The keen interest also in the search for goldfields was not due just to the aftermath of gold fever but was an expression of the desire for a rapidly growing population, concentrated in large centres, which would provide the much-needed market for the colony's primary industry.

The local requirement of seven or eight bushels per person, however, did not account for more than one-third of total

70. *SAPP* 1867 No. 141, SC Wallaroo and Clare railway, evidence, passim.
production. At the beginning of the 'fifties the expansion of the Victorian population opportunistically solved the problem for the time being. Enterprising millers sent flour overland, by sea and along the River Murray. Although there were recurring fears that Victoria was fast approaching a position of self-sufficiency, South Australian merchants were still able to sell large quantities of wheat to Victoria until the mid-1870's.

Growing competition, nevertheless, from Californian and Chili wheats in the Australian market led to the investigation of other possible markets. Some enterprising merchants decided to try to sell in Britain. With a marked deficiency of production in England and a steep falling off of imports from her normal Continental sources of supply, the time was opportune at the end of 1866. Taking advantage of the keen competition between the numerous ships seeking cargo at the time, these Adelaide merchants sought and received orders for large quantities of wheat. In December 1866 the first of several ships set sail, and during the ensuing year 150,000 qrs. of wheat and nearly 4,000 tons of flour were shipped to England. The market remained firm, the price never falling below 70/- a quarter. The practical possibility of

71. Pike, Paradise of Dissent, op. cit, pp 452-3.
72. Register 13 Sept. 1861, p2.
73. Register 12, 15, 21 and 24 Oct. 1861; 26 Apr. 1862, p.5; 14, 19 and 28 Nov. 1866; Advertiser 24 Feb. 1866, p.5.
74. Register 15 Nov. 1866, p.2 and 8 Dec. 1866, p.2.
75. Register 19 Aug. 1867, p.2 and 14 Nov. 1867, p.2. See Appendix C for yearly export figures.
export overseas had been demonstrated. Thereafter it was a yearly event for the sailing ships to load, set sail and race to London to be the first on the market with their wheat. Although the export of wheat to England fluctuated from year to year (partly due to insufficient supply, but mainly due to the trends in the British economy) the United Kingdom became the greatest buyer of South Australian grain, at times purchasing nearly one half of the total export.

Wheat - bagged and sent as general cargo - was the chief component of this export to England, flour being of much less importance. But flour was the stable portion in the export of grain foods. Until the early 'seventies, flour export was of greater value than wheat export, and for the next two decades was as important a contributor to export income as wheat. The chief purchaser of flour was New South Wales, with Queensland also buying large quantities. In most years the former colony purchased at least 20% of the total export of grain, and, moreover, the buying was fairly consistent. Hence the growth of population in New South Wales and the failure of its land laws to produce a substantial agricultural community were almost as important to the South Australian farmers as the growth of industrial England.

The average price offered for wheat declined consistently from

76. e.g. in 1876 England purchased 3,366 tons of flour out of a total of 71,189 tons and 547,792 grs. wheat out of 738,718 qrs.
the late 1850's until 1890. From a peak of 9/- per bushel in
1859, the price fell to an average of 5/- to 5/6 during the early
'seventies, and fell as low as 3/6 in the mid-1880's. Exceptional
years occurred in 1864-5, 1868, 1877 and 1882, but these did not
obscure, even for contemporaries, the continual decline in price.
For the most part this was due to strong competition in the world
market from the United States (especially California), Canada and
78 to a lesser extent Chili. The Adelaide prices reflected the
world trend.

The average prices, though useful, can be misleading. Prices
varied tremendously from month to month, and it was alleged that,
as most farmers were forced for economic reasons to sell immediately
after harvest, the producers received the lowest prices and the
79 buyers or speculators the highest. At the end of the 1863-4
harvest, for instance, the price stood at 4/3 a bushel, but from
mid-March it began to rise, to reach 8/- during April and 11/- in
80 May. Even the veteran wheat dealer, Hart, was led to exclaim;
81 "the market is difficult to understand." In addition, it must be
remembered that some farmers received from agents less than the
82 ruling price, either because they knew no better, or because through

77. See Appendix B for yearly average prices.
80. Sanders to Hagen, 25 May 1864.
82. 1865 SC Selling Crown Lands, question 985, evidence by R.
   Rowett, general dealer of Kapunda.
financial pressure or monopoly the agent could force the sale at a lower price. Normally, however, alternative avenues existed for the disposal of the wheat crop so that most millers and agents were compelled to give fair prices to the farmers. It was not the agents but the state of the world prices which led to the relatively low return received by the farmer for his wheat. There was no escaping the fact that on the whole prices were low and that there was always the likelihood that they would go even lower.

To overcome this decline in price the farmers were able to increase the acreage under wheat and hence the production. From a total of 175,000 acres in 1857, the area sown with wheat increased to a little more than half a million acres by the time credit selection was inaugurated in 1869. Thereafter wheat cultivation leapt ahead rapidly. The millionth acre was sown with wheat during 1876, and eight years later the total had reached 1,942,453 acres. This increase was far more rapid than the swelling of the farmers' ranks. The average area under wheat per farmer at the beginning of the 'sixties was just over 40 acres, but by 1870 this had increased to 70 acres, five years later to 110 acres, and by 1880 to 140 acres. Part of this increase was due to new farms being larger in size, but many of the farmers in the


84. 1859 SC Strathalbyn Tramway Bill, questions 686-7, 1156 and 1067; SAPP 1866-7 No.94, Petition for road to, and improvements at, Port Wakefield; 1875 Railway Commission, question 2109.
TABLE 5

Quinquennial average wheat production
(in bushels)

<p>| | |</p>
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1860-4</td>
<td>3,955,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1865-9</td>
<td>4,191,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1870-4</td>
<td>7,141,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1875-9</td>
<td>9,845,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1880-4</td>
<td>10,664,000</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

older districts brought new ground into production as well. For a relatively small increase in cost, the potential for a large increase in production was created.

In the short term the average yield per acre tended to reflect seasonal conditions. The enormous contrast, for instance, between 14 and 4 bushels per acre in 1866-7 and 1867-8 was caused almost entirely by the appearance of red rust during harvest, conditions for its spread being created by unusually heavy spring rains. But viewed in retrospect the yield was definitely on the decline. The virgin soil in the newly opened districts might give high yields for several years, but continuous cropping in the older districts and lower fertility in the newer areas caused an overall decline. In most Hundreds the average yield at the beginning of the 'nineties was only half that for the years when cropping began. Despite this, the extent of land sown with wheat enabled gross production to increase three fold during these thirty years, as can be seen in Table 5. Only this increase in gross production enabled net

85. 1868-9 Commission on Diseases in cereals, Report, section 2; and Callaghan and Millington, Australian Wheat Industry, op. cit., pp. 280-283.
87. No statistics were collected during 1886-9. The 1890 harvest was 14,577,000 bushels.
realizations to reach a level where it was possible for costs to be met.

(2) Costs

First we shall consider capital costs, which include the purchase or renting of land, clearing, improvements, and implements. The average price paid to the Crown for country lands throughout this period was rarely in excess of £2 per acre, often being little in advance of the minimum of £1 per acre. But not a few paid far in excess of these figures. Before the introduction of credit sales, farmers were often forced to purchase from land dealers, whose prices were usually at least £3 per acre. In the boom years of the 'seventies, also, many paid very high prices for land offered for selection: in the Mannarala district, just North of Jamestown, prices averaged £7.10.0. per acre. Generally the farmer did not pay for the land in a lump sum, obtaining it on terms either from a private dealer or from the Crown. For this reason most regarded the purchase of land as a yearly expenditure, to be paid for out of the proceeds of the farm.

Clearing costs in South Australia were low in comparison to the wheat lands of the other colonies. In the early years of settlement farms were cleared by contract at £1 per acre. When

90. Dunsdorfs, Australian Wheat-growing Industry, op. cit., pp. 100 and 159. He cites costs of from £10 to £30 per acre.
the mallee scrub was first encountered costs soared to as much as £7, but the invention of the process of 'mullenising' enabled farmers to clear the scrub lands as cheaply as 10/- to 30/- an acre.

Farmers spent more on improvements, such as buildings, fences and water facilities, in the 'seventies and 'eighties than they did before those years. In 1881 between 40% and 50% of the agricultural community were living in houses of three or more rooms. In the Hundred of Willochra, for example, of 242 houses 84 were of three or four rooms, 74 of two rooms, 45 of one room, and 39 of more than four rooms. In some areas the farm houses were built chiefly of stone, in others of wood, depending on the local availability of material. In many instances, also, farmers spent many hundreds of pounds in building fences and providing water. Goyder estimated that most had spent at least 10/- per acre upon improvements.

In the last quarter of the century farmers increasingly purchased their own implements. During the 'sixties these had been very expensive, a thrashing machine costing nearly £140 and a reaper more than £100. By the end of the 'seventies, however, the

93. SAPP 1881 No. 74, Census 1881, part 1.
94. CLO 825 of 26 July 1871; 1888 Land Commission, evidence, passim. The following are samples of improvements made... (1) two-roomed stone house, £50, cellar £10, stable £40, yards, £10, and fencing £202. (2) three-roomed stone house, £105, sheds, stock-yard etc. £46, two reservoirs, £82, three miles of fencing £112. SGO 173 and 640 of 1874.
95. CLO 1677 of 1882, enclosed memo.
96. Sanders to Hagen 11 Mar. 1859; Morphett, The Herbergs, op. cit.
price of a reaping machine had fallen to £50, winnowers were about £25 and a three-furrow stump-jump plough cost from £21 to £23. Livestock had to be purchased as well.

From the foregoing it is obvious that an intending farmer required capital before he began. Some did commence with adequate finance, but many more borrowed from a money-lender at high rates of interest. Others attempted to farm without any capital resources and were forced into subsistence living.

For most farmers production of wheat involved three operations, ploughing, sowing and reaping. Only a few attempted a more thorough system of husbandry. In the early years ploughing contracts were let at 15/- to 20/- an acre and reaping contracts at a similar figure, but during the 'seventies and 'eighties the price fell by about one-third. Only a small percentage operated their farm by contract work. Many worked the farm themselves or with the help of their relatives. Being able to provide most of their needs from their own land, using the wheat from the previous harvest for seed, and paying for no labour, the actual expenditure of cash was negligible. Many others employed one or two farm servants either in a part- or full-time capacity. Average wage rates ranged from

98. 1888 Land Commission, evidence, passim.
100. In 1891 about two-thirds of the farmers employed labour. Throughout the whole period of 1860 to 1890 the number of farmers roughly equalled the total of farm servants and relatives assisting on the farm.
£40 to £52 p.a., plus keep, the highest rates being paid in the mid- 'seventies when labour was extremely difficult to obtain.

The cost of cartage is likewise hard to define as many farmers carted their own produce to the miller. One farmer claimed that the keeping of livestock for cartage and other work cost as much as the growing of wheat. Some carted their harvest to the nearest miller, for flour mills were dotted throughout the countryside rather than being as in England concentrated in a few towns. Others sent the wheat to the nearest port, selling to an agent there. Only a few farmers dealt directly with the market or mills in Adelaide.

Costs were cut considerably by the growth of the railway network. The new era dawned in 1875 when Boucaut championed the cause of the railway expansion. During the next five years a little more than 2,000 miles of line was added to the 200 miles previously in use. The Northern Line, which by 1870 had reached the copper town of Burra, was extended to tap the wheat lands around Hallett, and it was planned to continue through Terowie to the Black Rock Plain, now dotted with farms. The existing line to Kapunda was also extended, this time to the North-West Bend of the Murray, which, although specifically designed to capture the wool trade of the Upper Murray and Darling, served also the farmers on the Murray Flats.

101. 1858 SC Taxation, Appendix, p.iv, statement by A. Shannon.
102. For statistics and dates of the opening of lines see SAPP 1881 No. 3, Statistical Register, Part IV, p.77; and SAPP 1880 No. 29A, Public Works Report, p.8
Other lines were constructed to tap the interior wheat lands by providing adequate transport facilities to the nearest port. The Blyth Plains were connected with Port Wakefield via Hoyleton and the Wakefield River Valley; Snowtown, as a centre of a prosperous wheat district was joined to Port Wallaroo; and the country inland from Port Broughton was also connected with its port by a short but very useful line. In the Mid-North, a line from Jamestown through the extremely prosperous centres of Gladstone and Crystal Brook cut diagonally across the several ranges which separated these districts from Port Pirie, while in the Upper North, the railway was built from Port Augusta as far North as Hawker, with the Government Gums an immediate objective and the North shore of Australia an ultimate destination. In the South-East, lines stretched inland from Kingston to Naracoorte and from Rivoli Bay to Mt. Gambier via Millicent.

Although neither the farmers nor Parliament considered that railway building was anywhere near completed, by 1880 the majority of farms had been brought within a day's journey by cart of a railway station. It was much cheaper to send by rail than by cart. A comparison of wheat quotations before and after the Port

---

103. This line to the North had been suggested for many years. Earlier it had been intended to assist the pastoral and mining industries, but it was the stimulus of wheat-growing that finally caused the line to be built.

104. One of the recommendations of the 1875 Railway Commission was that no locality should be more than 15 miles from a railway. By 1884 this had almost been achieved in the wheat lands. See also Meinig, 'The South Australian Wheat Frontier', op. cit. Chapter 7.
Pirie to Gladstone railway was completed (as shown in Table 6) gives a clear indication of the lowering of costs. At first charges were 2½d. per ton mile, but in 1880 a graduated scale was introduced to help distant districts, and five years later the rates were lowered again to 2d. per ton mile for the first 50 miles, 1½d. for the next 25 miles and 1d. for the remainder of the journey.

**TABLE 6.**

**Effect of railway on wheat prices**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>17 March 1876</th>
<th></th>
<th>15 March 1877</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Crystal Brook</td>
<td>6% less than Pt. Pirie</td>
<td>4% less than Pt. Pirie</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gladstone</td>
<td>16%</td>
<td>14%</td>
<td>8%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Georgetown and Laura</td>
<td>16%</td>
<td>14%</td>
<td>8%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Even so, farmers claimed that transport costs swallowed up almost 20% of the value of their wheat. Thus one stated, at a time when the Adelaide price was about 5/6, that he received only about 2/6 to 2/9 per bushel for his wheat as it left the farm. Transport costs and the profit of agent or miller accounted for the difference.

(3) Profit or Loss?

From the above analysis two points emerge. Firstly, the margin

---

105. The figures are cited in Meinig, op. cit., Chapter 7, p.32.
106. SAPD 6 Oct. 1880, cols. 1293-8 and 29 July 1885, col. 401.
between gross proceeds and costs grew smaller as the years passed. Secondly, at no stage were large profits likely to be won. This position was reflected in the few indications we possess of the net income of the farmers.

The position in the sixties was summed up by Sanders, a manager of a large estate, in this letter to his principal:

"I believe I farm under some advantages as compared with most of the tenants. I have a Ridley's reaping machine, a Hussey's mowing machine, an excellent thrashing machine, and most of the other labour saving requisites for cheap farming, including a sufficient strength in horses and bullocks, and how do my farm accounts stand for the twelve months ending the last day in the last year? There was just a balance of 2s. 3d. to go towards paying interest of capital, etc. without reckoning any wages for my three sons, who work upon the farm, only their bare board, and without one farthing for myself towards housekeeping, etc...."

Sanders' letters contained numerous pleas for Hagen to reduce the rent paid by his tenants, most of whom were not making ends meet year after year. Other landowners were finding that they had to reduce rents or lose tenants. When a cow belonging to Henry Pitcher, farmer of the Grand Junction, died suddenly, he recorded that it was "a big blow". Only two instances of large profits have been noted in this period. Richard Day claimed that he made an annual profit of £800 for 26 years, and Peter Anderson was able to redeem a debt of £250 within four years. But it is significant that both of these engaged in activities other than farming. Day

109. Sanders to Hagen 1 Feb. 1859.
110. Ibid, 18 June 1862 and 4 Nov. 1863.
worked as a carter during the growing season while Anderson acted as an agent, buying and selling wheat in large quantities. Both, in addition, kept livestock. It was a regular practice, in fact, for farmers to augment their income in a number of ways. Pitcher, for instance, contracted to repair the roads and carry the mail, he reaped his neighbours' harvests on thirds, he cut and sold wood, erected fences and plastered the District Council office. The most common sideline was to cart produce in the off-season.

The concern of farmers about their low returns can be measured by their interest in the question of free distillation. By this means they hoped to create a remunerative minimum price for grain, for they were not confident of an expanding or even a stationary market. Another indication of their economic position was the large number of farmers who appeared in the Insolvency Court. To be declared insolvent was regarded as almost criminal, certainly a blight on one's reputation. For every one who was forced to go through the indignity of being declared bankrupt probably a dozen struggled on. During the first four years of the 1860's, 76 farmers were declared insolvent, and this situation continued throughout the decade. C.H. Bagot, an astute observer of current events,

116. 1888 Land Commission, question 5425.
117. 1858 SC Taxation, Report, paragraphs 15-16; SAPP 1858 No. 113, Petition for free distillation; Sanders to Hagen 4 Nov. 1863.
118. SAPP 1865 No. 128, Return of Insolvencies, 1860-4 and SAPP 1868-9 No. 33, Return of Insolvencies, 1868.
summed up when he asked: "But even with those (past) high prices, who among them have made fortunes?"

During the boom years of the 'seventies, when yields were good, the prosperity of the farming community was undoubted, although in poor seasons the farmers quickly resorted again to carting to augment their income. Nevertheless, the £150 a year profit won by Pitcher on his Yorke Peninsula farm at the beginning of the 'eighties was a fair sample of what could be done by intelligent hard work.

Yet even during these more prosperous years all was not as good as it seemed. Many farmers in the frontier districts were being sustained by the widespread system of credit which accompanied the northward expansion. Shopkeepers especially, able to borrow money at favourable rates of interest, were very liberal in the provision of credit to local farmers. Then also, more than half of the farmers who completed purchase of their selection mortgaged their land immediately they obtained the title deeds. Later, when mortgage of selections was allowed, many borrowed between £200 and £500, and some up to £3,000, on the security of their selections.

119. Register 4 Dec. 1866, p.3.
120. The fortunes of the March family were typical of those who settled in the Mid-North. March, 'Pioneering experiences,' op. cit.
121. Garden and Field 19 Oct. 1875, p.88
123. Ibid, Report, paragraph 9. The average amount received through mortgage was £650 per selector.
124. Credit Books (South Australian Lands Department Archives) show the amount of the mortgage for each selector and the dates upon which it was entered and discharged.
When the financial depression of 1884 occurred, the whole system of credit was thrown into confusion as storekeepers were unable to find the necessary money to satisfy their creditors. Many were forced to demand payment from the farmers at a time when seasons were poor. Other farmers, unable to meet mortgage payments, lost their properties.

The consistent testimony of the many selectors who were examined by the 1888 Land Commissioners was of debt and defeat. The Commissioner of Taxes, J.C. Russell, supported their claims. He stated that while farmers in the older districts were still earning a reasonable income, most of the selectors and scrub lessees were unable to make ends meet. He suggested that the line of demarcation between the two groups lay about 20 miles beyond Goyder's Line in the North and almost coincident with it in the East. In addition, those on Yorke Peninsula (except Yorke Valley), and in the Port Lincoln and Franklin Harbour areas were only "dragging out an existence."

The official income tax returns clearly showed the very limited prosperity of the wheat industry. In the years 1883-5 only 2% of

126. Circular: From the merchants of Adelaide to their constituents in the country, 16 May 1884 (S.A.A. Don 3062); T.A. Coghlan, Labour and Industry in Australia, 1788-1901, pp. 1549-1550, 1799-1800.
127. 1888 Land Commission, questions 2485-7 and 8419-8420.
128. 1888 Land Commissions, questions 3992-4000. All these districts, it should be noted, did not possess railway facilities, which greatly increased costs of transport.
the colony's 12,660 farmers earned a net income of £300 or more. A few may have been like T. Rickaby, who earned £400 by buying wheat on commission, but the general picture is clear. South Australia was no agricultural paradise. By bitter experience the farmers had shown that wheat-growing alone could not provide a living in the drier areas of the province and that even in the areas blessed by more reliable rains the margin of profit was not great.

129. SAPP 1895 No. 124, Particulars re income-tax payers. The taxable income in 1885 was an average of the earnings of the previous three years.

130. 1888 Land Commission, question 8124.
Chapter 4.

PARLIAMENT AND THE ADMINISTRATION.
CHAPTER 4.

PARLIAMENT AND THE ADMINISTRATION.

South Australia was born in the belief that correct control of the disposal of Crown Lands was the key to prosperity. The Wakefieldian notions of equality of land and the concentration of settlement were implicit in all the early land laws of both the Imperial and South Australian Parliaments, and these concepts continued to dominate the minds of the legislators for some time after self-government.

Through the trial and error of settlement, on the other hand, the farmers and pastoralists recognised, as we have seen, that there was considerable diversity and not equality in land throughout the colony and that consequently concentration of settlement was often impossible. These facts, however, did not receive legislative recognition until crisis-stricken electors learned to disapprove of the opportunism of place-seeking politicians and until the Department of Crown Lands improved its administrative efficiency. This chapter examines these changing attitudes evidenced by the members of the Legislature, the electors and the Department of Crown Lands.

The year 1868 clearly emerges as a significant turning-point. While after that year there was some continuity in attitudes, opportunism and methods of administration, there were many marked changes. The personal of Parliament was greatly different, new
leaders emerged in the House of Assembly, members generally were more aware of the realities of land settlement, sections of the electors became organized and influential, and the Crown Lands Department developed powerful and efficient administrative machinery. These were important factors in the greater readiness of Parliament to pass land laws after 1868 compared with the former reluctance to institute any change in the traditional methods inherited at the beginning of self-government.

1. **PARLIAMENT.**

Under self-government all adult males, except those insane or insolvent, were eligible to vote for the election of the members of the House of Assembly. The original electorates tended to favour the urban areas and the established farming districts near the metropolis. The redistribution of seats in 1861 and 1872 did not correct the discrepancies between the number of voters in each district, and the tendency for those in farming areas to return members who resided in Adelaide reinforced the predominance of urban opinion in the Legislature. In 1859, for instance, Glyde claimed that three-quarters of the members lived in or near Adelaide. A further redistribution in 1882, however, gave greater

---

1. John Becket Stephenson, "The electoral districts of South Australia, and population as a basis of representation, 1851-1882" (unpublished thesis, Adelaide University) pp. 36, 70-73. SAPP 1861 No. 20, and 1872 No. 27.
2. SAPD 1859, cols. 517-518.
representation to the new farming districts and increasingly local residents were chosen as representatives to the House. The Legislature in the 1880’s was distinctly less urban in colour than it was two decades before.

A further idea of the outlook of members of the House of Assembly can be gained by an examination of their occupations. Occupation is perhaps the best single indicator both of social status and dominant economic interest. The results of a detailed analysis of the members of the House of Assembly is given in Appendix D. Some imperfections of the table need to be pointed out.

One great difficulty in stating accurately the occupation of many M.Ps. was their multiple business dealings. Some were prominent in such varied fields as merchandise, mining and sheep raising, others invested in pastoral holdings as well as in commercial ventures, while very few did not invest fairly substantially in land. For the sake of simplicity (and because this method does not change the general pattern) the stated occupation is the one in which the person was engaged at the time of entering Parliament and by which he was commonly known. Subsequent changes in occupation and changes due to bi-elections have been ignored. A further difficulty was the scantiness of information about some members, but the proportion of doubtful identity is so small that the general picture is

3. SAPP 1882 No. 278; Pike, Paradise of Dissent, op. cit., p. 482
3a. The entries in Directories, usually inserted by the persons themselves, generally indicated the most important business field of each.
4. The biographical index compiled by the South Australian Archives was of immense value in tracing details concerning members.
not vitiated.

It is perhaps somewhat unexpected to find a group of pastoralists in the Assembly, when we have been led to believe that they were almost entirely absent from it. These figures (ranging from 15% to 33% of the total number) in fact understate the pastoral interest in the House, for many urban business men invested heavily in pastoral holdings. However, some of the pastoralists seldom troubled the Hansard reporters, either by speeches or by attendance at divisions, while few sought re-election after one term in office.

In general the squatting group lacked both continuous cohesion and the necessary Parliamentary technique to influence the House markedly. This is not to suggest that when there was no organized or recognised squatting party pastoralists did not command respect and attention from the House, for assuredly they did. But for the most part the squatters were individualists, not prone to form a consolidated group.

The decade of the 'sixties formed a major exception to this

5. Cf. similar work of Dr. Martin upon the New South Wales Legislative Assembly, where he found great difficulty in finding information about a large number of members. A.W. Martin, 'The Legislative Assembly of New South Wales, 1856-1900,' Australian Journal of Politics and History, Vol. 2, No.1 (1956).

6. See for example, the statement of I.D. McNaughton in G. Greenwood (ed.), Australia: a social and political history, p.120, note 49, where he claimed that there was only one squatter in the Assembly of 1859.

7. E.g. R.B. Leake did not utter a word in Parliament before he resigned after only one year.

8. Only the Hawkers (father and son), A. Hay, P.B. Coglin, J. Carr, A. Hardy and S. Newland were members for lengthy terms.

9. Dr. Martin states that the pastoralists in New South Wales acted in very much the same way. A.W. Martin, 'Pastoralist "influence" in the N.S.W. Legislative Assembly 1870-90', passim, (Paper read to Seminar, 1959 Australian National University).
general rule for then the Pastoral Association was large and influential. Several Governments were either broken or held in power because the pastoralists, being the largest single group in the Assembly, held the balance of power. The Association gained major victories in the remedial legislation of 1866 and 1867, but then, partly because their immediate objectives had been gained, and partly because their attention was directed to other matters, the pastoralists allowed their solidarity to disappear, the Association fading into oblivion. Apart from one occasion, in 1882, the pastoralists ceased to work as a composite group.

The commercial men of Adelaide generally formed the largest single group within Parliament. Their residence in Adelaide and the nature of their businesses (in which their personal supervision was not required continuously) enabled them to attend the sessions regularly and to serve for lengthy periods. More important, they were able to accept the additional responsibilities required of ministers of the Crown and thus be at the centre of policy-making. It was no accident that Cabinet-members were mainly "bank directors, land agents and a few retired shopkeepers". To these should be added the legal fraternity. This small section of the middle class exercised an unchallenged political leadership. Two characteristics of this group stand out, namely, a wide variety of interests
subsidiary to the chief occupation and wide-spread participation in investment or speculation in land. They were united in their desire for a continuous expansion of the province to add value to their investment or to give rich returns for their speculation. They were also generally agreed that their political aspirations had been fulfilled by the granting of the Constitution Act and were united in their rejection of radical alternatives. They styled themselves 'Conservative-democrats'; within the framework of the political and social structure which prevailed in 1856 they were prepared to legislate with a certain amount of liberality. Especially in the first twenty years of self-government, the differences in 'party' were a matter of degree rather than of kind, and hence the transition from one to another was not difficult and involved few questions of principle.

These generalizations were less applicable to the late 1870's and to the 1880's than for the two decades before that. The tenor of the House began to alter during the late 'seventies, but the extent should not be over-emphasised. All the premiers, and almost all the members of cabinets, had arrived in the colony, or were born in it, before the era of self-government. Basically their attitudes were based on the Wakefieldian principles of equality of land and concentration of settlement, principles which were no longer regarded as radical but as emphatically conservative. With

14. Very few nineteenth century Australian politicians styled themselves conservatives. This widespread self-application of the term is perhaps unique in Australia's history.
few exceptions, radicals had not yet found a place in the House. Even Kingston, who in the 'nineties was to pioneer radical legislation, at this stage modelled his thought on English precedent. Urban conservatism was still powerful.

Despite this continuity the changes were even more striking. Within a framework that was fundamentally conservative new leaders emerged in the 'seventies and 'eighties who were prepared to accept the now obvious fact of diversity of land and to legislate accordingly. One by one the men who had dominated the politics of the 'sixties vacated their seats in the House. Andrews was appointed Crown Solicitor in 1869, Strangways returned to England in 1871, Hart died in 1873, Reynolds retired in the same year, Arthur Blyth took up the position of Agent-General in London during 1877, Hay, Duffield and Coglin ascended to the calmer heights of the Legislative Council, while Neales, Santo and Neville Blyth slipped out of the picture. After the election of 1875 only 17 out of a House of 46 had sat in Parliament before the 1868 Session. This is not to say that the 'old guard' did not exert influence. Indeed, Reynolds, Blyth and Everard occupied the important post of Commissioner of Crown Lands during most of the years 1870-1875, while Krichauff (especially as Chairman of the 1879 Select Committee on the workings of the Land Acts), Colton, Glyde, Hawker, Bright and Townsend all were prominent throughout the decade. New

figures, however, were emerging, James Boucaut, until appointed to
the Supreme Court in 1878, began to dominate debates whether in
office or out of it. His policy of "Works to develop the country:
immigration to carry out the works and settle the country: taxation
16
to find the necessary means" signalled the end of one era and the
beginning of a new. In addition, Carr, Playford, Mann and Ward,
especially in matters touching upon land, exerted considerable
power.

During the 1880's this trend continued. Only 8 of the 52 who
were elected in 1884 had sat in the House ten years before. Three
of those eight—Playford, Colton and Hawker—gave conspicuous
leader-ship, the former two being premiers for two and one years
respectively, but newcomers like Catt (a storekeeper from Gladstone),
Bray, Downer and Kingston (all legal men) took their places along­
side their more experienced colleagues and exercised strong leader­
ship as well. These men were not reluctant to take heed of the
hard-won experiences of the settlers and of the informed advice
of the Department of Crown Lands, and, although desiring to retain
the laws unchanged where possible, they were prepared to meet crises
as they arose by legislative action.

2. POLITICAL RADICALISM

Part of the reason for this change in the attitude of members
of Parliament just discussed was the disapproval shown on certain

key occasions by groups of electors who were disgruntled with the lack of realism being shown by Parliament. These expressions of radicalism were not persistent but they were partially effective in achieving a measure of reform.

The first such expression came from the Political Association, formed in June 1859. The spark which set this movement on fire was unemployment and the consequent dissatisfaction with the policy of free immigration. John Clark, a Scottish tailor, quickly assumed leadership of the Association and welcomed into its fold all who nursed any grievances. By November there were 12 branches and the membership ran into the thousands. The Association actively campaigned during the elections of 1860 and were successful in having candidates whom they favoured returned in the city (all 6 members) and in the electorate of Burra and Clare (all 3 members). With the return of prosperity in the following year interest waned. Although meetings were held until the middle of 1862 the power of the Political Association had gone. P.B. Coglin, its treasurer and one of its leading members, remained in Parliament but prosperity and investment in pastoral leases led him, too, to join the ranks of the conservative-democrats.

Five years later some parts of the farming community became vocal in their demands for land reform. Although this agitation contributed to the election of Thomas Hogarth to the Legislative

18. Register 4 May 1860, p.2.
Council, for the most part it was localized in extent and ephemeral in effect. Another ten years was to elapse before there was any coordinated action by the farming community. In 1879 the South Australian Farmers Association came into being. The movement began at Crystal Brook, but within a year there were 10 branches and within a further year 37 branches. Much of this success was due to the energetic drive of Venning, the secretary of the Crystal Brook Branch, who voluntarily toured farming districts to help in the establishment of new branches. The organization became so large that in 1881 the central committee (which met in Adelaide, consisting of representatives from all branches) appointed a full-time secretary. The Areas Express, printed at Gladstone, became the public mouthpiece of the Association, special editions being distributed free to members. The Association markedly influenced the results of the 1881 elections, both for the Legislative Council and for the House of Assembly. In one sense its policy could not be classed as radical, but its insistence upon leasehold was clearly contrary to conservative thought. The Government soon realized that without bowing in some ways to the views of the Farmers Association they could not expect to maintain a majority in the House.

19. For fuller discussion, see Chapter 7 below.
24. See Chapter 9 below for further discussion on this point.
The onset of drought and depression sapped the strength of the Association. Branch after branch found it impossible to collect subscriptions, despite further deputation work by Venning. The special editions of the Areas Express were discontinued because of lack of finance. Nevertheless, most of the branches stayed in existence, and the central committee continued to exert influence upon the Government's land policy. They exerted influence rather than pressure, for they were in no position to make demands from strength. The extent of their influence reflected both the restrained nature of their policy and the modification in the conservative outlook.

The radical harness, in fact, passed onto the Working Men's Association and later the Political Committee of the Trades and Labour Council. This movement was centred almost entirely in the metropolis. Apart from branches of the Shearers' Union at Port Lincoln, Clare and Port Augusta (formed in 1886) and the Working Men's Association at Port Pirie (1887) unionism did not extend into the country until 1888, and then it was confined mainly to railway and shipping towns. Interest in land policy was secondary to trade matters, and was directed first towards Working Men's Blocks and later towards the teachings of Henry George. The fate

of the farmers on the fringe or of the pastoralists in the outback did not greatly concern the trade union movement.

3. POLITICAL ALIGNMENTS

The effect of the influence of these pressure groups should not be overestimated. There was one big factor not yet considered which materially hindered the development of a more enlightened Parliamentary attitude to land settlement, namely, the great emphasis in politics on place-seeking. The primary concern of those in positions of leadership was to win and hold power.

Notes made by Samuel Davenport during a political crisis in 1861 give a revealing account of the nature of politics and methods of political manœuvring.

"16th. Course. Get a party - agree on principle and measures - call a meeting of presumed supporters, and, submitting to them the programme of men and measures, test the degree of support to be calculated on, and act accordingly."⁴⁰

He commented that for the present scarcely a party existed, and that little difference of opinion existed on the way to provide the wants of the country.

"Therefore the formation of a new ministry does not involve the gathering of the pillars of a party but rather the linking together the elements of former parties in the persons of such members as appear most acceptable to the House and the country in relation to questions now pending- forming, in fact, a Coalition Government..... Had interview with Hanson, then with Reynolds. Reynolds makes no advance till he has met his supporters. Take no further steps today."

"17th. Reynolds declines coalition - desiring apparently to

---

⁴⁰ Samuel Davenport, 'Private memorandum book,' 16 May 1861 (S.A.A. 535)
"see present attempt fail, when his party would come in again. See Hanson - A. Blyth and Milne cannot agree as to a Treasurer. Reynolds' side of House too strong for any one we could nominate.

"18th. Thought by taking Stow and Santo to weaken Reynolds' party. No. good. Surrender the duty. No appearance existing of constituting a permanent ministry and better Reynolds' party should go in and be beaten on their measures. Sic transit gloria mundi." 31

During the first two decades of self-government the spotlight was more often on men than on measures. Legislation was determined by what was acceptable rather than by what was desirable. Behind the scenes there was almost ceaseless bargaining and intrigue. In the 18 years from 1857 to 1875 there were 25 separate ministries (including reconstructed ministries). The personnel of ministries usually reflected compromises which had been agreed upon during the inevitable jostling for office. Strangways, one of the dominant figures of the period, in picturesque but brutally sarcastic language, described one ministry thus:

"He had seen in London, at the top of Trafalgar Square, a large cage on wheels, in which there were owls, hawks, cats, rats, mice, ferrets, weasels and a lot of other animals, which might all be seen for the charge of one penny. He believed that no happy family ever exhibited in London was ever composed of a more incongruous lot of animals than the happy family of the Government, which anyone who came to the House might see gratis, with the Chief Secretary for showman." 32

He was in no position to cast the first stone. A few months later Colton, another prominent member, attacked him in this way.

31. Ibid 16th, 17th, 18th May 1861.
32. SAPD. 1868, col. 539.
"As regards the Hon. member Mr. Strangways, if he was as consistent as he possessed talent, he had no doubt he would carry everything before him; but unfortunately for him, hon. members did not believe that he meant what he said unless it was to suit his purpose. He had told them that his great point was to scramble into office anyhow; honestly or otherwise he would get there if he could."

The accusation was very near the mark, but could have been applied equally to many others. To the outside observer prominent members of the House appeared to be more concerned about positions of office than for the welfare of the community.

Within such a fluid situation there were some attempts to create a stable majority. The Government often convened a meeting of its supporters before submitting legislation to the House. In a small House the result of legislation was by this means often known well in advance, especially as "whips" were used to ensure a full attendance. Decisions in "caucus" — the word was used — were often as far-reaching as decisions in the House. Stable governments, however, were produced largely through the enlarged size of the House. In 1875 the numbers were increased from 36 to 46 and in 1884 to 52. Majorities tended to be larger and thus more stable. Pressure groups both within and without Parliament, realizing their loss of power, became less intensive in tactics and propaganda. Even so, there were seven ministries in the period 1875 to 1881 and another seven between 1881 and 1890. Although there can be no doubt that governments were more stable from the mid-1870's, the

33. SAPD 1868, col. 691.
34. See comments in Register 23 June 1860, p.2, editorial headed 'Party tactics'.
36. e.g. SAPD 1868, col. 707; and G.C. to E.W. Hawker 4 May 1886.
discontinuity should not be over-emphasised. Bargaining, intrigue and place-seeking were still prominent marks of Parliamentary activities. Land Bills were often rejected during the 1870's and 1880's not because they were intrinsically distasteful to the majority but because they were being used as pawns in the game of power. But, as will be demonstrated in the succeeding chapters, the existence of crises in land settlement compelled Parliament to lay aside sometimes such self-centred considerations and to get down to the serious business of making the land laws workable.

4. THE DEPARTMENT OF CROWN LANDS.

In the meantime it was the task of the Department of Crown Lands to make the best possible use of the imperfect laws that were passed. In the first decade and a half of self-government the Department was hampered by the instability of governments, by the lack of experience of its officers and by being forced to deal with the land as if it was all equally usable when the Department knew full well of its great diversity. But from the 1870's the position improved greatly. More stability in government and growing experience of the staff both increased the efficiency of administration, and, in addition, the Department was allowed a greater freedom in the way it could deal with individual blocks of land and with particular people. The Department was equipped to handle the tasks committed to it.

37. See remarks of Boucaut, quoted on p. 289, below.
The Commissioner of Crown Lands from the beginning had a large and complex Department to administer. Working under him at the time of self-government were the Surveyor-General, the Inspector of Sheep, the Inspector-General of Credit Selections, the Immigration Agent, the Inspector of Mines and the Gold Commissioners, and he was responsible also for the welfare of aborigines. The correspondence of the Department was voluminous, the work intricate and difficult. During the 1850's and 1860's only Strangways (3 years) and F.S. Dutton (2 years) were in charge for any length of time. Because of this the Commissioners either adopted a dictatorial attitude based on insufficient knowledge (as was demonstrated by Milne in the declaration of the Murray Hundreds) or they leant heavily upon the advice and experience of the permanent staff, especially upon the Surveyor-General, first Colonel Freeling and later G.W. Goyder. The period of the early 'sixties was characterized by one as the era when "Goyder was King". This situation reflected as much the inadequacies of the Commissioners as it did the attitude of Goyder.

During the 1870's, in contrast, although changes in Government were still rapid, Playford administered the Department for a total of four years, Everard and Cavenagh for two years and Reynolds, Carr and A. Blyth for more than a year. Carr and Playford, in particular,

38. CLO 3 of 29 Oct. 1856.
40. SAPD 28 Jan. 1870, col. 1510.
monopolised the portfolio from 1876 until 1881. Both were highly regarded by their friends and opponents alike. The viewpoints of these administrators differed enormously. Cavenagh (1869-1870) was a gentleman-farmer and a conservative who strongly believed that only people with some capital resources should become farmers. Blyth (1870-1) was a prominent iron merchant and Bank Director, also a conservative who consistently defended the "rights of capital". Reynolds (1872-1873), a merchant, had been noted for his financial ability and his free-trade sentiments rather than for any interest in land reform. Everard (1873-1875) was peculiarly situated in that he was a member of the Legislative Council, administering the Department but not initiating policy. Land matters in the House during this period were handled by the Chief Secretary, Blyth. Everard, a banker and financier, had previously opposed any liberalization of the land laws, being manifestly conservative. Carr (1876-77) was the son of a Yorkshire farmer and one of the few ministers who had arrived in the colony after 1850. While farming near Adelaide, he ventured into holding pastoral leases and claims and later into business at Port Adelaide. Playford (1876, 1877-81) perhaps the most influential of all these Commissioners, was an orchardist in the Adelaide Hills, and a son of one of Adelaide's well-known clergymen. Although relatively well-endowed with this world's goods, he was by no means the representative of capital that all the others were. The Lands Department was being controlled by a man of the land, one who knew the practical problems of farming as well as being an efficient administrator.

41. For biographical details see Observer 30 Apr. 1892, p.37 and 12 Jan. 1895, p.16 (Cavenagh); Observer 12 Dec. 1891, p23 (Blyth); Register 8 Mar. 1875, p.4 (Reynolds); Observer 31 Aug. 1889, p.33 (Everard); Burgess, Cyclopedia of South Australia Vol. 1, p. 225 (Carr) and Observer 24 Apr. 1915, p.44 (Playford).
In the following decade the portfolio was shared by Catt, Howe and Jenkin Coles, each being in command for long periods. Howe was the only one who had had some experience in grazing and agriculture, but both Catt and Coles had been brought into close contact with the farming community through their country businesses. The correspondence of the Crown Lands Department reveals that these men, although not always correct in their judgment, were capable and fairminded, willing to listen to the advice of the permanent staff but prepared also to make important decisions on their own initiative. They continued the tradition of efficiency and honesty which the Department had built up over the years and which was now jealously guarded. Throughout the period under review no-one called for an investigation into the work of the Department. Whenever subordinates breached the rules, were negligent or showed favour, prompt and decisive action was taken, even though in one instance this meant that a Deputy Surveyor-General was relegated to a lower office. The Department maintained the confidence of both public and Parliament.

Within the Department there were three officers who exerted influence on land policy – the Chief Inspector of Sheep, the Inspector-General of Credit Selections and the Surveyor-General. H.T. Morris was Chief

---

42. Observer 12 June 1897, p.16.
43. Observer 27 May 1893, p.16 (Catt) and Observer 6 Jan. 1894, p.16 (Coles)
44. For an idea of the efficiency of the Department see SAPP 1890 No. 30; Sixth progress report of the Public Service Commission and No 30c, Seventh progress report of the Public Service Commission. These papers concern the Crown Lands and Surveyor-General's Department
45. CLO 639 of 5 Apr. 1861. For other instances of disciplinary action see CLO 2127 of 1861; 305 of 1862; 394 and 2641 of 1865; and SAPP 1868-9 No 87, Charges against Inspector Galbraith.
Inspector of Sheep from 1853 until 1865. Early association with the sheep industry, and extensive travel over the pastoral districts of the colony in 1861 gave him a knowledge of the pastoral industry probably unsurpassed in South Australia. His drive largely contributed to the swift eradication of the scab disease from the South-East. Such was the recognition of his worth that the Government of 1863 departed from usual procedure in allowing Morris to accept a testimonial of 660 sovereigns, given by many lessees in appreciation of "the upright and faithful manner" in which he had performed his task.

In 1865 the State lost a valuable servant when Morris accepted the managership of 'Anlaby' one of the foremost stations in the colony. Valentine, his successor, did not possess the stature, experience or drive of Morris. Through negligence he allowed scab to spread in the Wellington area. Thereafter, although he retained his position, his influence was negligible. For years he tried in vain to have sorely-needed changes made in the Diseases in Stock Act.

The enormous increase in work that selection upon credit entailed for the Department soon necessitated its re-organization. A sub-department, under the command of Charles Bonney, was established in 1871 to handle details of credit agreements and to supervise the conditions of residence and improvements. At first this Department was under the control of the Surveyor-General, but after 1874 it was managed as a separate entity. Bonney was a splendid choice for this

46. G.E. Loyau, Representative men of South Australia, pp. 180-1.
47. CLO 2082 of 1863.
49. CLO 448, 952 and 1936 of 1878; 44 and 1422 of 1881.
50. CLO 1410 of 30 Oct. 1874.
position because of his long experience in the administration of the South Australian land laws. Beneath him worked several sub-inspectors who were stationed in country districts to report on the credit selections. These included Wornum, previously a student of agricultural chemistry under Liebig, Tolmer, a former police officer and Crown Lands Ranger, and Boucaut, a brother of the Premier and a former Crown Lands Ranger. All proved to be alert, efficient guardians of the law. The administrative machinery, though not large, was adequate to meet the demands made on it, and was staffed by intelligent and honest men keen to carry out the policy of establishing a settled yeomanry. Bonney's task was mainly administrative, but he also rendered valuable service in pointed out inconsistencies in the Acts and Regulations and in suggesting improvements in legislation. His was no spectacular contribution, but it was a real one. Borrow, his successor, exerted considerable influence at the time of indecision, when drought hit the northern fringe lands. He, however, had not the experience of Bonney to guide his actions and advice, so he, too, tended to fade from view. Only Goyder remained.

5. THE DOMINANCE OF G.W. GOYDER.

The Surveyor-General was the key person in the Crown Lands Department. At the time of self-government Colonel Freeling held that

54. GLO 746 and 1305 of 1871; 256 and 458 of 1872; 710 and 1147 of 1874.
55. See Chapter 9 below.
position. Though knowledgeable and efficient, he was more noted for his "amiable disposition .... kindness and affability" than for vigorous administration. In 1861 he resigned so that he could rejoin his old regiment.

His successor was George Woodroffe Goyder. Goyder was the dominant personality of the period 1860 to 1890. He was continuity in the midst of discontinuity. He stood so large that it is necessary to look at his life and work in some detail. Unfortunately little material is available for an adequate biographical sketch. For the most part we are forced to see him as the official correspondence reveals him.

G.W. Goyder was the first son of the Rev. David George Goyder, a minister of the New Jerusalem Church (Swedenborgian) in London. As well as his ministerial duties, his father practised as a physician in London and in Glasgow. George was educated in Glasgow, and then served an apprenticeship to a firm of engineers. In 1848, at the age of 22, he migrated to Sydney, spending several years in an auctioneering firm, and then, after a short period in Melbourne, arrived at Adelaide where he worked for a year as a draughtsman in the Engineers Department. After a period at the Adelaide Exchange, he was appointed Chief Clerk of the Lands Office in January 1853. At yearly intervals he was promoted to second assistant, first assistant and then Deputy Surveyor-General. In this capacity he discovered and examined pastoral country

56. George E. Loyau, Notable South Australians, p. 81.
57. CLO 1207 of 12 Oct. 1860 and 1404 of 19 Nov. 1860.
60. CLO 679 of 1859.
in the North and supervised field parties, and then, at his own request, took command of the triangulation of the northern county. On the retirement of Colonel Freeling, however, the Government had no hesitation in recalling Goyder to take on the responsibilities of Surveyor-General.

Goyder's upbringing seemed to give him a passion for integrity and fair-mindedness and an evangelical zeal which remained with him for life. Those with whom he worked in close contact - either Commissioners or subordinates - quickly learnt that he was one who could be trusted completely. On one occasion Playford demanded that a criticism of Goyder be withdrawn unconditionally before further proceedings were taken. Playford added:

"Any person who is at all acquainted with that officer (Goyder) must know that he is quite incapable of conduct such as that attributed to him."

The nickname of "Little Energy" gradually was attached to Goyder. "He offered a consistent example of strict adherence to duty and zeal for the public interest," and he expected, indeed demanded, the same from his staff. "Efficiency" was his watch-word. He had a "firm disposition", (he admitted that himself) but at the same time he was not slow to give praise where it was due, to recommend promotion

61. CLO 361 and 362 of 1857 and 793 of 1859.
62. CLO 793 of 26 Sept. 1859.
63. CLO 1404 of 19 Nov. 1860.
64. SGO 1826 of 29 Apr. 1881. See also the comment on CLO 297 of 9 Feb. 1878.
66. Loc. cit., 'Address presented to Goyder on his retirement'.
67. e.g. see his comments in CLO 2323 of 6 Oct., 1863.
69. Loc. cit.
when it was deserved and to press for increased salaries for his hard-worked staff. The relative infrequency of staff changes speaks well for his firm and kindly control. There can be no doubt that the efficiency and integrity of the Department sprang from him.

The work of Goyder will be discussed more fully in each of the chapters that follow. Sufficient is it here to say that whenever Governments had "important work to be done", they turned to Goyder. His name became a household word in the 'sixties when he valued the pastoral leases, and his exploits in that regard became almost legend, being handed down from father to son. Then, for years "Goyder's Line" became a term on every lip. He succeeded where all others had failed in surveying suitable land for settlement in the Northern Territory. The smoothness of the expansion of agriculture during the 1870's was largely due to the efficiency of his administration. His mind first gave birth to the idea of a drainage scheme in the South-East, a work that later made available hundreds of sq. miles of land. The direction of the railway network of the 1870's and 1880's was greatly influenced by his ideas. The initial plan for adequate water supplies along interior stock routes came from his pen. The establishment of leasehold farming, of the Pastoral Board and the Land Boards were aided by his keen brain. And so the list could be lengthened. At the retirement of Goyder, the editor of The Public Service

70. CLO 1713 and 2923 of 1865; 561 of 1873; 110 of 1874 and 2498 of 1 Sept. 1888.
72. The Public Service Review, Vol. 2, No. 6, p. 45, letter from 'Disgusted.'
73. CLO 300 of 1863.
Review wrote truly:

"Forty-two years' able and faithful service, for most part of the time as head of one of the principal departments of the State, and that department the one administering its Crown Lands, constitute a life work to be proud of, and one to command, as we believe it does, the respect and admiration of every member of the Public Service of South Australia." 74

These things were achieved despite several handicaps which Goyder had to suffer. Goyder's family did not enjoy good health. One daughter was afflicted by a severe eye complaint, several were invalids, while others experienced indifferent health. Expenses incurred on their behalf, in addition to the normal cost of a large family (there were 13 children, although one died in infancy) caused considerable financial embarrassment. On three occasions, in 1862, 1873 and 1878, Goyder announced his intention of resigning from the public service so that he could enter private business. The various Governments, unable to secure a suitable successor, prevailed upon him to continue by offering much greater remuneration. In 1878, for instance, his salary was increased by £300 to £1,250 p.a., Goyder becoming one of the top-salaried men in the Public Service. Thereafter the financial problem was not acute, although the difficulty of his family's ill-health remained.

Of greater trouble was his own poor health. He suffered severely from scurvy for several years after his work on the triangulation of the North. Recovery appeared complete when he was able to undertake without difficulty the strenuous task of valuing the pastoral leases.

74. The Public Service Review, Vol. 2, No. 5, p. 33
75. CLO 68 of 19 Jan., 1874.
76. CLO 561 of 19 Mar., 1878.
77. CLO 2081 of 10 Oct., 1862; 386 of 31 Mar., 1873 and 561 of 19 Mar., 1878.
78. CLO 561 of 1878.
but riding more than 10,000 miles in less than 20 months took its toll. When he returned from the equally arduous task of completing the survey in the Northern Territory, his doctor declared that he was suffering from

"nervous and muscular debility, arising from prolonged application to business, and that under the conditions of a tropical climate of an exhausting nature."

He ordered a period of complete rest and change for the Surveyor-General. One other factor contributed to this breakdown of his health. In April 1870 his first wife, who bore him 10 children, died. Goyder was granted nine months' leave of absence in 1871, during which he visited England, Europe and the United States. The change restored his health. In November 1871, two months after his return, he married a second time.

The tremendous pressure of work due to the rapid increase in land sales later brought a return of ill-health. Goyder rarely took an annual vacation, applying himself ceaselessly to his work, but in 1875 severe headaches and giddy turns forced him to ask for leave. In the following year he was granted three months' leave to visit the cooler climate of New Zealand so that he could recover his health. During the 1880's his general condition seemed to have improved but in 1888 he was again forced to give up duties, this time for eight

79. CLO 81 of 26 Jan. 1871, with Dr. Allan Campbell's note enclosed.
80. Burke, History of Colonial Gentry, op. cit. p.689. The first mention of Goyder's ill-health was in May 1870, a month after his wife's death. CLO 463 of 12 May 1870.
81. CLO 81 of 1871.
83. CLO 1095 of 31 Aug. 1875. See also 1724 of Aug. 1885.
84. CLO 336 and 374 of Mar. 1876.
This ill-health affected more than himself, for unfortunately Goyder's absence from his duties coincided with times of crises. In 1868, when the question of credit selection was being hotly debated, he was away in the Northern Territory. During 1871, when the agricultural advance began to gather pace and in 1876, when the North was being taken up rapidly, he was absent. When the whole position of Crown Lands was being re-examined during 1888 he was on sick leave. The absence of his expert advice was a decided loss to the Government of the day.

One of the surveyors who worked under his command has left a short but revealing pen-picture of Goyder.

"G.W.G., a gentleman, of cyclonic energy, had a way of imparting to those under him a desire to do their best, and it is notable that when workers are so employed very little time is wasted in complaining about the conditions or reward.... "The late Surveyor-General travelled this route by coach sometimes, his favourite seat being next to the driver. Another passenger fortunate enough to occupy the other seat was sure of entertainment that would pass the long hours without weariness. G.W.G. was a most versatile gentleman, officially a martinet and jealous of rivalry, but out of harness friendly, sociable and instructive to the nth degree. He was musical, and humming airs from Italian operas he would suddenly break off, and with a pleasant voice that commanded attention relate a few incidents in his experiences in short stories, putting in little details that go to make a perfect story; and he was a good listener, with the marvellous intuition that with a word or two now and then would keep the narrator to the thread of his discourse.

"A keen observer, nothing escaped him. Plants, trees, shrubs he would name in passing, giving the botanical name, that betrayed a most retentive memory.... Details yes, and a wonderful organizer. Instruction from him left nothing to be surmised, clear, concise, complete.

"The most valuable Government servant of his time, and,

85. CLO 2498 of 1 Sept. 1888.
"though the highest paid, his recompense was not within coo-ee of what it would be now for the same amount of work. And withal a kindly, helpful nature that strengthened the steps of many a young man in sickness or trouble and in his journey through life." 86

In one sense Goyder was a bridge – a bridge between the predominantly urban and somewhat conservative Legislature and the rural community who often demanded change. Although an urban dweller himself, his wide experience, supported by his keen perception, enabled him to enter sympathetically into the feelings of the primary producers. As an administrator he was able to keep the balance between what was logical in theory and what was workable in practice. During the period of rapid expansion he sought to temper enthusiasm with sound judgment. His own viewpoint (after an initial period of outspoken opinions and extreme self-confidence) was neither conservative nor blatantly radical. He seemed to seek for 'the golden mean'.

His role should not be exaggerated. He was only one amongst the many who played a part in the formation and execution of land policies. His advice was ignored or modified almost as often as it was accepted. He made mistakes. But there can be no doubt, on the other hand, that "the great professional and local knowledge, the untiring application and industry of Mr. Goyder" made him the outstanding figure in this era of the settlement of South Australia.

86. Register 3 and 24 Mar. 1928, articles by Lionel C.E. Gee, 'The South-East Fifty Years ago.'
87. See CLO 1260 of 1860 and 540 of 1864 for suggestions for radical changes. See also Chapter 5 below for Goyder's attitude to his valuations of pastoral leases. It seems that Goyder later realized his mistaken opinion of this country and thus learnt the lesson of caution.
88. e.g. his mistaken opinion of the Lake Torrens country (CLO 361 and 362 of 1857) and his opposition to some form of credit selection.
The experience of the settlers, the workings of the Department of Crown Lands and the changing attitudes of Parliament paved the way for legislative recognition of land diversity. This came first through differential lease valuations, then through the opening of special agricultural areas, and finally in the creation of separate district land Boards and the Pastoral Board. These developments are examined in detail in Part 2 of this thesis.

89. CLO 561 of 19 Mar. 1878, comment by the Chief Secretary, William Morgan.
Part II.
THE POLITICS OF SETTLEMENT

Chapter 5.
DIFFERENTIAL VALUATIONS FOR PASTORAL LEASES, 1857-1865.
CHAPTER 5.

DIFFERENTIAL VALUATIONS FOR PASTORAL LEASES, 1857-1865

The first important change to the laws controlling the leasing of Crown Lands for pastoral purposes was the establishment of differential lease valuations. Previously all land had been leased at a fixed rental, a policy in harmony with the Wakefieldian assumption that all land was equally suitable for production.

This change, as far as Parliament was concerned, was accidental rather than intentional. In fact, members of the Legislature had no real desire to alter the land laws of the province which, they claimed, had proved so successful in concentrating settlement. They agreed to the alteration only because there was no other expedient way to raise revenue for desired public works. The introduction of differential valuations was a bi-product of financial policy. None seemed to appreciate the fact that they were rejecting the previous belief of the equality of land and that they were now affirming the diversity of land. The implications of the change were not seen at the time.

The new method of dealing with pastoral leases soon brought two important results. In the first place, the Department of Crown Lands was compelled to undertake an intensive examination of pastoral lands. This clearly showed the futility of treating all land as equal in value. Thereafter the Department worked in accordance with the recognition of the great diversity of land in South
Australia. When Parliament lagged behind in this regard, the administration of the Department did much to bring reality to the handling of Crown Lands. Then, in the second place, there developed a sharp clash between the pastoralists and Parliament, and to some extent between the pastoralists and the rest of the community, which was to have a strong bearing on future attitudes to the pastoral lessees. The pastoralists in the more favoured runs (linked together in the Pastoral Association), realizing after a time that differential valuations greatly increased the rentals which they had to pay, vigorously opposed the new system. The issue was brought to a head in 1865 by Goyder's valuations, by which rentals for a renewed term of lease were fixed. Parliament stood firm in its insistence that the increased charges were fair, while the pastoralists brought many arguments to light to prove the contrary. The charges stood. The policy of differential lease valuations became firmly entrenched, but so too was the attitude which regarded the pastoralists as those who made fortunes by the use of public lands and who deserved little consideration in the settlement of the land. This reinforced the traditional attitude that in land the best policy was to change nothing, to hold fast to that which had proved good.

1. THE BEGINNING: ASSESSMENT ON STOCK ACT, 1858.

At the time of self-government pastoralists were able to secure leases for a maximum term of 14 years. The rentals theoretically ranged from 20/-, 15/- to 10/- per sq. mile, but in practice most received their leases at the minimum rate. The lessee had complete
freedom to erect dwellings, fences, stockyards and other improvements but these were to become the property of the Crown at the expiration of the lease. The Governor had the power to sell or resume leased lands provided that six months' notice of such intention was given, and then the improvements were to be paid for by the Crown. In the first year of self-government the Legislature readily passed a law which continued the existing system. There were a few minor criticisms, but in general satisfaction reigned supreme, Parliament had no intention of committing the error of changing what was to them obviously the best land system in Australia.

In the next year, nevertheless, the Assessment on Stock Act, 1858, altered the situation. Essentially, the Act provided for two things:

1. The lessee could surrender his existing 14 year lease to receive a new one, which entitled him to renew the lease for a further five years, without outside competition.

2. Under the new lease, the pastoralist agreed to pay, in addition to the former yearly rental of 10/- per sq. mile, an annual assessment of 2d. per sheep on the carrying capacity of the lease, as determined by officials of the Department of Crown Lands. The maximum capacity was fixed at 240 sheep per sq. mile and the minimum at 100. In short,

2. See SAPD 5 May 1857, cols. 60 et seq.
3. See comments by the Commissioner of Crown Lands in SAPD 1857, cols 93 and 98.
the effective rental was increased by from 16/8 to £2 per sq. mile, according to the quality of the land.

The reason for this legislation was not dissatisfaction with the existing system. The State needed additional public revenue to avoid a financial crisis, and the best source of revenue was the prosperous pastoral industry. During the three years prior to 1853 the combined ordinary and land revenue fell far short of the total spent. Only the unexpended surplus in the Land Fund (which had been augmented by the unprecedented demand for land arising from the increased prosperity centred on gold) had avoided a crisis before this time. The surplus, obviously, could not remain for long. The depressing trends which faced the various treasurers — R.R. Torrens, J. Hart and B.T. Finniss — were, on the one hand, a relatively stationary income from indirect taxation and a decreasing revenue from the sale of land, and, on the other hand, a high level of expenditure which was likely to increase rather than decrease through the evident desire to press on with needed public works. These trends are clearly seen in Table 7.

**TABLE 7**

**Public Revenue and Expenditure 1853-1857.**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Revenue</th>
<th>Expenditure</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Customs</td>
<td>Land</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1853</td>
<td>£171,299</td>
<td>£314,432</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1854</td>
<td>£161,294</td>
<td>£394,581</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1855</td>
<td>£129,501</td>
<td>£272,316</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1856</td>
<td>£152,135</td>
<td>£274,967</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1857</td>
<td>£151,667</td>
<td>£243,440</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

4. SAPP 1861 No. 6, Statistical Register. At the commencement of self-government the Land Fund ceased to be an entity entirely separate from the General Revenue and Expenditure of South Australia.
The issue was brought to a head when the Legislative Council rejected the Gawler Railway Extension Bill chiefly on the ground that too much money had been borrowed already. Faced with the choice of cutting its programme of public works or else finding finance from within the colony, the Government determined to raise the necessary money by taxation. The investigations of the Select Committee appointed to enquire into the question of taxation indicated that the Government at first thought of instituting an income tax, but opposition was so overwhelming that such an idea was politically impossible. Hence the alternative of an impost on the prosperous pastoral industry was considered. It was no secret that the pastoral industry was enjoying undoubted prosperity. Rapidly increasing flocks, high prices for wool and sheep, little need for expenditure on capital equipment and relatively low costs of production all combined to give the pastoralists splendid returns for their investments. Those who favoured greater expenditure on public works claimed that existing rentals were ridiculously low in view of the profits being won from the land and demanded that the impoverished Treasury should be aided by a substantial rise in rentals. The opposition of the pastoralists Bagot and Angas, and of the "squatting bankers" in the Legislative Council to the Kapunda

6. 1858 SC Taxation, Report and evidence. It was significant that J.B. Neales, one of Adelaide's wealthiest businessmen, was the prime mover behind the imposition of the assessment. He, and others, were well aware of the implications of an income tax upon their pockets. See SAPD 30 Sept. 1858, col. 261 and 19 Nov. 1858, col. 648.
Railway project no doubt added favour to the proposal. The Government estimated that an assessment of 2d. per sheep would raise about £20,000 a year, approximately the amount immediately needed for the railway.

The pastoralists in Parliament immediately opposed the idea. In a battle of tactics, the Government agreed to appoint a Select Committee to hear the case of those who would be taxed. The Committee was duly appointed, took evidence and presented its divided report. It accomplished little. Many of the witnesses seemed to appear at the wish of the pastoral members of the Committee rather than from their own volition to appeal against the Bill. John Baker, to name one, had not seen the proposed Act, nor was he acquainted with its provisions before he read it while being questioned. The members of the Committee merely had their views confirmed, and no other member of the House changed his opinion because of it. Nor did the Government accept the adverse report of the majority of the Committee as a bar to the pursuance of the Bill, for they claimed that it was merely a means by which the Pastoralists could state their case.

The back-bone of the opposition to the Bill, however, was not the pastoralists in the House (whose concern was mainly financial) but the political conservatives. Strangways, for instance, sprang to the defence of the existing order, claiming that the Bill was a

7. SAPD 29 Sept. 1858, col. 257.
8. 1858 SC Assessment on Stock, questions 85-6.
9. SAPD 19 Nov. 1858, col. 645 and 23 Nov. 1858, col. 663.
repudiation of the "solemn agreement" made with the lessees in 1851.

He continued:

"In dealing with the squatting question also, hon. members should remember that the squatters have always been not only in this, but in all the Australasian colonies, the pioneers of civilization, and that if we taxed them, we taxed one of the most important interests in the country... It was their part to prepare the interior for the habitation of civilized man, and if we did anything to restrain them we would check the progress of the colony." 10

Assured of the support of these conservatives, the pastoralists 11 were in a position to defeat the measure. Although aware of this, the Government refused to accept defeat. At first they threatened 12 to pass the Bill at all costs, but then they introduced the Waste Lands Amendment Bill in an obvious bid to woo the pastoralists. This measure restored to the lessees the right to secure annual leases without competition, and also increased penalties for trespass. Subsequently, a small section of the squatters, led by George Hawker of Bungaree station, saw the opportunity for gaining an important concession in return for accepting the assessment. They realized that in a few years their valuable leases would be offered at public auction, when either they would have to pay much higher rentals than those proposed under the present Bill or else they might even lose possession of the lease. Well satisfied with the prosperity of the industry, they decided that it was preferable to pay slightly higher rentals for the present if they could gain certainty of tenure for the future. Hence, on 24th November Hawker

10. SAPD 30 Sept. 1858, col. 262.
11. SAPD 26 Nov. 1858, col. 698.
12. SAPD 19 Nov. 1858, col. 648.
announced to the House that the pastoralists were prepared to withdraw their opposition to the Bill provided that the present leases were renewed at a valuation instead of being submitted to public auction. He claimed that he acted with the concurrence of other pastoralists, but it is obvious that those whose opinions he elicited were but few and that these were by no means unanimous in their thinking. In fact, Hawker acted only for a few of the wealthy pastoralists, ignoring the needs and opinions of the small-scale and less prosperous pastoralists to whom increased charges would be a distinct hardship. The Premier, Hanson, accepted Hawker’s basis for compromise, declaring himself to be favourable towards renewal of leases every five years. Thereafter the passing of the measure was certain. The major interest lay in the machinery to implement the assessment. The Government’s original suggestion for a tax on the number of sheep actually grazing on the land, as declared annually by the lessees themselves, was abandoned. Instead Hawker’s proposal that the assessment should be levied upon the grazing capacity of the leases was accepted. This was a complete reversal of opinion. Earlier in debate accurate determination of grazing capacity had been declared "impossible" because of the complete failure of such a system in New South Wales and Victoria. Now, however, members readily accepted the opinion of Hawker, believing

13. SAPD 24 Nov., 1858, col. 684. Others had suggested such a concession during the debate. SAPD 1858, cols. 651 (Neales), 660 (Peake) and 665 (Milne).
14. 1860 SC Assessment on Stock Act, questions 151, 354 and 488.
15. e.g. 1858 SC Assessment on Stock, question 15.
16. SAPD 24 November 1858, col. 700.
17. SAPD 29 Sept. 1858, col. 258.
that it was representative of the pastoral industry. This was unfortunate since later it became apparent that most favoured an annual declaration of the number of sheep on the lease.

The squatters in the Legislative Council, rather than jeopardize the measure by attempts to alter the maximum and minimum number of stock set by the House of Assembly, passed it 'in toto', without opposition and with enthusiasm. What had begun as a highly contentious issue completed its Parliamentary journey as the accepted brainchild of the whole Legislature.

2. THE INTERIM: ADMINISTRATIVE DIFFICULTIES.

The administration of the Act caused difficulties, and in the early stages hardship for some lessees. On the positive side, however, these difficulties led to a thorough investigation of the pastoral industry by the Department of Crown Lands and to some slight recognition in Parliament of the needs of the pastoral lessees.

The crux of the difficulty was an adequate method for determining the carrying capacities of the leases. At first leases were classified into four broad groups, all leases in a particular area being rated together. This was obviously a compromise between the old conception of equality of land and the new recognition of the diversity of the land. The compromise was not satisfactory. Some lessees immediately expressed dissatisfaction, and, acknowledging the

18. Almost without exception the pastoralists before the 1860 Select Committee condemned assessment on grazing capacity.
justification for the complaints, the Department of Crown Lands increased the number of divisions to 7. Further complaints led to the appointment in 1860 of a Select Committee to investigate the workings of the Act. The Administration, however, were already taking steps to improve the situation.

The Surveyor-General, Colonel Freeling, felt that the real difficulty was the lack of accurate information about the pastoral leases. At his suggestion, Morris, the Chief Inspector of Sheep, was sent on a year's strenuous tour of all the leases. He inspected the land and was generally able to check his calculations against the stockbooks of the pastoralists. On his return the Department possessed detailed information which was to become the basis for their work during the following years.

The Chief Inspector of Sheep advised the Government to abolish classification because the diversity of the country would not allow a simple but fair division. He suggested instead that stations should be assessed individually. This was the ultimate in recognition of the diversity of the pastoral lands. But there were others who were not in agreement with Morris. The newly appointed Surveyor-General, Goyder, asserted that such a system was administratively unworkable even though it might be desirable. The 1860 Select Committee recommended that the carrying capacity should be determined

19. CLO 415 of 9 June 1859 and SAPP No. 162, Petition against classification of runs.
20. SAPP 1861 No. 101, Report by Estimator of Runs.
21. SAPP 1861 No. 109, Report on Assessment of Stock Bill, 1861. See also CLO 1370 of 25 July 1861 where Goyder repeated his assertions.
not by individual valuation but by a declaration of the actual number of stock depastured on the lease at the time. The Government decided against these views and acted on the suggestion of Morris. The major factor in their decision was the fact that a tax on the grazing capacity of leases was likely to return a greater revenue than a charge on the stock actually depastured on the leases since most leases were not fully stocked.

Some attempt was made, meanwhile, to assist the lessees who were being unfairly penalized under the existing Act. At first the minimum number was reduced from 100 to 50 sheep per sq. mile and then payments were halved pending consideration of a further Bill. Later, after initial refusal, the Parliament allowed an appeal against the valuations of Goyder, who had been appointed Valuator of Runs. But Goyder discovered that, even though in some instances he was willing to revise his published valuations, neither he nor the Government possessed the power to alter them. Subsequent dissatisfaction with the assessment stemmed chiefly from the inability of the Valuator to alter his figures on the production of fresh evidence. The refusal of various Governments to rectify this position for several years indicates the general reluctance to change the land laws, even in a minor way.

24. SAPD 24 July 1861, cols. 494-495.
26. CLO 326 and 639 of 1862.
27. 26 & 27 Vic. 13.
3. THE CONFLICT: GOYDER’S VALUATIONS.

Concern about the extent of the renewal and the level of rentals which had been expressed to the 1860 Select Committee seemed to disappear during the next few years. In fact, the administration of the Crown Lands Department during these years was such as to inspire confidence in Goyder and his staff. Detailed examination of the correspondence files show that their work was efficient, honest and sympathetic. Liberality was shown in the renewals of preferential claims and in the extension of time for stocking. Technical or unintentional infringements were overlooked. This treatment led most pastoralists to leave the work of the Department unquestioned, and hence they appeared unconcerned about the approaching valuation of their leases for renewal. The pastoralists, in fact, looked on South Australia as a squatting Eden, a safe refuge from “the fierce democracy” of New South Wales and Victoria.

The first application for a renewal of a lease was received in January 1864. The Cabinet, with the exception of J. Hart, were all new to their offices, and this was the first occasion on which they were confronted by a question of magnitude concerning Crown Lands. Their conduct showed all the signs of inexperience and haste. They sought the advice of the Crown Law Officers about the manner in which

29. CLO 1665 of 1862 (Goyder’s note thereon) and 1473 of 1863. SAPP 1865-6 No. 155, Claims for preferential rights.
30. Only two queries about the forthcoming valuations were received in the five years after 1859. CLO 463 of 1859 and 557 of 1863.
the applications should be made, but not about the more important point of the basis for the valuations. Then, suddenly realizing the immensity of the Valuator's task which would have to be completed within a few months, they hurriedly asked Bonney to undertake the task of valuation. He declined because he had a shrewd idea that the expectations of the pastoralists and the Department about the likely rentals were so different that conflict would ensue. In even greater haste, Cabinet issued vague instructions to Goyder, who accepted the position, even though a few years earlier he had written:

"It may be questioned how far any one individual, though constantly employed on that particular duty, could obtain such information, by inspection alone, as would enable the Government to value the respective runs to the satisfaction of the country and the persons interested. It rarely happens that even the overseer of a new station can form anything like a fair estimate of its quality before its capabilities have been tested by several months' experience; and if such be the case with an area limited to a few hundred miles, can it be possible that anything but a mere approximation can be obtained by an officer whose observations are expected to extend, during the same period, over 20,000 miles of country? A favourable or unfavourable season changes so utterly the appearance of the country in this Province, that persons visiting a particular locality shortly after rain, and again during drought, can with difficulty recognize it to be the same."

The pastoralists, although they may not have known of Goyder's appointment, soon became aware of his duty as he visited station after station to the North of Adelaide. He did not announce his coming. More often than not he found the owner absent, and the managers, no doubt off guard, freely gave information of stock numbers and sales.

32. CLO 74 of 13 Jan., 1864.
33. Bonney Papers, Vol.2, p.18 (Used by the kind permission of Mitchell Library, Sydney, N.S.W.)
34. SAPP 1864 No. 82, Instructions to Valuator of Runs, dated 27 Feb. 1864.
35. SAPP 1861 No. 109, Report on Assessment on Stock Bill, 1861, p.2.
carrying capacity and improvements. Perhaps these tactics incensed the pastoralists, or perhaps they suspected for the first time that the valuations might be far in excess of their expectations, but, whatever the cause, questions were asked in Parliament concerning the basis for the valuations and the instructions issued to Goyder. The latter were tabled on 14th July. The only positive direction given to Goyder was that he should propose a rental to fairly represent "the present annual value of each run", although the Commissioner suggested that the valuations should not be influenced by previous rentals. This suggestion only served to increase the suspicion of the pastoralists. Uniting together in the Pastoral Association, they quietly undermined Parliamentary support for the Government, and brought about its downfall. Ostensibly the pastoralists attacked the Government through a no-confidence motion moved by R.I. Stow, but in private they approached some members of the Ministry and won their support. But Glyde, the Commissioner of Crown Lands, and Andrews, the Attorney-General, refused to bow before this pressure. Glyde, himself associated with the pastoral industry— he was a wool broker — vigorously attacked the Pastoral Association:

"He believed one of the objects of the Pastoral Association was to embarrass any Government who ventured to check the Association, one of whose objects was, he believed, to make South Australia a vast sheep run, and to make the Ministry five puppets, the strings of which should be at their service, and the Commissioner of Crown Lands their obsequious servant." 38

36. See the remarks of the lessees in SAPP 1864 No. 104, Correspondence on revaluation of runs.
37. SAPP 1864 No. 82, Instructions to Valuator of Runs.
When the no-confidence motion was passed, the Premier, Ayers, merely reconstructed the Ministry, omitting Glyde and Andrews. Stow and Milne joined Ayers, Hart and Santo. Milne, a part-owner of the Kanyaka station, was allotted the post of Commissioner of Crown Lands. This Milne's appointment nearly brought plotting to a sad end. Although even his opponents agreed that Milne was honest and upright, many firmly opposed a lessee having charge of the Department which was responsible for the new rentals, especially as in debate Milne had already stated that the new rentals should be substantially the same as before. The valuations, in which previously no-one had seemed in the least bit interested, at once leaped into public prominence. The public outcry, coupled no doubt with pressure from a section of the pastoralists who disagreed with the tactics, brought about the resignation of Milne. Again the Ministry was reshuffled, this time Santo being omitted, Milne becoming Commissioner of Public Works and A. Blyth appointed to the peculiarly difficult post of Commissioner of Crown Lands. This reshuffle was no more than a gesture and it satisfied no-one except keen Government supporters. In the cabinet were Milne, a lessee, Ayers, an agent for pastoralists, and A. Blyth a Bank director. The latter was closely associated with the pastoral industry since borrowing by pastoralists had reached such proportions that any depression of securities would have serious repercussions on

---

40. C.E. Stevenson, 'Letter-Book' (S.A.A. Don. 3561) made no mention of Goyder's valuations until they were published.
41. See comment in Advertiser 26 July, 1864, p.5., and the voting on motion in the Legislative Council, when Baker and Davenport opposed the appointment of a pastoralist. Advertiser 29 July, 1864, p.3, debate.
the stability of the Banks. The Ministry was branded as a clique, of which the Speaker of the House, G.C. Hawker, was the head.

The Advertiser, under the virile editorship of Barrow, demanded a dissolution of Parliament. There was no immediate response to this appeal for as usual the public were somewhat apathetic towards political questions. Barrow then brought the question of renewal prominently before his readers. In an outspoken leader he wrote:

"It is well known that in the year 1865 nearly all the really good lands of the colonists will revert to the Government for public use. For twenty years or more this land has been in the hands of the favoured few. They have made fortunes upon it, and a large number of the lessees have turned their backs upon the country which has enriched them, and are now revelling in foreign lands upon profits drawn from South Australia. What is South Australia to them, except as affording means of enjoying the luxuries of absenteeism?"

Barrow persisted in his attack, on one day referring to the "park-like country" rented for 10/- per sq. mile, on another he claimed that the fact that squatters could afford to buy their runs at £640 per sq. mile was conclusive proof that the present rental was absurdly small, and suggested that £15 per sq. mile would be a fair valuation.

There was little visible response to this campaign except a public meeting at the Town Hall, organized and directed by opponents of the Government in the House, at which about 800 were present. Although

42. Advertiser, 6 Aug. 1864, p.3, debate.
43. Advertiser 1 Sept. 1864, p.3. Meeting at Brighton. Note the "gusto with which the Speaker gave his casting vote for the 'Noes' and saved his Ministry" when Clyde's motion condemning the Waste Lands Regulations was defeated, (Chronicle 26 Nov. 1864, p.3, letter from 'Spectator'; Advertiser 23 Nov. 1864, p.3, debate).
44. Advertiser 3 Aug. 1864, p.2.
45. Loc. cit.
47. Chronicle 6 Aug. 1864, p.2, editor's note on letter from F.R. (The Chronicle was the weekly paper conducted by the proprietors of the Advertiser).
some criticism was levelled at the squatters, the main concern of those present was the scramble for office by members of the House. In fact, the meeting loudly called for and applauded the pastoralist, John Baker. As yet the public were not greatly concerned with the question of renewal.

The first valuations for the new rentals were made public on 12th August 1864, after the Government had been forced by a vote in the House to publish the figures as they were completed. In an accompanying memorandum Goyder stated that he had made two calculations, which he referred to as Columns A and B. Column A represented the actual annual values of each run, as asked for. However, as he did not consider that Parliament intended to tax the capital and intelligence used to make the runs more productive, he had deducted the cost of improvements, the net figure being shown in Column B. This, he recommended, should be the new rental, on the understanding that the leases were renewable for only one term of five years, at the end of which all improvements would become the property of the Crown.

Even at the lower figures, the proposed rentals for some of the stations were considerably higher than before. Bundaleer, for instance, for which £910 had been paid previously, was listed for an annual rent of £7,176 for its 312 sq. miles, while the rentals of Bungaree, Crystal Brook, Canowie, Bocoyoolie and Emu Flat runs were all increased by between £2,000 and £3,000 per year. For the whole 28 stations the

50. SAPP 1864 No. 102, Revaluation of Crown Lands under lease.
increase was from £4,303 to £30,190.

All of a sudden public agitation reached a pitch which in previous years had been rivalled only by the stir over land titles. The pastoralists vigorously attacked the valuations. At first they disputed the information about their runs noted in the returns, and then they denied that their runs could ever carry the amount of stock stated by the Valuator. When it became apparent that Goyder would not alter his valuations, the pastoralists changed their tactics by claiming that it was impossible for any one person to value fairly and correctly all the leases in South Australia.

51. CLO 2295 of 17 Aug. 1864 and 2423 of 10 Sept. 1864. Ware and Chapman, for instance, claimed that what Goyder stated to be "low, bare and scrubby rises (were) known to be about the roughest country in the Colony, in fact dangerous to ride over, and, of course, perfectly useless."

52. e.g. CLO 2300 and 2302 of 30 Aug. 1864. Abraham Scott remarked: "Mr. Goyder says 'the run can easily be made to carry stock according to his estimate' - I, who have been sheep farming twenty-four years in this colony say it cannot."

53. CLO 2654 of 8 Oct. 1864. SAPP 1864 No. 109, Correspondence on revaluation of runs, p.7 letter by G.C. Hawker. "No one has a higher opinion of Mr. Goyder, as Surveyor-General or of his integrity of purpose, than I have; but it is utterly impossible for any one person to arrive at an equitable decision on a matter of such immense importance, affecting as it does, one-third of the production of the country. The incorrectness of his figures, the great discrepancies in the rate per head, apparently adopted without any system — the unfair rent proposed by him on the improvements — point out that, though as Surveyor-General he may be quite competent to judge the relative carrying capabilities of the various runs, he does not possess the adequate knowledge to enable him to form a correct judgment as to the commercial value of the properties in question, or to place a fair and equitable rent on them." See also SAPP 1864 No. 153, Petition of Pastoral Association, Advertiser 7 Sept. 1864.
With this the pro-pastoralist Government agreed, but the Law Officers reported that additional valuers could not be appointed.

Thereafter the pastoralists based their attacks on the claim that the rentals were excessive and would cause untold hardship, although numerous other arguments were used as well.

The lessees, however, always argued from a position of disadvantage, since at no stage was the basis on which Goyder had valued the runs clearly stated. In reply to the "far from agreeable or complimentary" remarks levelled at his valuations, Goyder issued a statement of the principles on which he worked.

"First, the system of examination has been to cross and recross the country, visiting and fixing the position of huts, waters and wells; sketching the natural features of the country, and minutely noting the character and vegetation; a method that enables me to judge with tolerable accuracy, when the plot is made of the whole of the country that can be fed over, and the portions omitted. The area of the different qualities of land is then calculated, and the carrying capabilities estimated; due allowance being made for winter country, and for other exigencies already named (viz. trespass, vicinity to stock routes, nearness to markets or ports, different weight of clips) and the value fixed with all the improvements, assumed as forming part of parcel of the run.

Second, a reduction has been made in each year's rental, to the extent of one-fifth of the estimated value of the improvements, lessening the amount taken off, however, when winter country might have been more use of, than appeared to have been done." 56

The statement was most unsatisfactory. His introductory remarks made it clear that carrying capacity was only one factor in determining the "annual value." The question remained, in what way was this

54. SAPP 1864 No. 202, Legal opinion on appointment of Valuator of Runs.
55. See CLO 2413 of 13 Sept. 1864; SAPP 1864 No. 161, Petition for reference of revaluation of leases to a Select Committee, and SAPP 1864 No. 153, Petition of Pastoral Association.
56. SAPP 1864 No. 105, Revaluation of Crown Lands under lease, p.2.
calculated? About this both Goyder and the Government remained silent. Some hint of the basis of calculation, though, was given in the replies to individual protests. Goyder told A. Scott that if land at Canowie (valued by Goyder at £30 per sq. mile, including improvements) was leased privately it would fetch at least 1/6 per acre, or £49 per sq. mile, and threw open a challenge to test "the justice — indeed the liberality — of any valuations..... by giving notice according to the Act, and the runs being submitted to public competition at auction." Goyder also indicated that he took into account the amount and nature of possible competition for the land had it been offered at auction.

"Those who combine agricultural with pastoral pursuits, and have blocks of, say, thirty square miles of country, placed within their reach, can afford to pay the full value of the land; this none knew better than the present lessees." 58

The Chief Secretary on one occasion also referred to the runs being valued "at cost price". These references suggest that the actual basis for the valuations was this:— Goyder believed that in allowing the pastoralists to remain in secure possession of their leases, the Government should still obtain the same amount of rental as they would have received had the leases been submitted to public auction.

Bonney's agreement with this view (he had been an officer of the Department in 1858) seems to suggest that Goyder was only carrying

58. SAPP 1864 No. 105, Revaluation of Crown Lands under lease, p.2. See also 1867 Commission on Runs: suffering from drought, question 3920
59. 1864 SG Pastoral Lease Valuations, question 56.
out the accepted Departmental view of the new rentals.

With this the pastoralists vigorously disagreed. They had convinced themselves that the 1858 legislation had granted them the renewed term at rentals little above those previously in force. There is no evidence, either from Parliamentary Debates, the Papers of the Legislature, the newspapers or the correspondence of the Department of Crown Lands, to support their claim. Rather, there is every reason to say that, as far as the legislative intention was concerned, Goyder and those in Parliament who supported him were quite justified in claiming that their action was fair and consistent.

4. THE CLIMAX: THE 1865 ELECTIONS

At last this issue had aroused the general public. They now voiced their disapproval of the Government's partisanship and demanded that Goyder's valuations be accepted. Meeting after meeting was held in Adelaide, suburbs, nearby country villages and further afield, all of which were lengthily reported by the Advertiser. It should be noted, however, that the chief target of attack at the meetings was the Government, not the pastoralists. Motions disapproving of the Ministry's self-interest and place-seeking, and calling for a dissolution of Parliament, appeared first on the agenda, and were agreed to almost unanimously. The form of the meetings was on the whole determined by opponents of the Government in the House, who cleverly directed the

61. E.g. Advertiser 19 Aug. 1864, p.3 (Port Adelaide); 26 Aug. 1864 p.3 (Adelaide); 1 Sept. 1864, p.3 (Brighton); 13 Sept. 1864, p.3 (Clare); 16 Sept. 1864, p.3 (Kapunda, Port Gawler).

62. Uproar broke out at a meeting at West Adelaide when a Mr. Payne attempted to amend the motion which demanded dissolution — Advertiser 9 Sept. 1864, p.3.
anti-squatter feeling into political channels for their own advantage. The Press, too, played a large part in the agitation. There is little doubt that Banow's pen in particular swayed opinion. At Clare, for instance, one farmer declared:

"This country would have sunk into chaos had it not been for the Chronicle. It showed us our duty, and without its timely notice we should not have known our duty to enable us to protect ourselves from a handful of men who would swamp us, and he thought we should for the future support the Chronicle". 63

Aroused by Parliamentarians and the Press, the public suddenly remembered that they had long-standing grievances against the pastoralists. These, coupled with the issue of the valuations, led to intense feeling against the squatters. The principal source of ill-feeling was the ease with which the pastoralists were able to purchase their land when their runs were surveyed and sold in small blocks. The Chief Clerk of the Lands Office estimated that three-quarters of the land offered for sale was purchased by pastoralists. Confronted by such competition, the agriculturalist found himself virtually excluded from the market. Land that was within reach of local markets or of ports were being alienated from the Crown, apparently to remain sheepwalks for ever.

One pastoralist wrote to a friend:

"My place... is about 16 miles from a railway station. From being an old settler I have secured a good extent of freehold land in the neighbourhood, and have kept the small farmers at a respectable distance. We squatters are cove-tous of country, and don't like being interfered with." 66

63. Advertiser 13 Sept. 1864, p.3
64. See C.H. Bagot to C. Bonney, Nov. 1878 (Bonney Papers, Vol.1) where Bagot recounts his return from England in the midst of the agitation.
65. 1865 SC Selling Crown Lands, question 312.
Such an attitude was not regarded with equanimity by those who were in sore need of more land. Other farmers, eager to enter sheep-raising in a small way, pressed for the re-division of the expiring leases into smaller holdings. One resident of Clare, in replying to the warning of the Register that should the valuations be insisted upon the eighteen lessees might be driven out of the colony, wrote:

"Should they do so, what a glorious chance some of our young Australians will have (now money is abundant) of getting 10 or 15 square miles of run each — or more if they have sufficient means — and forming comfortable pastoral homes all over the 10,000 square miles of country north and north-east of Clare and Kooringal. Perhaps 700 such young fellows settled upon the land would partly make up for the loss of 18 nabobs." 69

When the Government announced that leases in the settled areas would continue to be let to previous lessees without competition, the hostility of the farmers to the Government and pastoralist alike was increased.

In the metropolis the arguments against the pastoralists were different again, tending to be more involved in the struggle for political power. Reference was made to the attempt of "Messrs. Stow, Milne, Blyth and others..... backed by the great majority of the squatters" to "deprive the labouring classes of their electoral rights." Two years previously the conservatives, owners of property in all cases, had advocated a revision of the Constitution, made necessary, they claimed, because the process of legislation and appointments to

67. See Chapter 7 below.
68. See Advertiser 12 Sept. 1864, p.3, (Smithfield), 13 Sept. 1864 p.3 (Clare) and 3 Sept. 1864, p.3 (Strathalbyn) for the sentiments of country settlers.
69. Advertiser 16 Aug. 1864, p.2, letter from 'Clodhopper'. His exaggeration does not lessen the earnestness of the would-be small grazier.
71. Advertiser 10 Aug. 1864, p.2, letter from 'Junius, jun.'
office had been determined by political expediency. They believed that this lamentable situation had resulted from the too sudden transition from Colonial rule to self-government "under which Two Elective Chambers usurp control over every interest, on the waves of mere popular impulse." Asserting that the popular element required the restraints of knowledge and experience, they advocated a limited suffrage, by requiring, "as a test of fitness", a property qualification. This rearguard action by the political Conservatives of the colony, short-lived and abortive though it was, was not altogether forgotten by the working class, especially by those who remembered with pleasure the rousing meetings and active campaigning of the radical Political Association. Although they were generally willing to be represented by men of substance, any attempt to overturn the Constitution of 1856 was fought to the end.

Others looked to the newly-imposed rentals as a means of ensuring adequate Revenue for the Colony. If the rentals were enforced either customs duties on essentials could be lightened or removed, or else finance would be available for the many capital works required in a relatively new and expanding colony.

It should be pointed out that these clashes between pastoralists and the rest of the community were very different in spirit from those experienced in the eastern colonies at the same time. Although

73. Ibid, p.11.
74. Ibid, pp. 16-17.
75. Advertiser 17 Aug. 1864, p.2, letter from 'S.A.'.
opposition to the pastoralists was plainly evident, there was little sustained bitterness. There was no parallel, for instance, to the outbreak of the Melbourne Age of 9 January 1861, which branded squatting as "a gigantic evil of the most ruinous kind to the common weal." Instead, the Adelaide Advertiser, foremost in its opposition to the squatters, expressed the opinion that "to oppress and embarrass the sheepfarmer would be an act of political insanity."

The legal rights of lessees, the administration of the Crown Lands Department, public apathy to politics, the political impotency of the farmers and differences of interests among the pastoralists all combined to make moderation a distinctive mark of the clash.

However, public agitation and hostility was concerted, and in the face of this, and possessing no power to alter the valuations, the Ministry had no alternative but to agree to them. Yet even then they inferred that if the valuations could be shown to be manifestly unfair, some further action might be taken. Baker moved for a Select Committee to be appointed to prove this very point, but the majority of lessees were convinced that nothing could be done. Although giving evidence, they declined to present balance sheets which they had averred previously to have been conclusive proof of the excessiveness of the rentals. The Committee, in fact, was prevented from reporting its findings by the defeat of the Government.

76a. Advertiser 26 July 1864, p.5.
79. 1864 SC Pastoral Lease Valuations, question 704.
and the dissolution of Parliament.

Despite the attacks from within and without the House, during the greater part of the Session the Government had sustained its majority without great difficulty, but in November 1864, after being saved once by the casting vote of the Speaker, it suffered defeat in the House of Assembly. The point at issue was the proposed new Waste Lands Regulations, which, by providing that the Commissioner should fix the upset price for the rentals of leases offered at auction, appeared to by-pass the valuations of Goyder. Even the pastoralists (the Lindsay brothers, Watts and William) voted against the Regulations, the latter admitting that the pastoralists were embarrassed by such action. The Ministry therupon tendered their resignation, but the Governor, who had shown his partiality to the Ministry during their various crises, refused to accept it and instead announced that as soon as the Appropriation Bill had been passed Parliament would be dissolved. The House declined to grant Supply until the Waste Lands Regulations were amended, to which in turn the Government would not agree. To avoid the possibility of Parliament not being called together until after 30th June 1865, when the pastoral leases would have expired, Parliament finally

80. Advertiser 23 Nov. 1864, p.3, debate.
82. Advertiser 30 Nov. 1864, p.3, debate.
83. In reporting to the Colonial Office, Daly stated that the Government had shown an "equitable and liberal spirit" in the midst of "small party strife and selfish conflicts". Daly to Card- well 23 Dec. 1864.
granted Supply only until the end of March. The House further tied the hands of the Executive by resolving that leases should not be offered at auction until Parliament had met to consider the Regulations governing the sales. Having lost its Parliamentary support, the Ministry faced the country.

The convivial spirit of Christmas intervened before the election campaign got under way, and the previous pitch of public excitement was lost. Many of the electors seemed to react against such unusual political concern by ignoring the elections altogether. In fact the numbers who voted were lower than for any previous election. While candidates generally found it necessary to pledge support for the valuations, others who refused to do so nevertheless seemed certain of victory.

Meanwhile the Ministry was disintegrating. The Attorney-General, R.I. Stow, who was regarded by the public as the pillar of

86. A Select Committee was appointed after the election to inquire why a lesser number had registered on the Electoral Roll than before (the number was about 20% less). They reported that it could be traced to "apathy, ignorance or neglect of the electors themselves", and, amongst other things, suggested a return to "the old form of nomination, which compelled the candidates to appear on the hustings as it would tend to destroy the apathy which now generally prevails during the elections." (SAPP 1865, No. 70, Report of the Select Committee on the workings of the Electoral Act, Report, paragraphs 1, 2 and 7). Less than 45% of the enrolled electors of the Legislative Council voted, the figure for the agricultural district of Light being as low as 19% SAPP 1865 No. 28, Analysis of voting, March 1865.
87. In the agricultural centre of Nairne the pastoralist Milne was proposed as a candidate for Onkaparinga, with only three dissentients. (Advertiser 7 Jan. 1865, p.3.) At Port Adelaide, the Treasurer, Hart, was likewise well received, although he did record that "a man from Bowden attended to abuse me. I should have flogged him if I had not been prevented." (Hart diary 14 Feb. 1865).
the Ministry, sought too much comfort in intoxicants, leading to distrust by his colleagues and dislike by the Governor. Sensing a possible defeat in the elections, the Chief Secretary began to attack the pastoralists for opposition to the Road Bill and monopoly of land sales, and pledged his support for the valuations.

The Advertiser, which had continued to attack the Government, hailed the elections as a triumph for the anti-squatter party. The first five elected to the Legislative Council all supported the valuations, so the paper claimed, and the remaining three owed their election by a narrow margin to the system of plumping, which they had exploited in their own districts. In the House of Assembly, pastoralists were defeated in the farming electorates of Barossa, Stanley and Encounter Bay and in the metropolitan seat of West Torrens. In addition, the Attorney-General was defeated by three votes, thus solving a difficult situation for the Ministry. The public had demonstrated its agreement with the hostility of the

88. Hart diary 28 Feb. 1865. "A-G having promised to take the pledge was again taken into favour. I have no confidence, although I feel it is giving him a chance to avoid certain ruin."
89. Ibid, 22 Feb. 1865, "Cabinet at 11. Governor really mixed, with the Attorney-General."
90. Advertiser 24 Feb. 1865, p.3, meeting at White's rooms.
91. There was but one electorate for the Legislative Council, each elector being entitled to a maximum of eight votes to fill the eight positions. The first five were Ayers (The Chief Secretary), English, Bonney, Tuxford and Magarey, the last four being elected for the first time.
92. To "plump" was to vote only for one person, ignoring the other seven possible votes. Angas, for instance, received 219 such votes. The other two to be elected were Morphett and Bagot.
93. Hart Diary 6 Mar. 1865. His colleagues agreed that another electorate should not be found for him.
House to the Ministry.

The Ministry, in private, refused to accept defeat and attempted 94 to fill the vacant position of Attorney-General. First Andrews (who 95 had been rejected previously in favour of Stow), then Strangways 96 (their most hostile opponent), and finally Boucaut were approached, but all attempts failed. Only then did the Ministry resolve to re- 97 sign as soon as the writs were returned.

After Reynolds had failed to form a new Cabinet, Dutton succeeded, including in his team Andrews, Reynolds, Strangways and Ayers, the latter having been Chief Secretary in the previously pro- 98 squatter Ministry. This heterogeneous team won the confidence of Parliament. This was partly because they were supported by some 99 members of the previous Ministry but chiefly because the pastoralists in the House made an agreement with the new Ministry, granting 100 it their support in return for concessions. The anti-squatter opposition of the previous session was now being kept in office by the squatters! This indicates not only the nature of political division but also the tactics of the pastoralists. They commanded the balance of power in the House and exploited it to the full.

94. Ibid, 7, 8 and 9 Mar. 1865.
95. Ibid, 9 and 10 Mar. 1865. The Governor would not agree to the proposed Cabinet, because Hart had been omitted.
96. Ibid, 10 and 11 Mar. 1865.
98. Reynolds disagreed with his colleagues about tariff policy, he being a free trader.
99. e.g. Hart diary 22 May, 1865.
100. e.g. Ibid, 27 June 1865 and 4 July 1865. "There is evidently some arrangement between Waterhouse and the Government by which the squatters are to help them." See V & P 'H.A.) 28 June 1865, p.118, where the pastoralists supported the Government on a vote of no-confidence.
The issue of the valuations soon faded from prominence, although the attitudes raised thereby long continued. Not only did the pastoralists realize that there was no hope of altering the rentals, but now a more important issue was coming into view. There were ominous signs of drought in the Far North. The pastoralists were for the time intent on making the Government indebted to them by constant support. Even when the Government refused to grant annual leases to pastoralists without competition and offered them for sale at public auction, the squatters did not protest in Parliament, even though several of them were adversely affected by the decision. Instead the pastoralists voted with the Government on a no-confidence motion based on this very question.

And so the pastoralists accepted defeat on the issue of the valuations. But now the Pastoral Association was an established force. The Government was being kept in power by the pastoral members of the House. Valuable lessons in tactics had been learned by the pastoralists. For the next few years they were to gain control in the House.

101. SAPD 31 May 1865, cols. 351-369; 6 June 1865, col. 428; and 14 June 1865, cols. 503-510.

102. The South Eastern pastoralists were most affected by this decision, but although they were disgruntled about it, they made no protest in public. Hart Diary 28 May 1865.

Chapter 6.

PREFERENTIAL TREATMENT FOR THE PASTORAL

LEASES IN THE INTERIOR, 1865-1869.
CHAPTER 6.

PREFERENTIAL TREATMENT FOR THE PASTORAL LEASES IN THE INTERIOR;
1865-1869.

By 1865 the Legislature had shown some recognition of land diversity by agreeing to differential valuations for pastoral leases. This policy arose, as we have seen, out of an examination of the pastoral leases as they were to 1860, that is, of land in the Lower-North, Mid-North and lower South-East which enjoyed good rainfall and splendid grasses. During the decade of the 1860's pastoralists rapidly moved into the interior of South Australia, where they were confronted by conditions which varied considerably from those previously known. The difference between the fertile regions and the interior was not merely one of degree but of kind. Climate, soils and vegetation were very different, necessitating changes in techniques and heavy expenditure on water facilities and fences, while long distances made transport of supplies and produce both difficult and costly. It took only a couple of adverse seasons to convince the lessees in the interior that they deserved preferential treatment.

A section of the pastoralists were in a position to win more favourable terms. Many of the leases in the interior had been taken up as investments by pastoralists who were receiving rich dividends from their runs in the higher rainfall districts. These prosperous

1. See above, Chapter 1, section 4, for a full discussion of the fertility of these regions.
2. See above, Chapter 3, section 1 (3), for a discussion of the profitability of the industry.
pastoralists possessed a mouth-piece in the Pastoral Association, whose views were generally shared by the pastoral members of the House. These in turn held the balance of power in the House of Assembly and used that advantage to the full. Thus during 1866, to the satisfaction of this section of the pastoralists, legislation was enacted which granted an extension of tenure to the leases in the interior.

This alteration to the laws controlling pastoral settlement was achieved chiefly because a few were able to exploit the dominant desire of members, namely, to win and hold office. It did not represent a marked change of opinion. Parliament was induced to give assistance to those whose investments were being threatened, but it had not seen that the whole approach to the pastoral industry in the interior needed radical modification. Only a crisis brought this realization.

The crisis was a business depression in Adelaide, caused in part by the curtailment of spending by the pastoralists suffering from the severe drought. This led to a thorough investigation by Parliament of the situation, which showed that it was not now a question of saving investments but of saving an industry for the sake of the whole economy. The pastoral lessees of the interior received a new deal, in longer terms of tenure, lower rentals and more favourable conditions for the erection of improvements. Legislative recognition was given of the special conditions of the interior which necessitated preferential treatment.
1. THE EXPANSION

At the time of self-government the north was a closed door to the pastoral industry. Eyre had described it as a region of brine and desolation, and it was popularly believed that a great horseshoe of water barred the way to any expansion. Then, in mid-1857, Goyder reported in this area

"vegetation of the most luxuriant kind, ...placid waters, disturbed only by the enjoyment of the water fowl, ..... and a sheet of fresh water, ... emanating from a number of delicious springs..." 4

In spite of subsequent less favourable reports by the Surveyor-General, Colonel Freeling, within months of Goyder's discoveries pastoralists were driving sheep and cattle beyond the area once regarded as impenetrable and inhospitable, headed for the undulating plains and rocky hills to the north, so colourful in spring and yet so stark at the height of the dry season. The North was opened up by the successive ventures of Goyder, Babbage, Warburton, Gregory and Stuart, together with many others who left no written record. Just as important, the Gawler Ranges, to the north-west, and the land to the north of Streaky Bay were explored for the first time by Hack, Geharty, Warburton and others. The story of their often heroic and always dangerous journeys has been retold many a time in the pages of historical works. Our concern is not to retrace

3. For an excellent account of attitudes and discoveries at this time see Bessie Threadgill, South Australian Land Exploration, 1856-1880, Chapter 1.
4. SAPP 1857-8 No. 72, Northern Exploration, pp. 3-4.
their steps but to follow those who went out to occupy the newly discovered pastoral land.

By 1864 pastoralists had advanced in the north-east through Angipena and Parlana to Blanchewater, and on to Lake Hope. To the north, Mount Margaret Station, on the shores of Lake Eyre became the outpost of settlement. On the west side of Lake Torrens there were isolated stations at Pernatty and Arcoona, while further to the west, there was a group of stations on the South shore of Lake Gairdner, of which Yardea was the chief. Within four years the area under lease increased from 28,500 sq. miles to 43,000 sq miles. The rate of expansion was even more rapid after 1863 when a new system of holding pastoral land was introduced. Under this, pastoralists could obtain preferential rights to leases where no surface water was known to exist. These rights allowed the holder (for a nominal fee) to bore for water but not to run stock. Once supplies sufficient to water stock were obtained, the holder was bound to apply for a lease, but his application took preference over any others. Within two years a further 35,000 sq. miles were taken up under these rights. The wide expanses of the north were being claimed by the pastoral industry.

The relative importance of the frontier lands in the sheep industry, nevertheless, should not be overestimated. Although during these years of expansion sheep numbers increased rapidly from

5. See map of pastoral land in SAPP 1864 No. 96.
6. SAPP 1863 No. 25, Waste Land Regulations. The fee was £5 for a block of not more than 100 sq. miles.
1,657,005 in December 1857 to 3,720,123 in March 1864, the new leases accounted for only a small part of this increase. Rather, this numerical gain was achieved mainly on pastures that were being partially utilized in 1857, as Table 8 indicates. Most sheep-farmers, in fact, tended to overstock their runs rather than seek additional pastures hundreds of miles to the north or west where inadequate transport facilities sent costs soaring, made labour scarce and living primitive, and which required considerable capital for development. Only in cases of urgent necessity did the resident-owner of a pastoral lease seek fresh pastures in the interior, and even then other avenues were tried first in preference.

**TABLE 8.**

The location of the Sheep Industry, 1857-1864.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>1857</th>
<th>1864</th>
<th>Increase</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Within District Councils and Hundreds</td>
<td>300,000</td>
<td>830,000</td>
<td>530,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mid-North</td>
<td>710,000</td>
<td>1,200,000</td>
<td>490,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>South-East</td>
<td>440,000</td>
<td>1,200,000</td>
<td>760,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Eyre Peninsula</td>
<td>120,000</td>
<td>290,000</td>
<td>170,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Yorke Peninsula</td>
<td>90,000</td>
<td>130,000</td>
<td>40,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Far North</td>
<td>41,000(a)</td>
<td>41,000</td>
<td>41,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Upper Murray</td>
<td>53,000</td>
<td>53,000</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Streaky Bay</td>
<td>92,000</td>
<td>92,000</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(a) Also 25,000 cattle.

7. The number of cattle decreased from 310,400 to 226,166 during the same period, so the net increase in stock numbers was twofold.

8. SAPP 1858 No. 16, Statistical Register, 1857, p. 16; SAPP 1864 No. 6, Agricultural and Live Stock Statistics, March 30, 1864. The territorial division in the table is based on the 1857 position.
The course followed by the Stuckeys illustrates this. Deciding that their run at Mannum required resting, they looked first of all for land in the neighbourhood, then examined three runs in the Mid-North which were for sale, and only then, many months after their search had begun, did they venture into the unexplored country in the north-east. Thus for the majority of sheep-farmers the centre of the pastoral industry continued to be in the higher rainfall areas of the south. The interior lands were the concern of the minority, howbeit an important and influential minority.

2. INVESTMENT AND SPECULATION.

Who were those interested in the interior for pastoral development? In the first place there were adventurous squatters who held land near the frontier - men like Hayward who were "fond" of exploring and who set off whenever they could "spare the time" in the hope of finding good tracts of country. Stimulated by interest and adventure, they secured additional leases almost as a bi-product of their exploratory ventures.

And then there were young men new to the industry. The records of the Lands Department of this period reveal many new names among lessees. Attracted by reports of substantial profits being won from the raising of sheep, and granted financial backing by capitalists

9. Samuel Joseph Stuckey, 'Reminiscences', pp. 3-7 (S.A.A., A1083)
who were eager to share the rewards, they were induced to take up sheep raising in the interior. Few of these were independent. Generally they entered into partnership with the financier, the original advance to be repaid with interest within six to eight years.

The most important group, however, were financiers. The northward expansion was largely the product of those who were interested in the pastoral industry as a field for investment or speculation. Merchants, millers and mail contractors were amongst the largest possessors of leases and preferential rights. Quite a number of these sought profits by long-term development of the leases. Employing experienced managers, and providing the necessary capital for essential improvements, they obtained an excellent return for their investment. But others were interested in short-term gains. Generally speaking they took up new leases or preferential rights in favourable positions and resold them when values had risen because of the expansion of the pastoral industry or of transport facilities. Some, for instance, specialized in exploring new

11. 1867 Commission on Runs suffering from drought, question 3585, 3601 SAPD 7 July, 1865 col. 710.
12. Stuckey, 'Reminiscences', op. cit., p.9. The Stuckey brothers were accepted by T. Elder as partners in the Lake Hope run. Elder provided the necessary capital with the exception of £400 contributed by the Stuckeys. Elder was to be repaid, at 8% simple interest, within seven years. In that time the brothers were paid an annual salary of £100, increased to £150 when the flock reached 50,000 sheep.
13. 1867 Commission on Runs suffering from drought, question 3928.
districts and taking up the first leases, with the hope of a quick sale with or without stock. The Chambers brothers were outstanding examples of those who tried this type of speculation. They employed the explorer John Stuart, applied for leases of the best land that he discovered (commanding where possible water frontages) and then sold the leases to Philip Levi, who was in turn an agent for British capitalists. It is also obvious from the record of transfers that Swinden, Taylor, Elder, Swan, Barr Smith, Rounsevell, and the Browne brothers acted similarly. The keen demand for leases during the early 1860's ensured certain profits for them. Others took up preferential leases and searched for water. The provision of adequate water supplies so enhanced the value of the country that a profitable sale was assured, especially if the term of a neighbouring lease was drawing to a close. Carr, Delisser, Mackie, Acraman, Main, Lindsay, Tyler, Duffield, Rounsevell, Baker and Taylor all held large tracts of land under preferential rights. All of these were speculators rather than bona fide pastoralists. This field of speculation required some expenditure and much ingenuity, and the rate of success was not high. During 1863 and 1864 there were 671 applicants for preferential rights for leases, but only 53 were successful in their search, while 286 allowed their claims to lapse. Others hopefully sought — and generally received — renewal of their

15. See SAPP 1865-6 No. 38, Return of pastoral leases, 1851 to 1864, for changes in ownership. For an account of some of Levi's pastoral activities see Lewis, Fought and Won, op. cit., chapters 4 and 6.

16. e.g. SAPP 1867 No. 61, Petition of F.G. Morgan, and SAPP 1867 No. 88, Petition for extension of tenure of certain leases.

17. SAPP 1865-6 No.55, Claims for preferential rights. See also CLO 826 of 1862, 1508 of 1863, 385 and 1277 of 1864 and 226 of 1865.
right to search for water. Despite the risks the overall return was large enough for financiers to continue their speculation.

Parliament and the public were well aware that stock and stations were one of the major fields of investment during the late 1850's and early 1860's. They saw the leading men of town enter the field one by one, and the press reported the sale of stations, citing selling prices and buyers. Anthony Forster, editor of the 'Register', joined the throng and openly sang the praises of the pastoral industry. Exploration and pastoral pioneering were news and were lengthily reported in the press. With the economy buoyant, the public rejoiced in this latest demonstration of the progress of mankind. They joined Governors and capitalists in demanding that the Colonial Office agree to the annexation of additional territory, first to the westward and later to the north. Few took the trouble

18. The annexation of the Northern Territory does not immediately concern us, but it further illustrates the role of investment in opening up the dry regions of the interior. Duncan has asserted that the prime cause for the demand for annexation was the urgently felt need of pastoralists for more land (R. Duncan, 'The annexation of the Northern Territory to South Australia', Historical Studies (Australia and New Zealand) May 1954). In support he evidences the applications for land in the Northern Territory by pastoralists, the increase in stock numbers in South Australia and the statements of the Governors in despatches to the Colonial Office (pp.143-144). The contrary evidence is more convincing. Firstly, the "numerous" applications for land discovered by Stuart were but few, and all but one of them were from interested people outside of South Australia. The one exception was the firm of Levi and Watts, pastoral financiers, (SAPP 1863 No. 122, Applications for country on North Coast). Secondly, as has been shown, the stock increases took place mainly in the established areas. The North was by no means overcrowded, nor was all available land leased by any means (see map in SAPP 1864 No.96). Thirdly, Governor Daly's evidence, admitted by Duncan to have been incorrect in detail, reflected the views of the capitalists in his Cabinet (including Waterhouse, Blyth and Milne) some of whom were already planning to send sheep to the Northern Territory (Note 18. cont. next page)
to distinguish between the stations in the higher rainfall areas and those in the interior. The difficulties of pioneering in the waterless country were not noticed, only the glamour which was attached to new discoveries. This was the setting at the beginning of 1865 when the dry spell first began to take its toll.

3. THE DROUGHT.

Drought conditions began throughout the interior lands in November 1863 and increased in intensity until March 1867. Foley's severity indices suggest that this drought was more severe than any other of a similar length in Australia during the second half of the 19th century. Then, after six months of fairly heavy rainfall, another drought of 22 months' duration set in.

Having previously experienced an excellent run of seasons, the sheepowners naturally assumed at first that the dry spell would break quickly. During 1864 little concern was shown for the interior runs and the occasional accounts of starving sheep and parched pastures which reached Adelaide from time to time in the spring were glossed over in the flurry of the valuations question. It was not until

18. (cont. from previous page) (Advertiser 27 Jan. 1863, p.2). The mania for annexation was the result partly of an aggressiveness not uncommon in States recently constituted, partly of the current belief in the inevitable progress of man, and partly of the interest of investors.
20. e.g. 'Beltana Station Diary'. (S.A.A. 1197). Heavy rain was recorded during the first four days of September 1867, but on the 13th December it was noted that the water was already drying up.
April 1865 that the pastoralists publicized their plight. They claimed that their runs were barren, that it was impossible to cart stores to the stations or to bring wool to port because food for teams was unprocurable except at exorbitant prices, and that they were unable to move their sheep from the runs.

These claims were no exaggeration. Shortly after, a detailed report on the condition of the North was furnished by Bonney, Cavenagh and Valentine, who were commissioned by the Governor for that task. A very competent trio, by no means pro-squatter in outlook, they travelled extensively for seven weeks through the affected areas, going as far north as Parallana Pass, 250 miles from Port Augusta. They stated that it was patent to anyone that the country north of Port Augusta had suffered severely from drought. Nearly all the vegetation suitable for pasture was gone, the saltbush being either destroyed or withered. On the 83 stations for which reports were available, 258,587 sheep had perished out of a total of 979,023 during the year preceding September 30th 1865, and a proportionately greater loss of cattle had been suffered as well. These figures did not include the previous year’s increase of lambs and calves, almost all of which had been lost. Several lessees had lost as much as three-quarters of their entire stock and the deprivation of half the stock was quite common. The primary cause of this desolation was scarcity of feed brought about by the length of the drought, for in

---

21. SAPP 1865 No. 56, Correspondence respecting drought in Far North—petition from sheepfarmers, 6 April 1865.

22. Bonney had been Commissioner of Crown Lands before self-government and was thoroughly conversant with sheep raising. Cavenagh was a gentleman-farmer and Valentine held the post of Chief Inspector of Sheep.

23. See SAPP 1865–6 Nos. 57 and 57A for details of stock losses.
many cases water was still available from natural springs and from 24 wells dug at great expense. This was the known situation when Parliament considered concessions during the 1865–6 Session.

As the months passed the position deteriorated. The countryside was devastated. Goyder reported in January 1867 that the vegetation had virtually disappeared, leading to serious soil erosion (by wind). The surface soil had been destroyed, "leaving the sheep and cattle tracks standing up like tesselated pavements three or four inches high." Two months earlier a northern settler had written that because of the continual dust storm it was

"dangerous to lay any article smaller than a bucket out of your hand for five minutes (more or less according to situation) without first taking the exact bearings from some prominent object." 26

It was no exaggeration to say that there was not a scrap of feed from Port Augusta to Strangways' Springs, 260 miles to the north. When lessees delayed too long before attempting to remove their sheep to other pastures the stock perished, and even when the sheep were brought away it was with the loss of many and at the cost of 28 securing pasture on agistment. Philip Levi lost 50,000 sheep and 10,000 cattle, Stokes, Price and Phillips 20,000 each, Peter Waite

24. 1865-6 Commission Northern Runs, Report, sections 1 to 5.
25. 1867 Commission on Runs suffering from drought, question 3846.
26. Register 30 Oct. 1866, p.3.
27. CL0 645 of 1 Feb. 1866.
28. See Lewis, Fought and Won, op. cit., p.40 for the remark of one manager, "I have not brought any cattle down, but I have brought ninety-eight frames down to be made into cattle" (2,200 cattle set out from Moolooloo for Gum Creek); John Williams paid more than £1000 for rent of about 11 square miles in the Mount Lofty Ranges for one season (1867 Commission on Runs suffering from drought, question 3475).
29,000 and innumerable lessees reported losses running into many thousands. Financial losses of up to £70,000 were also claimed. Although there were a few instances in which stations continued to make a small profit, most lessees found that not only were past profits swallowed up, but indebtedness had to be undertaken or increased. There is little doubt that the great majority of northern lessees were by 1867 deeply in debt to Banks, merchants and other capitalists. The evidence of the 1867 Commission appointed to investigate the condition of the runs suffering from drought portrayed a land with no feed or water, an industry without much hope and pastoralists reeling under great losses. Such was the background for the remedial legislation of 1867.

4. GOYDER'S LINE.

In April 1865 the Pastoral Association decided to press the Government for a "slight" measure of relief for those who were suffering from drought. They sought an extension of tenure for fourteen years and a remission of rent for two years. The Commissioner, although evidently willing to consider some relief, refused

29. For a convenient summary of individual losses, see 1867 Commission on Runs suffering from drought, Abstract of evidence.
30. Ibid, question 1749.
31. Ibid, question 683, showing balance sheet of Parallana station. The first mention of interest payment was in 1863, but by 1866 the proprietor was paying £525 p.a. interest. See also Register 24 Aug. 1867, p.2, letter from Robert Bruce.
32. See the remarks of the financiers Williams and Baker and the banker, Douglas. SAPD 15 Aug. 1867, col. 387; Register 2 Feb. 1869, p.5; 1867 Commission on Runs suffering from drought, questions 3970, 3977.
to consider "so unreasonable" a request. The squatters then raised
their case in the Legislative Council, seeking a Commission to re­
port on the state of the runs suffering from drought. The Govern­
ment at this stage refused, claiming that as the drought was an es­
established fact investigation would be useless, and that, in any case,
it was no concern of the Government whether the runs were profitable
or not. This attitude was due mainly to Strangways, the Commiss­
ioner of Crown Lands, whose long experience in the Crown Lands
Department inclined him to suspect every move made by members of
the Pastoral Association, especially those who were absentee owners.
He knew, perhaps better than any other member of Parliament, who the
bona fide pastoralists were, the amount of profits gained from the
runs, and the motives which prompted the demand for concessions.

Undaunted, the pastoralists continued to press for concessions.

Finally the Government agreed to postpone for three months the pay­
ment of rent and assessment due on July 1st. They were not prepared
to grant any other relief. The traditional policy of 'no change'
was evident.

In spite of these rebuffs the pastoralists in Parliament contin­
ued to support the Ayers' Government. In July rumours that some con­

33. SAPP 1865 No 56, Correspondence respecting drought in Far North
   - letters of 2, 5 and 10 May 1865 between Messrs. Browne, Levi
   and others and the Commissioner of Crown Lands, Strangways. See
   also CLO 735 of 31 March 1865, 1546 of 30 June 1865 and 1673 of
   12 July 1865.

34. SAPD 25 May 1865, col. 314 for reply to the Council's message.
    For debate, see SAPD 16 May 1865, cols. 199-209.

35. SAPD 23 Jan. 1866, col. 799. Strangways was also a bitter oppo­
    nent of John Baker, as also was Ayers, and their personal ani­
    mosity was sometimes turned into hostility to the squatters in
    general (see comment in Hart diary, 1 Oct. 1865).

36. SAPD 19 July 1865, col. 820.
cessions to the pastoralists had been agreed upon were given credence by the withdrawal of opposition to a Commission of enquiry into the condition of the drought-stricken runs, and by the Government's willingness to postpone again the payment of rent until December 1st. The time had arrived, however, when the pastoralists could win greater concessions from the Opposition than from the Government. The strength of the pastoral group in the House has been discussed at length before. Here we need only to state briefly that of the 36 members 9 were pastoralists, with several businessmen holding pastoral leases in addition. United in the Pastoral Association, this powerful minority group was able to control the balance of power.

Hart, the virtual leader of the Opposition, had shrewdly seen the tactical advantage of a policy of relief. Baker, (a pastoralist) and Boucaut (whose brother held several large leases) approached Hart on behalf of the Pastoral Association, and stated the conditions upon which the pastoralists would support him. Hart, who was by nature an autocrat, refused to be tied by any written pledge, but definitely promised concessions. Although the squatters were not

37. Hart diary 4 July 1865. Cf. Advertiser 21 Feb. 1866, p.3, report of meeting at Hindmarsh, at which Strangways stated that if he had offered half the relief proposed by Hart, the squatters would have allowed him to stay in power.

38. SAPD 7 July 1865, col. 711.

39. CLO 2358 of 1865.

40. See above pp. 147-110


42. Boucaut Papers, miscellaneous section, "Sketch of political career", pp. 4-5; and "Short biographical sketch". (S.A.A. 98) As Hart had been a member of the cabinet which insisted on Goyder's valuations, he was distrusted by the pastoralists.

43. Hart diary 14, 16, 18 and 19 Oct. 1865. Baker saw Hart first, seeking a position in Cabinet without portfolio, but returned two days later with the statement of conditions. Hart refused to accept this for fear of later dictation by Baker. On the 18th. Hart saw the squatters "by appointment". 
completely happy with this arrangement, they at length agreed. The Ayers' Government, having lost the support of the pastoralists, was quickly defeated in the House, and Hart went into power with Boucaut, Glyde, Duffield and English as his colleagues.

Four days later Glyde, the Commissioner of Crown Lands, resigned. He bitterly attacked the Pastoral Association, claiming that he had been forced out by

"certain gentlemen who were too clever - men who were always plotting and secretly intriguing - doing all they could to pull the strings of government." 45

It is probable that this pressure was indirect rather than direct. The principal cause of his resignation was the clash of personalities and policies between himself and Hart. Glyde, as Commissioner of Crown Lands, proposed an independent line of action for relief measures, and this Hart would not countenance. While recording in his diary regret at "compelling" Glyde to resign, Hart added that had he not taken the step,

"Glyde would have been my master, which I would not have submitted to for an instance. After the deed was done, I was glad to see my colleagues become more obedient." 46

As the Session progressed it became obvious that Hart was the Ministry; "he was its eyes, its feet, its hands, and its tongue - as well as its head and heart," as the Advertiser put it. It was Hart and not Neales, the new Commissioner, who handled the Parlia-

44. Ibid, 18 Oct. 1865; SAPD 19 Oct. 1865 cols. 128-152.
45. SAPD 30 Nov. 1865, col. 418. See also his comment at Smithfield in Register 15 Feb. 1866, p.3.
47. Advertiser 29 Mar. 1866, p.2.
mentary business of the Department. And it was Hart, not the pastoralists, who determined the nature of the relief and the tactics to ensure Parliamentary acceptance of the measures.

When Glyde had resigned, Hart announced his intention of sending the Surveyor-General, Goyder, to the north to determine the exact extent of the drought. This, together with the report of the Northern Runs Commissioners, so Hart claimed, would provide an adequate basis for legislation. Glyde, Strangways and others in the House bitterly attacked this move, claiming that it was the result of pressure from pastoralists who feared the valuations more than the drought and that it would lead to the overthrow of Goyder's valuations. In public Hart denied this, although in private he admitted that it was probable that the valuations would be upset. It is clear from his diary, however, that at the time Hart had no clear idea about the results of Goyder's trip, nor had he formulated any definite proposals for relief.

The day after Goyder left town the Report of the Northern Runs Commission was tabled. Reference has already been made to its analysis of the drought-stricken north. The Report also criticized

48. See Advertiser 3 Jan. 1866, p.3 for an amusing report of a mythical Cabinet meeting at which Hart virtually tells his colleagues not to say anything without his permission.
50. SAPD 24 Nov. 1865 cols. 363-365 and 30 Nov. 1865, cols. 408-422. Glyde's claim that Waterhouse, a part-owner of Kanyaka and a strong opponent of the valuations, had suggested that Goyder be sent was probably near the mark. Waterhouse had proposed the same course of action to the previous Government (SAPD 14 Dec. 1865, col. 558) and was consulted by Hart on the day that the decision was made (Hart diary 30 Oct. 1865).
51. Hart diary 31 October 1865.
52. See above, pp. 181-182.
the standard of sheep husbandry in many parts, laying part of the blame for the serious position of the industry squarely on the shoulders of the pastoralists. But as the Commissioners had been instructed to give a general report only, they offered no recommendations for Parliamentary action. Hence the return of Goyder was eagerly awaited. After a journey of several weeks he returned to Adelaide on 4th December and two days later sent a written report to Hart. In this he demarcated the southern limits of the drought, the line which was to loom so large during the next half-century, and which came to be known as Goyder's Line. The ministry was now in a position to draw up a plan of relief that was based on adequate knowledge.

The actual proposals for relief were arrived at after consultation between Hart, Boucaut (the ministry), Goyder (the administration) and Baker (the pastoralists), with the last named playing the least significant role. The steps taken were these. On the Saturday (9th December) Hart conferred with Goyder. Hart recorded the meeting in these words:

"We agreed that his valuations should not be touched but that the whole of the Northern Runs without his line of demarcation should be placed in five Schedules, and that where two or more

53. 1865-6 Northern Runs Commission, Report, pp.5-6, sections 6 and 9.
54. SAPP 1865-6 No. 30, Northern Runs Commission.
55. The Government publicly stated that no proposals would be made until Goyder returned. V & P (H.A.) 16 Nov. 1865.
56. For a detailed discussion of the establishment of Goyder's Line and of the information used, see O'Brien, 'Goyder's Line', op. cit.
57. SAPP 1865-6 No. 78, Surveyor-General's report on demarcation of northern rainfall. See also, Hart diary 4 and 7 Dec. 1865."
"runs belonging to one proprietary are included in one of the Schedules they might be consolidated into one lease and that an extension of tenure should be granted to the extent of two years, four, seven, ten and fourteen years respectively.... The question of a remission of rent was left for the time an open question." 58

On the same day Goyder was asked both informally and formally to submit his suggestions for relief. Before he could do this, however, Hart and Boucaut worked out a set of resolutions for submission to the House, and together on the Sunday visited Goyder at his home in Walkerville. Hart claimed that the Surveyor-General "approved of the resolutions" and agreed to "make his suggestions to correspond."

Then, at the suggestion of Baker on the following day, the number of Schedules was reduced from five to four. Hence Goyder's influential report of the 11th was the result of consultation between squatters, public servant and the Ministry. It was a compromise designed to be politically acceptable.

Once the proposals were made public a section of the squatters strongly opposed them. Their chief concern was to upset the valuations which Goyder had placed on their northern runs. Hart refused to be a party to such blatantly sectional demands, the acceptance of which would have laid him open to attacks in the House. As the Session progressed the Premier became more and more convinced that

60. Hart diary 10 Dec. 1865. Cf. SAPP 1865-6 No. 122, Memo of Surveyor-General on rainfall, etc. See also SAPD 14 Dec. 1865, col. 563, where Boucaut denied any collusion between Goyder, Waterhouse and Hart.
61. Hart diary 11 Dec. 1865. Hart recorded only that Baker suggested this reduction in the number of Schedules. Because Goyder's report of that day proposed four Schedules and not five as previously agreed upon I have inferred this causation.
the pastoralists were tortuous supporters. He wrote:—

"The squatters are not to be relied upon. As soon as my measure of relief is developed then they will look to their former enemies to bid higher for their support to turn us out. Scott, Baker and Elder are the parties working this scheme."

Hart was correct in his judgment. Within days of penning the above he received a letter from one who claimed to be "an agent of an organized party who (would) have concessions for certain runs or upset the Government schemes." Hart stood firm and won the day by threatening to make public the letter. He anticipated further trouble, but apart from several statements of dissatisfaction by Elder and Baker, this group of the squatters ceased for the time being from actively opposing the Government.

Meanwhile, in Parliament Hart had been busy organising his supporters. He asked both H. Mildred and J.B. Hughes, who knew the North, to call a public meeting in their electorates and report the desolation, because he calculated that "an expression of opinion outside" would be advantageous in swaying the minds of independent members. By offers of favours for their district he gained the

---

62. Ibid, 21 Jan. 1866. On the previous day Elder had informed Hart that he had told Strangways that if the Opposition would give five years' remission of rent they would be supported in defeating the present Ministry (Ibid, 20 Jan. 1866).
63. Ibid, 24 and 29 Jan. 1866.
64. Ibid 6 Mar. 1866.
66. Hart diary, 13 Nov. 1865. The question of relief was argued out on a Parliamentary level, and not by the public. Both newspapers were agreed that urgent measures were necessary. During January 1866 there were several meetings held to consider the question, mainly in country centres. Attendances were small, and opposition was directed, not towards relief, but towards the nature of the relief offered. In almost every instance the meetings were dominated by members of Parliament and appeared to have been organized by them.
support of two members from the South-East, and by including another member in the concessions he won another vote. The pastoralist, J. Lindsay, acted as a "whip" to ensure full voting strength at all important divisions.

The Opposition, led by Strangways, was able but not strong enough to dislodge the Government. They used every possible stratagem to fight the Relief Bill but the Government had sufficient voting strength to guide most of it through both Houses. Apart from being forced to limit the maximum extension of tenure to ten years instead of fourteen, and agreeing to make remission of rent an alternative to extension of tenure, instead of an addition to it, the Government had little trouble in having their relief measures approved.

Under the new Acts, the Renewal and Extension Act 1865-6 and Remission of Rent Act 1865-6, lessees within the delimited northern pastoral zone could gain EITHER:-

1. an extension of tenure for 3, 6 or 10 years, OR
2. remission of rent for 6, 12 or 18 months,

the greater concessions being granted to lessees further in the interior. The pastoralists had not secured the 14 years' extension and the two years' remission of rent for which they had originally

68. Ibid, 9 Feb. 1866.
69. Ibid, 21 Feb. 1866.
70. SAPD 13 Feb. 1866 cols. 1023-5. The amendment, introduced by Strangways, was passed only on the casting vote of the Speaker.
71. SAPD 6 Mar. 1866, col. 1230. See also Hart diary 28 Feb. and 1 Mar. 1866.
72. 29 Vic. 16 and 20 of 1865-6.
sought, but at least the policy of the Government had been revised in their favour.

It is important to note, however, that this legislation favoured a certain section of the pastoralists in particular. The nature of the relief offered indicated both the large role of investment and speculation in the pastoral industry of the interior and also the strength of the influence of the investors. Strangways, as ever an astute observer, was near to the mark when he claimed that the Acts would be

"of no benefit to those who are most deserving of consideration, and will merely benefit the Banks, and a few large merchants and squatters." 73

A number of the bona fide pastoralists felt the same. For those who were struggling to make ends meet an extension of tenure was of no immediate help - and it was immediate help they needed. On the other hand when pastoralists chose to accept remission of rent instead of extension of tenure, the average amount received per lease was only about £80.75 This was a negligible amount in comparison with the losses suffered.

The legislation, in fact, achieved two major things. Firstly, it restored a degree of commercial confidence in the industry. Secondly, in its offer of extension of tenure, it allowed risks to be spread over a longer period. While there is no doubt that these

73. Letter from Strangways read at a meeting at Nairne (Advertiser 31 Jan. 1866, p.3) Cf. Glyde's claim (SAPD 30Nov. 1865. col.420) that the speculators were the most vocal group seeking relief.
74. 1867 Commission, Runs suffering from drought, question 2916.
75. SAPP 1865-6 No. 88 and 1866-7 No. 27. The largest sum involved was £1,014, for the Crystal Brook run.
aided the industry as a whole, it is obvious that they benefited investors and speculators in particular. The victory of 1865-6 belonged to these men of capital.

5. CHANGING ATTITUDES.

Although the provisions of these Acts remained in force for little more than eighteen months, the legislation possessed more than ephemeral significance. The two major arguments for relief had been firstly, that the State, as a landlord, must accept some responsibility when its tenants were unable to meet their commitments, and, secondly, that the State could not afford to allow an industry which produced a third of the colony's export earnings to languish. Both of these arguments assigned a positive role to the State. Where previously most citizens looked to the State for roads, railways and other public facilities, now one of the most conservative groups in the community, the pastoralists, were insisting that the State must accept some responsibility in the private sector of the economy. Other sections of the community soon followed their lead. During 1866 the miners, impoverished by low yields and equally low prices, appealed to Parliament for help, citing the relief granted to the pastoralists in support of their appeal. Also, while the pastoral relief measures were being debated, farmers all over

76. SAPD 16 May 1865, col. 199.
77. SAPD 14 Dec. 1865, col. 555.
the country were pointing out that they deserved favourable treat-ment as much as did the squatters. Two years later (to anticipate our story in the next chapter), when depression in the agricultural industry was apparent to all, Parliament offered relief in the form of Strangways' Act. In contrast to the eastern colonies, this first breakdown of the old system of sale was not opposed by the pastoralists in the House. It was from the 1865-6 Session that the change in the conservative attitude to the function of the State can be dated. The new conservatism accepted the view that the State should take a positive role in the advancement of its industries. Henceforth the difference in outlook between the conservatives and liberals was to be not of kind but of degree. In general, from the mid-1860's South Australian politicians were agreed upon the necessity for public assistance for the primary industries.

Then, too, during debate there emerged a growing criticism of previously accepted methods of public administration. Parliament dealt in generalities rather than with individual cases, and the Administration generally was expected to work in similar fashion with as little use as possible of discretion in individual cases. For the first time this procedure was attacked. On this occasion some were not inclined to accept the "ipse dixit" of the Surveyor-General that the Schedules were perfect. Members repeatedly asked for further information about the lines which Goyder had drawn across a map, lines which Andrews claimed "seemed all bad alike."

79. Register 20 Jan. 1866, p.3 and Advertiser 2 Jan. 1866, p.3, letter from 'G'.
80. SAPD 14 Dec. 1865, col. 561.
The first plan submitted by Goyder was indeed exceedingly rough.

Its accuracy was limited both by the nature of the evidence he used to draw the lines and by the inadequacy of the base map available.

As a practical guide it was almost useless. His second attempt, although taking into account the boundaries of runs, was little better, as the lithographed copy presented to Parliament was obviously the work of an inexperienced person.

This unsatisfactory position was aggravated by the fact that relief was being offered to all lessees irrespective of whether they had been making handsome profits or not, or whether they had managed their runs "properly and efficiently" or not. Glyde referred to Price Maurice, who, as the owner of Pekina station, had made such a handsome profit that he had been able to leave the colony with a large fortune, and to other prosperous squatters in the Schedules such as McCulloch, Grant, Williams, Tinline and Fisher. For these reasons, some sought the appointment of a Select Committee who would examine all who claimed loss, so that relief would be granted only to those who deserved it. This, in fact, was tantamount to suggesting

82. See O'Brien, 'Goyder's Line', (op. cit.) Chapter 3, "Sources of Information."
83. The best available map had few land marks, and some of those which did appear, for example, Mt. Remarkable and Pekina, were wrongly positioned (see map attached to SAPP 1865-6 No. 82.)
84. SAPP 1865-6 No. 154, Map of Northern Runs.
85. SAPD 14 Dec. 1865, col. 559. Cf. Lewis, Fought and won, op.cit., p.58 where careful management enabled excellent profits to be gained during three years of drought. And note the criticisms of pastoral techniques in 1865-6 Northern Runs Commission, Report, pp. 5-6.
86. SAPD 19 Dec. 1865, col. 586.
87. SAPD 23 Jan. 1866, col. 804. See also SAPD 20 Dec. 1865, cols. 612-614, when Cavenagh moved "that in the opinion of the House it is not necessary to make concessions to lessees whose runs, previous to the drought, have returned large profits."
88. SAPD 23 Jan. 1866, col. 803 et seq. and 30 Jan. 1866 cols. 873 et seq.
the establishment of an administrative board. The idea was defeated, but a growing minority continued to criticize the existing methods. The concept of a Land Board was present in embryo.

6. THE POLITICS OF NECESSITY.

The concessions granted by Parliament in 1866 were only temporary measures. They were not designed to alter the existing relationships between lessees and the Crown. No-one expected the drought to continue for long. With the return of good seasons it was expected that the industry would soon return to normal.

The expected rains did not come, and the pastoral industry sank into gloom. The seriousness of the situation was quickly realized by Goyder, who in November 1866 urged that concessions should be granted as speedily as possible to the pastoralists. He stated that the bulk of the country in the Upper North had been reduced in value by at least 50% and that the extensions already granted to these runs were quite inadequate to meet their losses. Goyder's advice may have brought results on its own, but the real pressure for action came from elsewhere. The concern of the business community of Adelaide for the pastoral industry was a new factor in assisting the revision of pastoral policy. Previously the drought had not affected Adelaide businessmen and so they had remained uninterested in the question of relief. Now the position was radically different. The economy had experienced a marked slump. The Report of the

89. See above, section 3.
90. CLO 2564 of 12 Nov. 1866 and 2618 of 22 Nov. 1866.
Chamber of Commerce briefly stated the position:—

"For a time both trade and credit were almost wholly paralysed. Heavy stock accumulated in the hands of importers, manufacturers and retailers, with but faint prospects of any reduction. Merchants, tradesmen and country storekeepers expressed the greatest difficulty in meeting their current engagements." 91

The banks more than doubled their usual rates, one of the largest city firms was forced to close its doors, insolvencies were many, the level of investment fell markedly and severe unemployment existed. Although some of the factors causing this commercial gloom were independent of the drought, no-one doubted that the depressed condition of the pastoral industry was a large contributory factor. Thus in December 1866 the Chamber of Commerce pressed upon the Government the urgent necessity to enquire into the state of the pastoral industry. The Government readily agreed to do this, postponing until further notice all rents and assessments due from the affected lessees.

The interest of the business community of Adelaide can be seen in the enquiries made by the Commission appointed by the Government to examine the situation. The members of the Commission were

91. Register 10 Aug. 1867, p.3.
93. The chief causes were (1) reduced spending by pastoralists and withdrawal of capital from the industry; (2) low price of copper, causing almost complete stoppage of the industry; (3) low returns from wheat when dealers miscalculated the market; (4) commercial depression in England, leading to demands on importers for prompt remittances; and (5) rise in Bank rates because of the previous fantastic level of advances.
94. Register 10 Aug. 1867, p.3.
95. CLO 2737 of 20 Dec. 1866. Several lessees had previously applied for such a postponement, but without success. SAPP 1866-7 No. 199, Correspondence with pastoral lessees.
concerned by the lack of commercial confidence in the pastoral in-
dustry. Financiers and investors were prominent witnesses to the
Commission, and markedly influenced its Report, which stated:—

"The Commissioners are of opinion that terms should be granted
of such a nature as will induce settlers to occupy this dry
country with a fair prospect of gain, and such as will enable
them to obtain advances from capitalists, and also induce
capitalists to invest money to carry on the business of
squatting." 96

Urban men saw for the first time that long leases were being sought
not because pastoralists were greedy and grasping for land but be-
cause they were a necessity for the survival of the sheep industry
in the interior. The liberalizing of the terms of tenure was forced
upon Parliament by the sheer weight of necessity and not, as pre-
viously, by the manoeuvres of a powerful pastoral group or by the
dictates of political expediency. Furthermore, the interests of
investors (who by this time had realized that short-term investment
was out of the question in the interior) coalesced with the interests
of the bona fide pastoralists, thus rendering the final solution
more satisfactory to the whole industry than the measures of the
previous year.

But at the time when the community was willing to place the
pastoral industry on a more solid footing, the pastoralists were
divided about the future of the industry. Some were not inclined
to give wool-growing another chance. Ferguson, acknowledged as an
"authority" on the northern runs, opined that the country was not
worth occupying, even if given free of rent. Many of the smaller

96. 1867 Commission on Runs suffering from drought, Report, para.15.
97. CLO 1095 of 30 Dec. 1859.
98. 1867 Commission on Runs suffering from drought, questions 42-43.
lessees seemed to share this view, and sold out. Certainly all were convinced that their previous views of the North had been over-optimistic. But the majority were either forced to continue because of financial obligations, or were prepared to continue the gamble of raising sheep in the interior.

The members of the Commission accepted the determination of the pastoralists to continue in occupation. After lengthy discussion they recommended, inter alia, that:

1. extended tenure was essential.
2. lower rentals should be charged, on a graduated scale.
3. the number of stock required to be kept on a lease should be greatly reduced.
4. permanent wells constructed just prior to the expiration of the lease should not become the absolute property of the Crown.
5. immediate attention should be paid to increasing transport facilities.

The Commissioners suggested that existing lessees should be granted an extension of tenure for 14 or 21 years (according to district) and that those who had suffered most should be granted a remission of two years' rent. These recommendations became the basis for the new deal of 1867.

100. 1867 Commission on Runs suffering from drought, questions 666, 668. Jacobs stated that he could not abandon his lease as he was "under obligation...I must stick to it, and I hope to pull through."
101. Sheep farming in the interior was a gamble, not just a calculated risk. For this element see Ibid questions 145-7.
102. The Commission spent eight days in consideration of its report.
103. 1867 Commission on Runs suffering from drought, Report, sections 16 and 18.
While the Commission was still at work, however, there was a change in Government. On the departure of Hart for England early in 1866 a new Cabinet had been formed under Boucaut, the Attorney-General, the "weak link" Neales being omitted and A. Blyth and W. Milne included. In April 1867, however, Boucaut, who was counsel for one of the litigants in the Moonta Mines case then before the Supreme Court, resigned because of his connection with it. Milne also withdrew from the Cabinet because of pressure from Stirling, whose agency he conducted and who was one of the proprietors of the Moonta Mines. The Ministry, unable to persuade either of the two lawyers in the House who were not involved in the Moonta case to join its ranks, resigned. The new Cabinet under Ayers included Andrews, Glyde, Reynolds and Santo, all of whom had been energetic opponents of the previous relief measures of Hart. They were described as the most anti-squatter Ministry yet. But such labels were completely out of place, for in the face of the evidence no-one was hostile to the pastoralists. The Commissioner of Crown Lands, Glyde, after hearing the views of the three Valuators of Runs, submitted

104. SAPD 5 July 1867, col. 7.
106. For greater detail of the importance of this dispute see K.R. Bowes, 'The Moonta Mines, 1861-1875', chapter 1 (unpublished MSS., Adelaide University)
109. SAPP 1867 No. 89, Report by Valuator of Runs. All three valuators disagreed with the method of assessment proposed by the Commission, viz. a graduated tax on the actual number of stock pastured. Glyde recognized the inconvenience this method would cause the Department, but considered this small price to be paid for adequate relief.
to Cabinet proposals for relief which were largely based upon the recommendations of the Commission. When the Bill was debated there was no fierce contest, and no mobilizing of votes. It was a foregone conclusion that the House would agree to a new deal for the pastoralists. With only minor amendments the Government's proposals became law.

It should be noted that this legislation (the Waste Lands Amendment Act, 1867, as it was called) did not alter the terms of tenure for the Mid-North leases which had been renewed in 1865. This Act was concerned only with the lessees of the interior, most of whom had not received a renewal of five years, at a valuation, to which they were entitled when the original leases expired. The Waste Lands Amendment Act provided that existing leases in the interior could be surrendered and new leases received under the following terms:

1. The new leases were for terms of either 14 or 21 years. Previously the maximum period had been 14 years, plus the right of renewal (at a different rental) for five years. Whilst most pastoralists deemed this still to be too short a period, at least a greater measure of security of tenure was being offered, and in addition the element of uncertainty about the rental in the renewed term was removed.

2. A new graduated scale of rentals was charged, being 6d., 4d. and 2d. for every sheep actually depastured on the lease, as determined by half-yearly returns. The rentals decreased the further

---

110. CL0 935 of 13 July 1867, for submission of The Report of the Commission to Cabinet.
111. See above, Chapter 5 for a discussion of the issue of renewal for the runs in the Mid-North.
inland the leases were situated. A minimum scale of charges was set at 20/-, 8/4 and 2/6 per sq. mile for Districts A, B and C respectively. This in effect required a minimum stocking rate of 40, 25 and 15 sheep to the sq. mile. These rentals were much lower than those which would have been set under the normal course of renewal. According to the Commissioner of Crown Lands the comparisons were:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>District</th>
<th>New rate</th>
<th>Old rate</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>District A</td>
<td>£1 to £4</td>
<td>£9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>District B</td>
<td>8/4 to 50/-</td>
<td>£6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>District C</td>
<td>2/6 to 16/8</td>
<td>£3</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

No longer were the interior pastoral leases being regarded as potential fortunes from which the Treasury could benefit greatly.

3. All improvements made by the lessee became the property of the Crown at the expiration of the lease EXCEPT (and previously there had been no exceptions) "all wells of a permanent character available for the use of stock which may increase the carrying capabilities of the lands". These were to be paid for by the Crown at the end of the lease, although the rate of compensation decreased by one-seventh for every year of use. Together with the Fencing Act of 1871 - which offered remission of rent where fencing of runs was accomplished - this change encouraged the lessees to increase the physical assets of the leases and to transform the techniques of the wool industry.

Although this legislation was not a complete solution to the

112. The recommendations of the Commission were for minima of 35, 20 and 10. Previously lessees had been required to have at least 50 sheep to the sq. mile.

113. CLO 935 of 13 July 1867.
problem, substantial changes had been made. The Legislature was to make many other mistakes during the years that followed because it continued to lack appreciation of the difficulties confronting the pastoral industry in the interior, but the reappraisal of 1867 did set the pastoral industry on a somewhat firmer basis than before. There was no spectacular progress, and at times enthusiasm for wheat-growing was so great that the lessees in the interior were regarded as potential hindrances to progress, but in all this legislation enabled the pastoralists to establish themselves slowly in the interior of South Australia.
Chapter 7.

THE INTRODUCTION OF CREDIT SELECTION.

1857–1869.
CHAPTER 7.

THE INTRODUCTION OF CREDIT SELECTION, 1857-1869.

The early settlers in South Australia were proud of the so-called Wakefield land system. Although on many occasions profits took precedence over principles in the question of land settlement, the majority were still firmly convinced that the "South Australian" system of settlement was far superior to any others in the continent. While the eastern colonies were in the throes of radical land legislation South Australians in general congratulated themselves that the foresight of their pioneers had saved them from all such folly.

There was much to support this viewpoint. The pastoralists were required by law to retire from their leases whenever the land was needed for closer settlement. Surveys were conducted in an orderly fashion, at a rate that kept abreast with demand, and the blocks were designed for agricultural use. The Surveyor-General's Department was efficient and honest in its administration of the land laws.

Despite this, during the first decade of self-government many who sought farming land were unable to secure their wants from the Government. They were hedged in by competition from men of capital, hindered by a system of sale which was abused continuously, and denied redress because of the complacency of Parliament towards this problem. Hence, while in the halls of Parliament satisfaction reigned supreme, there were bursts of complaints from the farming community, and even an occasional statement of dissatisfaction from a few of the members of the House. Whenever the land system was debated interest was
shown, but rarely action. The system of land sales remained virtually unchanged throughout most of the 'sixties.

As with the pastoral industry, so with the wheat industry the situation was not changed until the conservatives realized that a state of emergency existed. The State was losing population to the eastern colonies because of the attraction of cheap land there. Members of the House, shocked into action by the fear of losing positions in Parliament, pounds from the public purse, and population from the province, turned reformer almost overnight. In this context, Strangways guided through his measure which was to make the process of purchasing Crown Lands easier for the bona fide settler.

The Waste Lands Amendment Act (or Strangways' Act as it was popularly known) did not alter the basic principles of the existing system, namely, selection AFTER systematic survey. In most areas, also, the traditional system of sale by auction was continued, although purchasers were now granted the option either of paying the full amount or paying immediately 20% of the price as interest and the principal four years later. The major change inaugurated by Strangways' Act was the establishment of Agricultural Areas. In the main these were merely an administrative weapon whereby farmers could be given an assurance that they would not encounter unfair competition. Within these the land was classified and blocks could be obtained upon application at the Land Office. Purchasers in the Areas were limited to 640 acres and were required to defer payment for four years, during which time they were obliged to fulfil certain conditions of residence and improvements. But the selection of
certain districts as agricultural lands in preference to others indicated the growing appreciation of the diversity in land. This was the first time that legislative recognition was made of this fact in relation to agricultural lands.

This chapter, then, analyses the advantages of the existing system, the importance of investment in land and the dominant conservative attitude to land policy, all of which contributed to the reluctance to share in the changes in land laws being made at the time in eastern Australia. It also considers the dissatisfaction of the farming community with the land system, attempts to alter it, and - most important - the crisis of 1867-8 which forced the hands of the legislators. The focal point of all this is Strangways Act of 1868, the most signal date in the history of land legislation in South Australia in the second half of the nineteenth century.

1. SURVEY AND SALE.

When the colony became self-governing Parliament voted to continue the existing procedures for the sale of its Crown lands. Although minor details were altered from time to time the basic procedure during the 1850's and 1860's can be summarized as follows:

When land was required for closer settlement the pastoral leases were resumed, a "Hundred" was proclaimed (this being an administrative district of about 100 sq. miles) and the land within it surveyed and then offered for sale at public auction.

1. See SAPD 16 Sept. 1857, cols. 532 et seq. for debates.
2. On a number of occasions surveys were made BEFORE a Hundred was declared, but this was not the usual procedure. See 1865 SC on Selling Crown Lands, questions 2147 et seq., evidence of Goyder.
(1). **Survey.**

Some aspects of the procedure for surveying land for sale assisted farmers in purchasing. In the first place, the pastoral lessee was unable to stand in the way of surveys. His 14 year lease included the provision that when the land was required for sale, the lease would be cancelled and the land resumed. While the pastoralist could then secure an annual lease for the land, he was required to vacate the land whenever it was sold. Then, too, if a farmer applied for a particular block, the Department carried out the survey unless exceptional circumstances made this undesirable or impracticable.

Of great importance was the manner in which the land was divided into blocks. In this the Survey Department was given a free hand, so the surveyors were able to set out the blocks according to the contours of the land and the needs of the future population. They planned adequate reserves for roads and water facilities and determined the size of blocks according to their potential. When Colonel Freeling was in charge of the Department, land that was suitable only for grazing was divided into large blocks, but under Goyder's direction the maximum size was at first restricted to 160 acres (in 1863) and then to 350 acres (in 1867). Even influential men like G. C. Hawker were unable to convince the Surveyor-General that this

---

4. e.g. CLO 889 of 1859 and 897 of 1861.
5. CLO 1783 of 1866, where Goyder outlines the 'Mode of Survey'.
6. CLO 329 of 1858, 602 of 1863 and 1092 of 1867.
practice should be changed. In fact, by far the greatest number of blocks were 80 acres in extent. In other words, the Crown Lands were divided into section, the size and positions of which were suitable for farming.

The survey of small sections was more costly and more time-consuming than the survey of large blocks, but the efficiency of the Department enabled costs to be kept low and the supply of land high. Goyder estimated that on an average each field party (two or three men) surveyed 2,500 acres a month at a cost of 10½d. an acre. At times there were as many as ten survey parties in the field, and these kept the supply ahead of the demand. In 1866 - to cite a time when the demand was high - Goyder was able to report that there were 250,000 acres surveyed which had not been advertised for sale. Only in parts of 1857 and 1862 did any lag occur in dealing with surveys, and even then the longest delay noted for any application was only six months. There was little cause for complaint here.

Other factors than those outlined above, however, greatly modified the position. While farmers were able to have land surveyed, so were other groups in the community. All applications were dealt with "as a matter of course", since the Department considered that it was no concern of theirs what motives prompted the application

7. CLO 1301 of 1860. See also CLO 411 of 1867.
8. CLO 1783 of 1866.
9. CLO 972 of 1866.
10. CLO 1783 and 2535 of 1866.
nor whether the land was to be used for farming or grazing. The only points for consideration were that surveyors be available to meet the demand and that the land, when surveyed, would find a ready sale. It is important to note, then, who were the groups that applied for the survey of land. Table 9 indicates the position during the early 1860's when applications were numerous. On the average, applications for the survey of almost 100,000 acres were received each year, but of this amount farmers were responsible for only one third. Pastoralists dominated the applications, with land agents being largely interested as well. It is necessary to realize, also, that in addition to the formal applications lodged at the Crown Lands Office there were many informal appeals for the survey of particular lands. Again the pastoralists were prominent.

**TABLE 9.**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Agriculturalists acres</th>
<th>Pastoralists acres</th>
<th>Agents acres</th>
<th>Total acres</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1861</td>
<td>16,030</td>
<td>52,260</td>
<td>4,520</td>
<td>72,810</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1862</td>
<td>36,900</td>
<td>49,100</td>
<td>9,690</td>
<td>95,690</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1863</td>
<td>31,100</td>
<td>39,160</td>
<td>3,820</td>
<td>74,080</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1864</td>
<td>44,150</td>
<td>73,990</td>
<td>34,140</td>
<td>152,280</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1865</td>
<td>19,810</td>
<td>21,620</td>
<td>12,700</td>
<td>54,130</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(6 mths.)

% of total 33 53 14 100

12. 1860 SC Cooke and Wark, questions 37, 74.
13. CLO 1140 of 1865.
14. e.g. CLO 385 of 1857, 2252 of 1861 and 528 of 1865. In some cases the Department demanded a deposit of 1/- in the £1 on the minimum upset price as a security.
15. 1865 SC on Selling Crown Lands, question 2535, evidence of Goyder.
16. 1865 SC on Selling Crown Lands, question 2675.
It is probable, for instance, that when the squatters were convinced that they could not upset Goyder's valuations, they brought pressure to bear on the Ayers' Government (who were kept in power by the pastoralists) to throw open for sale some of the land in question. In spite of the opposition of the Surveyor-General, land was surveyed and poured into the market at such a rate that the pastoralists were able to purchase large tracts at the minimum price of £1 an acre. Thus, much of the demand for the survey of land came from those who wanted it for pastoral use, not agricultural.

This fact was not widely recognized at the time, for it was generally believed that the pastoralists received unfavourable treatment from both Parliament and the Department. Various Governments were accused of monomania against squatters in general or of resuming the lands of individual pastoralists unnecessarily or prematurely. Others claimed that the pastoralists were being sacrificed at the altar of Government Revenue. Certainly there

---

17. See above, Chapter 5, pp.
18. CLO 1438 and 2519 of 1864, 1326 of 1865 and 1099 of 1876. See also the remark of the pastoralist, Edmund Bowman, that the pastoralists were being "fed" with land. 1865 SC on Selling Crown Lands, question 242.
19. 1865 SC on Selling Crown Lands, questions 2183-2185.
20. Ibid, question 2205. See also the draft Report.
22. The current use of the term "killing a squatter" was indicative of the general attitude. Stow, South Australia, op. cit., p. 66.
was some justification for these complaints, but a careful exami-
nation of the correspondence of the Department has led to the opinion
that overall the administration was as fair to the pastoralists as
it was to the agriculturalists. Be this as it may, the fact re-
mains that the community at large and the pastoralists in particular
felt that the work of the Crown Lands Department favoured the farmer
and hindered the pastoralist. This belief in part contributed to
the feeling of satisfaction with the existing system, whereas in
reality it was far from perfect.

(2) **Sale.**

One of the inadequacies of the sales system – and there were
many – was the failure to inform the community, and the farmers in
particular, of the land that was available for sale. Advertisements
consisted solely of a notice in the *Government Gazette*, which simply
listed the name of the Hundreds and the numbers of the sections.

---

23. SAPD 22 June 1860, col. 271, comment by Milne, and CLO 1092
of 1867. The two Select Committees that investigated the de-
claration of the Hundreds on the lower reaches of the River
Murray clearly showed that the Commissioner of Crown Lands
had been influenced partly by personal animosity towards one
pastoralist in particular, and that he had resumed the land
with little thought for the consequences to the numerous
lessees in the area. But it should be realized that this was
an exceptional case, influenced by the magnetic attraction of
River Murray. For this incident see SAPD 1860, cols. 269 and
589; 1860 SC on Cooke and Wark, questions 511, 517 and 627;
1860 SC on the Hundreds, questions 193, 215 et seq., 295, 306
and 392. Following this case legislation was passed requiring
the Commissioner to lay before Parliament plans and definitions
of proposed new Hundreds. Act 6 of 1861.
This was meaningless without reference to an official map. While the daily and weekly papers printed this information and added a few explanatory notes, many a farmer was left in ignorance of land being sold even in his own locality. Moreover, many farmers were unable to read and consequently had to depend on verbal information from storekeepers and such-like. On several occasions Goyder strongly advocated that maps should be distributed to post offices and district council offices, but Cabinet refused to alter the traditional methods.

Then, too, with few exceptions all sales were held at the Land Office in Adelaide. When he was Surveyor-General, Colonel Freeling advocated that sales be confined to the capital city. He argued that:

"the purchasers who buy without aid from the capitalists and agents resident in Adelaide are comparatively small, and as the intervention of these capitalists and agents is sought in most cases, it is desirable that the sales should take place in the locality in which they reside." 25

This view, however, ignored the distinct hardship to farmers, some of whom were compelled to travel up to 150 miles to attend the sale. Due to Parliamentary pressure, the Government in May 1861 experimented with a sale at Clare, a prosperous agricultural town in the Lower-North, but the farmers failed to support it. Then later, due again to pressure, this time from local residents, sales were held at Mount Gambier. The editor of the Border Watch, however, noted

24. CLO 230 of 1865 and 506 of 1868.
25. CLO 787 of 1860.
26. Register 30 Oct. 1866, p.3, letter from 'Tom O'Lincoln'.
27. SAPD 1 Aug. 1860, cols 520-523; CLO 750 of 1861; and 1865 SC on Selling Crown Lands, question 2298.
that

"But for the arrival of some dozen or two of agents and speculators, who arrived a few days previous to the sale to spy out the land, the few who did know would not have known that such an important event was going on in our midst." 29

Again it was the lack of publicity that caused failure.

The amount of land offered for sale was generally not geared to the requirements of the farmers. Until 1866 sales were held weekly, 30 often only a few blocks being offered at a time. This practice played into the hands of pastoralists and investors since, being present in Adelaide either personally or through an agent, they were able to pick up these sections at the minimum price without competition. Then in 1864 Parliament changed the policy, ordering 31 that large quantities of land should be offered at each sale. The Surveyor-General was instructed that the amount of land available for immediate purchase (not having been sold when offered at auction) should not fall below 140,000 acres. For almost two years land was poured into the market. Auxiliary and subsidiary survey parties were formed to cope with the demand, but still the Commis-

28. CLO 231, 1252, 1291 and 1306 of 1867. Border Watch 2 Sept. 1865, p.2 and 22 Apr. 1868, p.2. Tentative approval was granted for the establishment of a permanent Land Office at Mount Gambier, but this was finally rejected because of the lack of finance.


30. CLO 1389 of 1 and 1783 of 1866.

31. Advertiser 3 Nov. 1864, p.3 (debates) and 1 Dec. 1864, p.3 (debates) SAPP 1864 No. 218, Survey of Land.

32. Once land had been offered at auction and had not been purchased, it could be bought by application at the Land Office without further auction. The price was the minimum, £1 per acre.
sioner of Crown Lands instructed Goyder: "We must have a much larger quantity of land in the market at once." Whilst this may have appeared to give the farmers a greater chance to purchase, it too played right into the hands of agents and squatters who had been seeking the opportunity to buy extensively. The results of this policy was widely recognised at the time, yet there was little attempt to change it. In 1866, however, Goyder managed to persuade Cabinet that sales should be held fortnightly instead of weekly and that the lands offered for sale should be concentrated in one or two localities sought by farmers. This was partially successful in aiding the farmers, but the system was still far from adequate.

The great obstacles to the farmer, however, were the competition he had to face and the methods employed against him by certain parties. Apart from competition from fellow farmers, the agriculturist found himself opposed by men of capital - pastoralists, land agents and speculators. Neither the pastoralist nor land agent wanted the farmer to be able to purchase, for in the one instance he would gain a footing on the run, and in the other he would be lost as a client. The speculator, too, desired that the farmer should not purchase directly from the Crown. As only 20% of the purchase money was required on the day of the sale, the remainder being due within a month, speculators used this interval to secure

33. CLO 676 of 1865. See also 317 and 704 of 1865 and 2657 of 1866.
34. 1865 SC on Selling Crown Lands, question 2780. Levi suggested that the pastoralists were prepared to buy up to 500,000 acres at the time.
35. CLO 1389 and 1783 of 1866.
36. 1865 SC on Selling Crown Lands, question 2476.
a purchaser, at an enhanced price. The greater the number of dis-
appointed farmers, the greater the chance of quick profits. When
bidding seemed likely to be keen, those dealing in large quantities
of land - pastoralists, land agents and speculators - were prepared
to pay high prices for a few sections so that they could squash
competition and buy the remainder cheaply. When a farmer had
spent time and money in inspecting land and travelling to Adelaide
to bid at auction, but found that he was "run up" to a price he
could not afford, he returned home disillusioned. This happened
so often that country settlers believed that "there was an organ-
ised mode (sic) in Adelaide to run (them) up at the sales." There
was much truth in this overstatement. Agents had an unwritten
understanding that they would not bid against each other, and
pastoralists often employed more than one agent to lessen likely
competition, one agent being paid to make the bid while the others
were paid not to bid. By these means competition was stultified

37. 1865 SC Selling Crown Lands, questions 1859-1863, 2582.
Roberts claimed that he had known instances when speculators
made 50% to 100% on the deposit, while Strangways stated that
profits had reached 200%. The common transfer of deposit receipts
indicated the frequency of such transactions. (Ibid, question
68. See also CL0 676 of 10 Sept. 1868). At other times specu-
lators bullied the owners of neighbouring sections into buying
before they were desirous of expanding their farms. 1865 SC on
Selling Crown Lands, question 1108A and Register 12 Jan. 1860,
p.3.
38. Register 30 Oct. 1866, p.3, letter from Tom '0 Lincoln; see also
39. SAPD 1 Aug. 1860, cols. 522-523; See also Register 28 June 1867,
Clark, the President of the Political Association, alleged that
these "jobbers" were supplied with fund by European capitalists,
Register 18 Jan. 1860, p.3.
41. Ibid, questions 336-337, 2273.
to such an extent that for sale after sale little above the upset price was bid, and section after section fell into the hands of pastoralists and land agents.

In addition to this competition, the farmer (as with all other buyers) ran the risk of being caught by "land sharks", who demanded from a prospective buyer a "bonus" as a reward for not bidding in competition. One buyer claimed that "the moment they see me bidding they step in to get the bonus on it." These practices were carried on overtly and were known to the general public. Although those with capital suffered as well as farmers, the latter were unable to afford to pay anything in addition to the price of land. But the various Governments made no attempt to put an end to these practices which made a mockery of competition. The Speaker of the House expressed the sentiments of that Chamber when he told the Chief Clerk of the Lands Office, O'Halloran, "that there (was) nothing wrong or unusual in this practice" of giving "bonuses". The extent of this trade can be gauged by the claims that one expert netted £1,000 on one day and that the average yearly "earnings" of the land sharks was £1,000. Such malpractices drove the small

42. See e.g. Register 6 Apr. 1860, p.3 and 5 Oct. 1860, p.2.
43. 1865 SC on Selling Crown Lands, question 1104.
44. The Chief Clerk of the Lands Office, G.W. O'Halloran cited instances that he had noticed, although he refused to state the names of those involved. Brought before the bar of the House to answer a charge of contempt of the Legislature, he still refused to give names, claiming that he had no "proof" to substantiate his statements. A narrow majority of the House accepted his explanation as satisfactory. It is probable that the Government did not press the point too far because of the likely embarrassment of one of their supporters, E. McEllister. See 1865 SC Selling the Crown Lands, draft report, paragraph 2.
45. Ibid, Minutes of proceedings, p.iii.
46. Ibid, questions 907-8, 2694, and SAPD 1 Aug. 1860, col. 522.
The inability of many farmers to obtain land from the Crown, nevertheless, cannot be explained solely in terms of the inadequacies of the sales procedure. Often the causes were as much social and economic as political. One agent related that

"There are scores of farmers come in and don't know where the Land Office is. These are so shy. A man that does not see another man once in a year gets so shy that they sometimes give me a pound to come down with them". 48

Rowett exaggerated the infrequency of the farmers' contact with the outside world, but his judgement that "the likes of us can persuade the farmers to anything" when they came for advice was based on long experience as a commission agent. With the standard of literacy not yet raised by compulsory education, advertisements in the Government Gazette were useless to a large section of the community. They depended upon the information of some trusted friend or respected public man. In this context the use of agents was almost a necessity. Also, few farmers kept bank accounts, and of these many did not understand that they could secure an advance by the mortgage of their property at normal bank lending rates. Instead they went to the money lender or commission agent who charged at least 12½% plus commission. There was little other choice.

Even so, the system of sale was most unsatisfactory. It enabled men with capital to monopolize the market, it allowed abuses to

47. Ibid, question 937.
48. Ibid, question 985.
49. Ibid, questions 993, 973. Rowett estimated that about one third of the farmers in his district kept bank accounts.
dominate the sales room, and in general it prevented the agriculturist from purchasing land from the Crown at reasonable prices.

2. CONSERVATIVE ATTITUDES.

South Australia's early land policy was influenced by the twin ideas of concentration of settlement and a correct balance between land, capital and labour. Because of the lure of quick profits in the pastoral industry and of rich rewards in land speculation, this theory was soon replaced by an attitude that judged policies on success.

In the years that followed self-government it was generally believed that South Australia's land policy was an enlightened one because it had been successful. One member of the House stated it this way:

"Under the operation of the system now in force, the country from north to south has been peopled with a yeomanry having a fixed interest in the land, such as could not be found in any other colony. In no other colony was there such an extent of well-made, well-defined roads, running in all directions between continuous fences, enclosing well-cultivated farms and homesteads, which enabled this colony to export yearly some 50,000 tons of agricultural produce over and above what was wanted for their consumption." 51

It must be admitted that the description of the agricultural industry, although somewhat idealized, was not far from correct. But what this view ignored was the fact that many of the farmers had NOT been able

50. Pike, Paradise of Dissent, op. cit., pp.52-3, 300 et seq.
51. SAPD 5 July 1861, col. 365.
to purchase land from the Crown, but had been forced to buy from agents at a price. The abundance of yeomen farmers did not necessarily reflect wisdom in law.

When they were forced to put forward rational arguments in favour of the existing system, its applauders talked in terms of the inevitable power of capital and of the advantages of "free competition". They argued thus:

"Capital was power and would continue to be so long as society remained upon its present basis; any attempt to subvert that power would be like the attempt of Mrs. Partington to stop the ocean with a mop." 53

They strongly held the current philosophy of the Victorian era, that as each acted for their private good they contributed to the total well-being of the community. Translating this into terms of land sales, they claimed that "free competition" at auction would result in the "right person" purchasing. One large land-owner put it this way:

"I do not think you could legislate for the quantity to be held by one person any more than you could limit the business of a large mercantile establishment... It is a thing that will work its own remedy. The best land will be bought by those who have the means to buy, and when it becomes more beneficial to let the land for farming than to keep it for grazing they will do so; and, in all probability, it will be let in that way to the farmers in larger areas than 80 acres, and farming operations will be carried on in consequence to greater advantage." 55

---

52. See above, pp. 214-217
53. SAPD 3 Sept. 1861, col. 730
54. 1865 SC on Selling Crown Lands, question 2674, evidence of Strangways.
And so Parliament remained complacent about the whole problem of land sales. There was no need to change, so the members declared, because both theory and practice demonstrated the superiority of the laws of South Australia to all others in the continent.

While we need not doubt the genuineness of these conservatives, it is necessary to point out that those who held these views benefited from the existing system. The pastoralists were content because they could secure the freehold of their runs. The directors of the banks were pleased because of the large demand for money. The land agents and speculators were happy because business was brisk. The partial failure of the land sales system was advantageous to these men of capital.

3. INVESTMENT IN LAND.

From the beginning of the province, land was the chief avenue of investment. Reference has already been made to the fact that more than one-third of the land used for farming was leased to the occupiers by men of capital, and as well there were innumerable blocks of land lying unused, many being retained for later sale. There was no shadow of doubt in any one's mind concerning the importance of investment in land.

It is not surprising, then, that while the legislators in New South Wales and Victoria were devising means for making Crown Lands

56. See above, Chapter 2, section 2 (1)
available to the landless on easy terms of time payment, the South Australian Parliament was seeking to make privately owned land marketable. The interest of investors was directed towards the Real Property Act of 1853 (and its later amendments) which facilitated the transfer of land and not towards easier facilities for the sale of Crown Lands.

The basic problem which the Real Property Act sought to overcome was the insecurity of titles. Of the 40,000 titles to land said to be in existence, three-quarters of the original deeds had been lost, about one-third were held by absentees, some of whom could not be traced, and at least 5,000 were seriously complicated, if not defective.

This was bad enough, but private subdivisions created chaos in the extreme. Licensed surveyors were not required by law to be employed for subdivisions, sellers often refused to surrender their deeds, verbal accounts of previous transactions were commonly accepted, while written descriptions where given were often meaningless.

Two groups were largely affected by this insecurity. On the one hand, those who had received advances through mortgages were alleged to live in fear of some unexpected deed appearing which would make their security void. In 1856 about £83,000 was loaned on mortgage for town properties and £556,000 for country lands, the total having multiplied by more than five times since 1852. One smallholder complained that "the South Australian freeman had to hold his homestead by a sort of

57. I am indebted to Dr. Pike for allowing me to read an unpublished paper of his on the Torrens Land Titles Act. The substance of the following argument is his.
58. Register 8 and 23 July 1856. 1861 Commission on Real Property Act, question 102.
60. SAPP 1857-8 No. 47, Statistics of South Australia, 1856, p.22
covert imposture that would not bear exposure to daylight." On the other hand, in the mid-1850's land dealers were finding severe competition from the regular Government land sales at which returning gold diggers could buy newly surveyed agricultural sections for little more than 20/- per acre. The cost of conveyance, contrastingly, normally amounted to from 3% to 5% of the cost of the land, although involved titles were known to have cost as much as £39 for land worth only £20. To avoid further loss of trade, land agents and investors needed a quicker and less costly way to transfer titles.

This problem had exercised the minds of various Governments from time to time but nothing had been done. The land boom of the late 1850's, however, brought results. Led by the editor of the Register, Anthony Forster, (who in June 1856 singled out the Registry Office, intent on making its reform the crucial issue of the 1857 elections), the electors - or should we say, the landed proprietors - demanded action by placing the previously unpopular Torrens, (who had declared his decided approval for cheap, quick conveyancy) at the head of the poll for the Adelaide electorate. Torrens' friend and adviser, R.B. Andrews, also topped the poll in the north plains district. The Chief Secretary, Finniss, although appointed by the Governor, well realized that no ministry, "however able and strong in general support", could have maintained its existence if it opposed the principles for which

61. Register 1 Dec. 1857.
62. SAPD 11 Nov. 1857, col. 647; Cf. Ibid 4 June 1857, col. 202
63. Register 3 July 1857.
Torrens and others contended.

On June 4th 1857 Torrens sought leave to introduce a private member's Bill, and in so doing explained his purpose.

"Whenever real estate is transferred, the history of the property has to be traced back to the original grant from the Crown, through all the intermediate hands, every mortgage deed, release, conveyance settlement must be produced and carefully examined to see that there are no outstanding equities affecting the title. This renders conveyancing a laborious and costly process; but if after the labor has been expended and the cost incurred, the fruits of it could be secured and held available for future occasions, we should not have so much to complain of. The grievance is that this labor and outlay have to be repeated again and again. . . . The first and leading principle of the measure which I introduce is therefore designed to cut off the very source of all costliness, insecurity, and litigation by abolishing altogether the system of retrospective titles and ordaining that as often as the fee-simple is transferred the existing title must be surrendered to the Crown, and a fresh grant from the Crown issued to the next proprietor." 65

Delayed by disputes between the two Houses, the Bill finally completed its journey through the necessary legislative channels on January 26th, 1858. By the Act all land sold after July 1858 had to be registered at the Land Titles Office, the owner being given a copy of the certificate entered in the official register. All subsequent transactions affecting that section of land appeared on the face of the certificate.

65. SAPD 4 June 1857, cols. 203-204.
66. Torrens formed a Ministry in September 1857, but his action in rescinding the Waste Lands Regulations without the assent of Parliament brought about its early downfall. The inaction of Torrens caused Forster to attack him vigorously. To assert their good faith, Torrens and his supporters published their own paper, The People's Journal, no copies of which are extant. The formation of a stable coalition Government by Hanson enabled Torrens to pilot the Bill through the House of Assembly. Two monster petitions were needed, however, before the Legislative Council were persuaded to pass the measure. (Pike, 'Torrens Land Titles Act', loc. cit.)
so that at a glance anyone could see whether the land was mortgaged or otherwise encumbered. The State thus assumed the responsibility for proving the validity of titles. That portion of the Act was compulsory. The bringing of previous deeds under its provisions, however, was completely voluntary, but the vast majority availed themselves of the opportunity. That is not to say that bad titles were transformed overnight into good ones, as many applications were rejected. On the other hand many that were slightly imperfect were given security. Deeds were made marketable.

It is unnecessary for our purpose to outline the subsequent challenge of this legislation by Judge Boothby. Sufficient is it to say that after four years of intense agitation and uncertainty the Real Property Act was declared valid. This colourful episode is normally seen as a successful struggle by colonial innovators against the shackles of English judicial practices, maliciously interpreted by a Judge who felt aggrieved when he was not given higher office.

68. See Stow, South Australia, op. cit. pp. 56 et seq.; and O'Donaghue, 'The constitutional and administrative development of South Australia', op. cit., Chapters 4, 7 and 8 for detailed discussion of the incident.
69. See Newcastle to Daly (confidential) 26 Mar. 1862 and Daly to Cardwell 26 July 1865; 1864 SC on Validity of Laws, passim; and SAPD 26 June 1865, cols. 61 et seq.
70. Stow, South Australia, pp. 56-58. This view ignores the following points:— (1) that Boothby's judgements were vindicated (2) that colonial pride resented the uncovering of inefficiency by administrators and legislators (3) that Boothby had many supporters, including the able and astute Strangways, who (is it significant?) had no interests in land, (4) that Torrens and many of his supporters, like Boothby, saw England and English practices (legal and otherwise) as the standard and model. They were not supporting colonial innovation as such.
To Torrens and his supporters, however, there was but one issue. They raised the cry: "The Real Property Act is in danger". The problem was still the ready marketing of privately owned land. It is significant that within months of the news that the validity of the Act had been settled beyond dispute, Torrens commissioned his agents to sell his Torrens Park estate. This is not to suggest that Torrens' action was motivated only by private interest. It does, however, forcibly remind us how intricately woven together was public interest and private gain in the thinking and legislative activity of Parliamentarians. The Real Property Act, in short, was a triumph for investors in land.

Interest in this question was intense. No other issue - not even Goyder's valuations or the Moonta Mines question - aroused the interest of the general public and the members of Parliament to such a degree. In comparison the problem of selling Crown Lands was regarded as insignificant.

4. CRITICISMS OF THE LAND SYSTEM.

A minority, nevertheless, saw the need for change in the land system. In January 1860, for instance, the Political Association

71. This was achieved by the passing of the Colonial Laws Validity Act by the Imperial Parliament in June 1865.
raised a dissenting voice. The President, John Clark, stated his approval of the regulations in force in the American states of Wisconsin and Illinois. There should be, he claimed, free selection with a pre-emptive right of purchase within a specified time, upon conditions that certain improvements should be made. But, although American and Victorian land systems were studied at meetings of the Association, members in general were more concerned about the elimination of land-jobbing within the existing system than of creating a new method of dealing with Crown Lands. But even this moderate criticism was ignored by the Hanson Government.

More radical views were expressed later in the same year by other parts of the farming community. Parliament had discussed formally a Bill which proposed that farmers be able to lease blocks of from ten to fifty sq. miles so that they could run a limited number of sheep in addition to their wheat-growing. When the measure was discussed throughout the country, some loudly stated their desire for the land system to be changed radically to allow the leasing of agricultural lands. As soon as this idea was expressed Parliament immediately dropped consideration of the Bill. Members now saw it as a change that

73. For a statement on the formation and strength of the Political Association see above pp. 108.
75. When the Hanson Government felt that it had to grant a concession to the Political Association to curb its agitation, it chose to grant more commonage to landowners and to allow them to lease unsold land in the neighbourhood. O'Donaghue, 'Constitutional and administrative development of South Australia', op. cit., p.146.
76. Register 16 July 1860, p.3.
77. Register 6 July 1860, p.3, 13 July 1860, p.3 and 16 July 1860, p.3 for reports of meetings at Gawler, Hindmarsh and Adelaide. See also Register 25 June, p.3, letter from 'Pro bono publico'. 
might prove dangerous.

Parliament was able to squash action within the borders of the province, but it was powerless to prevent change in the eastern colonies. The action of Victoria and New South Wales in changing their land systems during 1860-1 caused considerable interest even amongst those who wished for no change. During 1861 the Government sent J.T. Bagot, the Commissioner of Crown Lands, to Victoria to study first hand the results of the legislation of the previous year. He returned without a very favourable impression, but he nevertheless felt that there was some need to modify the South Australian land laws, at the same time avoiding the shortcomings of the Victorian attempt. Rejecting Goyder's opinion that deferred payments were neither necessary nor desirable and his warning that the administration of such a scheme would be difficult and costly, Bagot finally convinced his colleagues that they should sponsor such a change. He proposed that lands which had lain unsold for twelve months should be made available for sale at £1 per acre by a scheme of deferred payments. It is obvious that Cabinet was not wedded to the idea, for when Bagot was omitted from a reshuffled Cabinet the remaining members spoke against it. Neither in the House nor in the country did the measure raise much interest, and certainly no enthusiasm. An apathetic House twice rejected the

78. SAPD 20 July 1860, cols. 449-455; Register 21 July 1860, p.2 (leader).
79. SAPD 26 June 1861, col. 304 and 3 July 1861, col. 344.
80. SAPP 1861.No. 90, Goyder's report on deferred payments.
81. SAPD 26 June 1861, col. 303. Mildred had suggested a similar scheme the previous year. SAPD 16 May 1860, col. 60.
Bill. For the next three years, whilst adversity dogged the farmer and the land jobbers haunted the sales room, Parliament complacently ignored the whole question of survey and sale.

During 1865, at the prompting of a prominent Adelaide businessman, Charles Goode, a Select Committee was appointed to inquire into the system of selling Crown Lands. Goode, who was appointed chairman, was dissatisfied with the existing methods, but his views were unacceptable to the rest of the Committee, except perhaps L. Glyde. Of the twenty-three witnesses examined, only one might be classed as a farmer, and he was not a small-holder. The others included six pastoralists, who were also extensive land buyers, five Departmental Officers, five land agents and speculators, three members of Parliament, including the Commissioner of Crown Lands, and three business men. The Committee were interested only in men of capital. Their report was very conservative and did not result in any change for the better. Three aspects of the Committees work should be noted.

(1) The members agreed that there were irregularities at the sales, but they refused to recommend any means for overcoming this. Two suggestions (making unfair competition a civil offence and the valuation of individual blocks) offered by Goode in the original draft were struck out.

82. The Bill included the following conditions; (a) restriction to certain proclaimed areas and (b) payment of 5% interest upon purchase money during payment. For full debates see SAPD 1861, cols. 303-304, 344-345, 362-370, 705-708, 723-731. On the first occasion the second reading was defeated on the casting vote of the Speaker. When reintroduced it was defeated 15-11.

83. Compare the draft report of Goode with the final report for a difference in both tone and content.

84. It is interesting to note that both of these ideas were employed by Strangways in the reforms of 1868.
The Committee would not countenance the idea of limiting the activity of investors to aid bona fide agriculturalists. While the evidence clearly showed the large interests of investors in land, the final report made no mention of this.

The Committee did not feel that there was any need for South Australia to view closely the Victorian experiment in land legislation. The paragraph in Goode's draft report advocating observance was struck out.

Parliament did not even discuss the report of the Select Committee, and interest soon faded. Parliament again complacently accepted the status quo.

There was, in fact, only one source of criticism which at this stage was even partially effective. That was the insistent opinion of the Surveyor-General, G.W. Goyder, who did not hide his conviction that changes were imperative. In some things he was unable to bring about change. Mention has already been made of the refusal to act on his suggestion to advertise the sales more widely. Then, in 1864 when Goyder submitted a lengthy report on the sales system in which he advocated sale by tender to overcome the objectionable practices in the sales room, neither the Commissioner nor Cabinet discussed the matter with him. In this he was ignored. In other matters, however, his advice led to modifications of policy or practice. He convinced the Commissioner that sales should be held less frequently than weekly and

---

85. E.g., questions 466-473, 534-600, 1080, 1737-1753, 2060-2063, 2353-2421, and especially 2063.
86. See above, p. 273.
87. CLO 540 of 17 Feb. 1864.
that large amounts should be offered at each sale. He also persistently advocated that the supply of land should be geared to the wants of the farmers and sought to arrange surveys accordingly. He advised, for instance, that surveyors should not be sent to the Tatiara country until a road was constructed to the coast, as otherwise farmers would not purchase and the excellent farming land would be monopolised by pastoralists. Eventually his insistence began to have effect. The Commissioner issued instructions that land sought by farmers should be offered first and at times to suit the farmers. These were not radical changes, but there is no doubt about the importance of Goyder's views in bringing about the eventual alteration of the system.

5. THE CRY FOR REFORM.

Already we have elaborated most of the major factors that contributed to the series of events which culminated in the passing of the Waste Lands Amendment Act of 1869, popularly known as Strangways' Act. We can summarize the factors thus:

1. The desire for larger farms, which increased the demand for land.

2. Competition at the sales from pastoralists and investors, who were generally able to outbid farmers.

88. CLO 317 of 1865 and 1389 and 1733 of 1866.
89. CLO 2535 of 6 Nov. 1866.
90. CLO 972 of 10 Apr. 1866.
91. CLO 2657 of 26 Nov. 1866 and 893 of 14 Aug. 1867.
3. Irregularities at the sales by "land sharks".
4. Goyder's advocacy of change.
5. The example of the eastern colonies in land reform.
6. The depressed state of the wheat industry.
7. A growing exodus of population from the province.

The last two factors proved to be the crucial ones. As with the pastoral industry, so with the wheat industry a crisis was required before adequate action was taken.

From the end of 1866 reports of migration to the eastern colonies began to trickle into the metropolis. Although the Government in public belittled suggestions of an exodus, it took the matter seriously enough to seek information from the District Councils and to commission the police force to watch those passing through the South-Eastern towns. The replies from the District Councils indicated that the position was by no means alarming, but at the same time it was obvious that many tenant farmers and some freeholders were abandoning their colony for better fields. Correspondents to the newspapers re-affirmed that families were leaving, and word from Albury, N.S.W., indicated that almost one hundred South Australians had settled in the vicinity. Because there were no accurate statistics of the movement of population

---

92. SAPD 23 Nov. 1866, col. 1052.
93. SAPP 1867 No. 124, Return of farmers leaving the colony; Register 17 June 1867, p.2.
94. The exodus reported exceeded 50 families and 25 single people, being chiefly from (a) the original wheat lands near Adelaide (b) German tenant settlements in the Onkaparinga and Barossa Valleys (c) near Mt. Gambier.
95. Register 14 June 1867, p.2; 21 June 1867, p.3; 10 Aug. 1867, p.2; 12 Aug. 1867, p.2.
between colonies, no-one was sure what was the true position, but one member startled the House by the claim that in the eleven years 1855–97 South Australia had lost nearly 40,000 persons. Whether or not these figures were accurate it was obvious to all but the blind that South Australia was not attracting any population. However much some might dislike Victoria's land laws, it was Victoria which was settling farmers on the land, not South Australia.

This situation was brought to a head by the grave failure of the crops at the end of 1867. Although a record area of more than half a million acres had been planted with wheat, only 2,519,894 bushels were reaped, about one-third of the previous year's total. The season, as the official report stated, "tried the very foundations of the colony's prosperity" and led many to query the future of agriculture. All were agreed that unless help was granted the farmers would be in a parlous position. Many conservatives, including Strangways, though still convinced of the superiority of the colony's land laws over any

96. Only arrivals and departures by sea from Port Adelaide were recorded. There was no note of movement by land.

97. SAPD 7 Oct. 1868, cols. 573-574.

98. In September 1867 a report of the results of the Victorian Land Acts was laid on the table of the House and was ordered to be printed. Achievements listed by Grant were impressive. He claimed that since 1861 2,519 improving tenants, whose families numbered 7,674, had been settled on 706,800 acres. These had made improvements valued at £437,338. Nearly half of the lessees were resident and improving their blocks. At the same time higher prices were received for the land sold, this being due, it was claimed, to the fixing of a rate proportionate to the "intrinsic value of the land" rather than leaving the price to the "chances and combinations of the auction room." SAPP 1867, No. 138, Report of proceedings taken under Victorian Land Acts, pp. 2-3.

99. SAPP 1868-9 No. 8, Agricultural Statistics 1867-8, p.5.

100. Compare the tone of the editorials in the Register of 18 Sept. 1866 and 27 May 1867.
others in Australia, now began to accept the fact that unless they were prepared to lose population some concessions had to be granted.

Action in this matter was hastened by agitation by the farming community, lively discussion in the press and keen debate at the hustings. The farmers became more vocal about their grievances from the end of 1865. At first the centre of agitation was at Light where the Farmers Club was actively interested in politics, and especially the land laws. In September 1866 one member of the Club stated in no uncertain terms the course of action which they must pursue.

"Send all the political thimble riggers and blind, deaf and dumb patriots of both Houses of Parliament to the rightabout, by the farming body combining with the artisans and labouring men, and sending from themselves men of education, high character, and sterling integrity, to represent and do them justice in the councils of the country. Farmers must look about and not above them, for the wealthy classes of South Australia - there are exceptions - are ultra and rank Tories in principles, sympathies and designs."

The Club considered the question of payment to members, heard reports on the Victorian Land Acts and corresponded with other Farmers Clubs to seek unity of thought and action. These activities were not confined to the Club meetings. Members were prominent at political meetings at which their members in Parliament were condemned for not acting as true representatives. Largely as a result of the vote from agriculturalists, Thomas Hogarth, a gentleman farmer, was placed at

101. SAPD 3 Dec. 1868, col. 1011.
102. Advertiser 16 Aug. 1865, p.3 and 16 Sept. 1865, p.3.
103. Register 3 Sept. 1866, p.3.
105. Register 30 Oct. 1866, p.3.
106. Register 30 Oct. 1866, p.3.
the head of the poll for the Legislative Council elections in October 1866. Then in the following year the concern of the farming community about the land laws increased in intensity and spread more widely. Meetings were held right throughout the agricultural districts. A monster meeting of farmers from all over the colony was agreed upon, and although it was never held it was obvious that the farmers were determined to get something done. Then, when the harvests failed at the end of 1867, throughout the countryside groups of farmers met to agree upon approaches to the Government for the provision of seed wheat, and when that business was dealt with, proceeded to discuss representation in the forthcoming elections. Prominent men were declared to be unfit to represent their district. New candidates were sought or offered themselves for election. There seemed every chance that the results of voting would show a markedly changed House because of the political activity of the agriculturalists.

The press, also, played an important role in this agitation, not only by reporting at length the meetings held, but also by advocating reform. The Advertiser had long since shown its sympathy with the farmers, and gradually the Register changed from hostility to a mild plea for change, advocating close consideration of the Queensland

108. SAPP 1866-7 No. 100, Analysis of voting; Register 8 Oct. 1866, p.2 (leader)
109. Advertiser 23 Aug. 1867, p.3 (Mt. Pleasant); Register 26 Aug. 1867, p.3 (Light); 2 Sept. 1867, p.3 (Gumeracha); 4 Sept. 1867, p.3 (Greenoch) and 6 Sept. 1867, p.3 (Rhynie).
110. e.g. Register 25 Feb. 1868, p.3. Meetings to discuss the question of seed wheat were held throughout the colony during January and February. Register 6, 8, 20 Jan. 1868; 7 and 13 Feb. 1868. For deputation to the Chief Secretary, see Register 16 Mar. 1868, p.3.
111. Register 12 Mar. 1868, p.3. Meeting at Lobethal.
scheme of agricultural areas. More and more prominent public men urged the necessity for quick action. J.B. Hughes, for instance, likened the rulers of the colony to "a barn-door fowl, which, on its own dunghill, and surrounded by its admiring family, crowed lustily of its own prowess and importance, while ignorant of the extreme danger from a stealthily approaching fox or watchful hawk". But even as late as September 1867 the House refused to commit itself to the view that change was necessary. The matter was left for further consideration.

Within two months, however, the effect of the depression of the agricultural industry was so great that the Chamber of Commerce began to discuss the land policy. Investors, including amongst them the Chief Secretary, began to admit that returns from their investments in land had reached an all-time low. They now saw that only a change in land policy would restore stability to the industry. This realization dawned on them as the election campaign of 1868 was gathering pace. Candidates, partly on their own initiative, and partly because the opinion of the country was now so definite, almost to a man advocated reform. The farming community greatly rejoiced at this, and thereafter abandoned any attempt to arrive at a united opinion about the direction the reform should take. In response, candidates presented not one but a score of plans. When the election was concluded

---

113. Register 19 June 1867, p.2.
114. SAPD 28 and 30 Aug; 4, 6 and 10 Sept. 1867, especially col. 521.
115. Register 20 Nov. 1867, p.3.
116. Register 16 Mar. 1868, p.3. deputation to Chief Secretary for seed wheat.
117. Register 30 Mar. 1868, p.4.
two things were certain—firstly, that a change in the land policy was inevitable, but secondly, that there was not a majority for any particular plan. It was left to Parliament to decide the best method.

6. THE WASTELANDS AMENDMENT ACT.

Two points immediately emerged when Parliament began its 1868 Session. In the first place, "measures" were not as important as "men". Of prime importance was the struggle for power. Three governments were defeated in as many months, their downfall being brought about not so much because of their land policies but because of the exigencies of political manoeuvring. The Ayers Government was defeated because they had been in power too long, the Hart Government fell because of divisions within the cabinet, while the second Ayers Government suffered the same fate because their return to office was regarded as a slight upon the House. The stage then seemed set for Strangways, who had moved the last no-confidence motion, to take office, but the "new members" of the House (who considered that Strangways was as much a place-seeker as any of the others)

118. To keep our perspective, we should note that land reform was not the only issue at the election. In half a dozen electorates the major question was "free trade" or "protection", as the protectionist Reform Association threw all its resources into this election. Education and the Northern Territory surveys were other important issues. Register 23 May 1868, p.3; Donoghue, "Constitutional and administrative development of South Australia" op. cit., pp. 395, 403.

119. For a discussion of the general nature of politics, see Chapter 4, section above.


who had been rejected) decided to oppose Strangways and propose a cabinet of their own. Powerful in numbers, the caucus was weak in tactics because they chose for their leader, Fuller, who, as a contractor for Government works, could not hold office. The acting Governor refused to accept a Government which did not contain its actual leader, and then, to the surprise of the House, he announced that a dissolution would take place. This announcement had an electric effect on the members. Those in unsafe seats were loath to meet their electorates so soon again, the conservatives were alarmed at the prospects of extreme radical views emerging at the hustings, and the caucus was dismayed that it no longer held the upper hand. Although there was no quick compromise, when the acting Governor later announced that instead of dissolving the House he had asked Strangways to form a ministry, Strangways knew that some at least of the caucus party were prepared to support him. The traditional manoeuvres for prominent posts occurred. J.T. Bagot would not accept a Commissionership but accepted office as Chief Secretary, the position Strangways had originally reserved for himself. The inclusion of Bagot and Colton, both of whom had been selected by caucus for Fuller's cabinet, and of Cavenagh partially but not completely satisfied caucus members, for

123. SAPD 21 and 22 Oct. 1868, cols. 671-719. Hart diary 20 and 21 Oct. 1868. This situation was brought to a head by incorrect rumours of the proposed composition of Strangways' ministry.


125. Hart diary 23 and 24 Oct. 1868; SAPD 23 Oct. 1868, col. 724. Despite their criticism of the old guard, many of the caucus were motivated more by a desire for office than by sentiments of reform.

Boms still hankered after office. Sufficient support had been gained, however, to ensure that Strangways would not be defeated in the immediate future.

Strangways' Cabinet reflected the compromise which had been effected. There was little unity of interest amongst the five. Strangways and Bagot were lawyers, Colton a hardware merchant, Cavenagh a gentleman farmer and Hughes a miller and pastoralist. There was little unity of sentiment towards land reform either. Colton had expressed few views in public, his chief contribution in previous debates having been vigorous denunciation of the one in whose Cabinet he now found himself. Hughes advocated agricultural areas, classification, credit and compulsory occupation, while Bagot consistently supported deferred payments. Cavenagh and Strangways had consistently opposed any change in the land laws.

In general terms, then, Strangways and his colleagues were set the task of reforming the land system not because they had shown any strong sentiments towards reform nor because they had a clear-cut policy. They were in this position of responsibility because they had won the battle for power.

The second point to emerge as the Session proceeded was that all

---

127. Hart diary 3 Nov. 1868. Townsend and Reynolds, who were included in Fuller's list, were especially disappointed.
128. SAPD 22 Oct. 1868, col. 691.
130. SAPD 26 June 1861, col. 303.
131. For Cavenagh's views see SAPD 6 Oct. 1868, col. 595. For the view of Strangways, see below.
132. Strangways had presented a policy during debate, which did win a measure of support, but it was not the chief reason for his position. SAPD 20 Oct. 1868, cols. 642-645; Advertiser 21 Oct. 1868, p.2.
suggestions for reform by successive governments were basically con-
servative in temper and design. It is significant that Hay, regarded
as the leader of the liberal land reformers, was unable to form a
government since several leaders in the House refused to cooperate
with him. The majority in Parliament would not accept a liberal
policy. Strangways was no exception. He certainly did not champion
this change as the opponent of the squatters, a judgment which S.H.
Roberts made and which has been generally accepted by later writers.
It was true that during the previous two years he had consistently
opposed the measures for pastoral relief, but as we have seen, this
was because he was antagonistic to pressure from sectional interests
among the pastoralists and not because of hostility to the pastora-
lists as such. The reform that Strangways presented did not set
out to attack either the pastoralist or the investor in land. Only
the "land shark" — the one who abused the existing system — suffer-
ed at Strangways' hands. His sole intention was to restore a meas-
ure of confidence in the land system of South Australia.

133. The various schemes put forward were:— (1) Ayers' Government.
Sale by sealed tender, classification of blocks, and making
unfair competition a criminal offence. (2) Hart Government.
Leasing blocks which had not been sold at public auction. (3)
Ayer's second scheme. Deferring payment for the land for twelve
months.

134. Hart diary 9, 10 and 12 Oct. 1868. The Governor twice asked
Hay to form a ministry. After Ayers was defeated the first time,
Hay refused to form a ministry (Hamley to Chandos 5 Oct. 1868).
After Hart was defeated the Governor again sent for Hay, who
this time attempted to form a government. But first Barrow,
then Ayers and later Hart refused to join him.

1920, p.257.

136. See above Chapter 6.
"He believed that if they took the system which had been in force in the province, there was no colony showing a higher proportion of freeholders than this. No system in any of the colonies had had the effect of bringing a large percentage of the sold land into actual cultivation than the system of South Australia. Should he be asked why, in that case, he brought this (Bill) forward his answer was that he should be personally perfectly well satisfied to let the present system alone, but at the same time he was not the only man in the colony. There was a large number of persons who entertained a different opinion, and if he could not carry out the views he held, he took the next best course and submitted to such modification as would probably prevent an agitation which would have the effect of carrying reforms, or alterations to a far greater extent than would otherwise be necessary." 137.

Strangways dealt with the problem in two Acts. The Frauds at Auction Act was designed to overcome "the greatest evil" of the land system, namely the operation of the "land sharks". It made "unfair competition" a civil offence, the money involved being recoverable through the courts. In addition, the charges of land agents were limited to a maximum of 6d. per acre when buying on commission. This Bill had passed through both Houses before serious consideration of the Waste Lands Amendment Bill was begun.

This latter Act (Strangways Act as it was popularly known) inaugurated the following system for the disposal of Crown Lands.

137. SAPD 3 Dec. 1868, col. 1011. See also SAPD 20 Oct. 1868, col. 641 and 1865 SC on Selling Crown Lands, question 2705.
139. 32 Vic. 12, clause 3.
140. The Bill was introduced first into the Legislative Council where it was rejected because all sales, commercial as well as land, were included in its operation. When its operation was limited to land sales the Bill was passed by the Legislative Council, but only on the casting vote of the President. It was readily accepted by the House of Assembly.
141. 32 Vic No. 14.
1. **Agricultural Areas.** The Governor in Council could declare from time to time specific areas, as the need arose. The land was classified by Departmental officials, and varying upset prices, according to the quality, were fixed. These lands could then be selected at that price, competition only arising when two or more persons applied for the same block of land on the same day. After a period of from one to three months, the price of unsold blocks was lowered by from 5/- to 10/- per acre, the period and amount being decided by the Governor in Council. Further reductions took place at intervals until the minimum of £1 per acre was reached. No selector was able to hold more than 640 acres on credit at any one time, and selection was limited to males above 18 years and legally separated women.

2. **Deferred payments.** Selectors were required to make an immediate payment of 20% of the purchase money. This amount was four years' interest in advance, not part of the purchase payment. The full amount of the principal was required at the end of four years. Those who took advantage of these terms were required to make improvements on their selection and to reside on the property.

3. **Auction.** Outside of the Agricultural Areas, sale by auction was continued. However, purchasers were given the option of paying cash in full or else using the deferred payment plan outlined above. In this case, the same limitations of size, improvements and residence were imposed.

When the Bill was debated there were many attempts to change details, although the vast majority of the House were agreed that its
general direction was correct. Some tried to extend the period of deferred payments from four years to five, some opposed the declaration of Agricultural Areas, a few sought to abolish auction in favour of tender while one or two moved for a fixed price of £1 per acre. If all, or even a fair proportion, of those who had opposed some portion of the Bill had voted against the third reading, the measure would have failed. In the face of a national necessity they were prepared to forgo such opposition. In the end, only four in a House of thirty-six members voted against the Bill in its final form.

In the Legislative Council the Bill was accepted in principle while being altered in content. The misgivings of members were summed up by Hogarth, himself a gentleman farmer, when he remarked that "the Council must take care, in fencing the land sharks out, not to fence the farmers in." In contrast to their attitude on many other occasions they attempted to liberalise the Bill to a limited extent. This in itself is testimony to the conservative nature of the measure. The requirement to build a substantial house was deleted on the grounds that it might impose an unnecessary burden upon selectors, while a clause was added allowing transfer if continued occupation would inflict personal hardship. The former amendment was accepted immediately by the Lower House but the latter was only agreed to when continued

142. The four dissenters were Everard, J. Fisher, Glyde and Pearce. Only 22 members were present at the third reading of the Bill, indicating the general lack of interest at that stage.

143. SAPD 15 Jan. 1869, col. 1441.

144. Some of the other minor amendments were (1) that a selector should be heard in defence before an agreement was annulled, and (2) that in the event of forfeiture, partial cost of improvements should be repaid when the selection was resold.
insistence upon it by the Council seemed likely to jeopardize the entire Bill.

The rock upon which the Bill almost foundered was the timing for its implementation. The Surveyor-General had suggested six Agricultural Areas, which had been chosen because of "quality of soil, climate and proximity to a market or port." Two of these, in the South-East, required no interference with existing pastoral leases, but the others did. One of the lessees concerned, Ayers, raised the question in the Council, seeking deferment of the operation of the Act for nine months to allow adequate opportunity for the disposal of stock. The Council gave him its support, and certainly the request was reasonable. If a shorter time was insisted upon, the lessees would have been forced to sell when the market was at its poorest. On the other hand, the Assembly was concerned that the Act should be implemented as quickly as possible. Farmers needed to select land in time to plough, fence, and sow before spring, or else for all practical purposes the Act would be of little use for a further twelve months. When deadlock ensued, a Conference between the two Houses on the final day of the Session arrived at a compromise of six months. The means were now available to halt the flow of population away from South Australia.

146. SAPP 1868-9 No. 161, Agricultural Areas under Waste Lands Amendment Bill.
147. SAPD 13 Jan. 1869, cols. 1426-7.
148. SAPD 29 Jan. 1869, cols. 1596-1600.
Two further points need to be noted. Firstly, cultivation was not required of the selector. The farmer who ran sheep on small holdings was just as much in Strangways' mind as the tiller of the soil. The Act (unlike most of its successors) was not specifically intended to benefit the wheat-grower. Secondly, the limitations of improvements and residence were imposed primarily to ensure that the Crown would not lose by default of payments, and not to limit the operations of investors. Most of the Crown Lands of the colony were still available for investors to purchase without restriction.

In general, then, although one member envisaged hundreds of applicants besieging the Land Office at the same moment, the majority did not believe that this legislation would result in a vast expansion of agriculture. They thought not in terms of additions to the farming community but of stabilizing the existing industry. This was meant to be the reform to end all reforms. In point of fact it proved merely to open the way for further reforms and to allow a tremendous expansion of the wheat industry. But that was not the intention of the conservatives who framed it.

149. SAPD 20 Oct. 1868, col. 645.
151. SAPD 21 Dec. 1868, col. 1247.
Chapter 8.

CREDIT SELECTION AND THE NORTHWARD EXPANSION.

1869-1881.
Politically, the 1870's must be viewed as a decade of experimentation under pressure. In one sense these years were a continuous crisis both for the Legislature and the Administration. Members of Parliament, whether they personally desired the maintenance of the 'status quo' or not, found it necessary to give some legislative direction to the rapid expansion of settlement. The Department of Crown Lands, inundated with applications for land and obliged to supervise the conditions imposed on the selectors of land, gradually worked out new methods which were to alter the whole concept of administration. This chapter examines the nature of the pressures upon Parliament and the Administration and in particular the experimentation undertaken as a result of these pressures.

The major pressure was the demand for land. This was caused partly by the accumulated failures by farmers to purchase Crown Lands, partly by the desire for larger farms, especially by the quick rise in population through natural increase and immigration, and by the great mobility of the farming community. This demand for land was the great new fact of the 1870's. But factors from the past continued to play an important role. Of great significance was the pressure from investors who fought to maintain their place in the land trade, and the pressure from pastoralists who attempted to retain their runs against the inroads of the farmers. In addition,
members of Parliament were still under the pressure of place-seeking and expediency: land policy often was a pawn in the game of power politics. With such a multi-coloured skein the pattern which emerged was not regular, having some spots of brilliance and many patches of mediocrity.

In the discussion which follows concerning the experimentation of this decade, little emphasis is given to legislation of particular years. The points of attention are rather problems which recurred throughout these years both for the Legislature and the Administration - problems such as the suitability of the land for agriculture, methods of sale, the supervision of conditions of selection, the prevention of malpractices and the place of investment in land. In general there was no radical alteration to the basic approach of Strangways Act (that was to come in the following decade). The significant point of the 1870's lay not so much in legislation as in the changing attitudes to land policy. Whereas formerly there was reluctance to change, now there was dawning the realization that the land policy of the State needed to be positive. This enabled the settlement of the 'seventies to be achieved with a fair measure of success, and it also paved the way for the more radical changes of the 'eighties.

1. NORTHWARD EXPANSION.

The great pressure of the 1870's was the demand for land. In contrast to previous expectations, during the 1870's settlement of the land was so rapid that within a few years the countryside was
changed beyond compare. The northward expansion, in fact, was the most outstanding episode in the history of South Australia before the twentieth century. It began slowly in 1869, gathered pace during 1873 and then proceeded at a gallop for the next five years.

When the first Agricultural Areas were proclaimed in the Mid-North in 1869 a steady stream of people, mainly farmers from the older districts, visited the land intent on selecting a suitable block. Up to eleven people applied for the same land on the same day. In general, however, the number of applicants was not large, only 171 selecting land in the Areas during the first twelve months. But in 1871 the demand grew. Farmers urged that new Areas be established, and when the Government responded, the newly gazetted lands were quickly taken up. After a slow start because of its unknown character, land on Yorke Peninsula was rapidly selected also. In 1871 about 400,000 acres were purchased, more than double the figures for any previous years, and this level of demand was maintained in 1872. The decision in that year to abolish Agricultural Areas and to open all land south of Goyder's Line (which was regarded then as the limit for the wheat-growing land) was one indication of the demand for land. Successive splendid harvests only served to increase the demand. When part of the Hundred of Maitland was opened for sale in 1872, to cite one example, there were 157 applications for only 36 sections of land. By 1874 it was claimed

2. SAPD 7 June 1870, col. 104.
3. *Yorke Peninsula Advertiser and Miners' News* 18 Oct. 1872
that the North had passed the test with flying colours. One editor claimed that "everyday (brought) with it additional proof that South Australia (was) destined to become one of the finest agricultural colonies in the world." The applications for land did not slacken at all, and by mid-1874 it became obvious that to satisfy the demand it would be necessary to go beyond Goyder's Line. At the almost unanimous request of the farming community, in 1874 Goyder's Line was "shifted out of the colony." Henceforth land could be surveyed and sold in any part of South Australia. The farmers poured into the new lands of the north. About 600,000 acres were sold each year from 1875 to 1878. These new wheat lands led to the rapid development first of Port Pirie and then, from 1877, of Port Augusta. The former port, in a typical week, had 15 ketches (45-80 tons), 1 brigantine (99 tons), 2 barques (200-700 tons) and 5 ships (700-1700 tons) loading grain. Towns like Orroroo, Wilmington and Quorn, commanding the Oladdie Plains, Beautiful Valley and the Willochra Plains respectively, sprang to life in the Upper-North, while in the Mid-North demand for land in towns like Gladstone, Jamestown, Georgetown and Laura resulted in fantastic increases in price. Even the name of the township of Government Gums, situated between Lakes Torrens and Eyre was changed to Farina as a forecast of what was to come. The northern lands, which a few years before had seen little else than grazing sheep, were now dotted with farms, townships and

5. Ibid, 29 Mar. 1874, resolution of meeting at Laura.
6. These figures were cited by Meinig, 'South Australian wheat frontier', op. cit., chapter 3, p.3. For a full discussion of the movement to the North see Meinig, chapters 2 and 3.
people, all intent on demonstrating that the North could grow wheat.

In some ways Strangways' Act contributed to this remarkable transformation of the countryside, but other factors loomed large. The desire for larger farms has already been discussed. Also there is evidence that during the early 1870's mortgagors compelled many farmers to dispose of their farms to fulfil their obligations, whilst later in the decade landowners (most of whom were pastoralists) refused to renew leases of farming land when they expired. All of these factors sent farmers looking for land at the frontier.

The chief cause of the expansion, nevertheless, was the rapid increase in the work force of the province. The total population increased from 185,626 in 1871 to 213,771 in 1876 and to 279,865 in 1881, an increase of 27,645 during the first five years and of 66,594 during the second five years. This raises the question, what were the sources of this gain in population?

The official migration records show that during the early years of the 'seventies, until mid-1873, more left the colony's shores than were brought to it, the neighbouring colony of Victoria being the greatest attraction. Later, this trend was first abruptly halted and then speedily reversed, so that during 1876 there was a net gain from migration of about 9,000. The total addition during the decade was in the vicinity of 40,000. For most of the 'seventies

8. SAPD 2 Aug. 1870, col. 377, Garden and Field 1 July 1876, p.25.
9. e.g., in 1872 2,928 emigrated to Victoria, while only 1,956 came to South Australia.
10. During these years only arrivals and departures by sea were recorded. The census figures indicate that there was a net gain of about 8,000 during the decade by overland movement. This number has been included in the total of 40,000.
it was the policy of the province to attract population by offering to pay portion of the passage money from England. This scheme had been abandoned during the previous decade, but was reintroduced in 1873. During the next eight years 25,415 migrants were aided by Government finance, the highest number for any one year being 7,730 in 1876.

An even larger addition to the population resulted from the high birth rate and low death rate. During these ten years the birth rate averaged 38 per thousand while the death rate averaged only 15 per thousand. The resultant excess of births over deaths for the decade was 49,207.

Despite the high birth rate, the over-all effect of these increases was an older community. The proportion of children fell from 45% in 1871 to 39% in 1881 while the number of adults of working age (16-65 increased from 53% to 59%. This can be attributed to the adult nature of migration (three-quarters of the net increase from migration were adults), to the low death rate amongst adults, to the high death rate amongst children, and to the increased birth rate of the late 'fifties and early 'sixties. This is the context in which the agricultural expansion took place.

Some glimpse of the direction of the expansion can be seen from

11. Immigration figures were published each year in a Parliamentary Paper.
12. Cf. the birth and death rates in England of 33 and 22 per thousand respectively. Josiah Boothby, Statistical Sketch of South Australia, pp. 22-23.
13. Nearly half of the deaths were infants under two years of age.
an examination of the movement of the total population, as revealed in the censuses of 1871, 1876 and 1881. It should be noted, however, that although the farming community was the largest section of the population in the country districts, its movements were not always parallel with those of the total community. The time lag in the provision or retraction of service facilities often complicated the pattern. Shopkeepers, agents, banks and public facilities followed rather than accompanied the advance into new regions, while these services were generally retained in communities which were declining.

Although the population expansion was by no means uniform, a distinct pattern emerged. The greatest increase occurred at the frontier, which to the north of Adelaide was in the shape of an inverted U. The rate of expansion was much greater at the apex than at the sides. For instance in the five years 1871 to 1876 the districts near and to the north of the Broughton River as far as Orroroo saw their population grow from less than 2,000 to 12,000. The other frontier districts - central and lower Yorke Peninsula,

The following analysis is based upon District Council areas. Allowance has been made for slight changes in boundaries which occurred from time to time. The only other analysis of population trends that the writer has discovered is that in Fenner, South Australia, op. cit., chapter 13. Fenner used County areas as his basis. Such a large statistical unit, which in most cases does not possess any geographical or social significance, has led to wrong conclusion being drawn. The District Council areas, being smaller, give greater accuracy, and in many cases the divisions are more in keeping with social and geographical factors.
the scrub lands from the Para River to Snowtown, and the land to
the east of the Barossa Valley — altogether attracted an additional
5,000 settlers. Altogether, then, these frontier districts gained
about 15,500 people. In the same period Adelaide and its neigh-
bouring villages gained 11,400 inhabitants. Most of the other
districts in the colony, however, suffered a decline in population.
The greatest drain occurred in the area to the south of Adelaide,
stretching from Clarendon to the South Coast and eastwards to Mt.
Barker and Strathalbyn. From a population of nearly 23,000 in 1871
these districts fell away to just over 18,000 in 1876, a loss of
nearly 1,000 per year. The Barossa Valley and the region near
Clare both lost about 2,000 settlers. Other districts lost just a
few.

During the second half of the decade this pattern was substanti-
ally repeated, the chief difference being that the frontier had
moved further to the north. The regions from Port Germein to Hawker
increased in population from about 6,000 to 21,000 in the five years
1876 to 1881. Other frontier lands — the north end of Yorke
Peninsula, the Murray Flats, the land near Burra and Hallett, and in
the South East — gained an additional 9,000 settlers. The frontier

15. The extent of the "metropolitan area" has been taken as that
between the sea and the foot of the Mt. Lofty Ranges of the
south and east, and to the Port arm in the north. As well as
the various Corporations, this area included the District
Councils of Woodville, Prospect, Walkerville, Payneham,
Campbelltown, Henley and Grange, West Torrens and Burnside, and
portions of Mitcham, Marion and Yatala South. This is a more
satisfactory division than the one used by the Government
Statistician, which was an area of 10 miles radius from the city
of Adelaide. Such a division included portions of other District
Councils which were no part of the metropolitan area.
districts thus attracted an influx of about 24,000 settlers in all, or an average of 4,800 a year. During the same period the population of Adelaide and its environs increased by 31,000, almost a 50% increase. Other areas – the hills districts to the south-east of Adelaide, Alma Plains and Blyth Plains – grew slightly. There were still areas in which losses occurred. The districts south of Clarendon to the sea continued to be drained of their population, losing a further 1,200, or one-tenth of the 1876 population. The Barossa Valley and the district around Clare also experienced a loss of about 1,000 settlers each. But these losses were less than those experienced during the first half of the decade. At the time of the most rapid expansion of the frontier districts the more established areas were not greatly affected.

A more detailed examination of the movement of farmers (made possible because the records of the Lands Department included, for lands bought on credit, the previous residence of the purchaser) suggests that the movement of the farming community was even greater than the figures already cited indicate. For instance, the majority of those who went to the Hundreds of Coonatto and Boolcunda in 1877

16. Credit Books, Nos. 1-23 (Stack A, Lands Department Archives, Gawler Place, Adelaide) Eight selected Hundreds have been used to trace typical movement patterns. These were:
1. 1870-1 Bundaleer (Mid-North), Melville (Yorke Peninsula), and Naracoorte (South-East)
2. 1875 Yongala (Mid-North)
3. 1877-8 Coonatto, Boolcunda and Arkaba (Upper-North), and Tatiara (South-East)

The period covered by the survey was in each case the time when the great majority of selections were made. Yongala, for instance, was selected almost entirely during the two months July and August 1875. Isolated selections have been omitted from the calculations.
and 1878 came from districts that had been settled for the first time only four, five or six years earlier. Once the purchase of the credit selection was completed, the farmer sold at a profit, either to another farmer who preferred a ready-made farm to pioneering on the frontier, to a neighbour who wanted to enlarge his farm, to a pastoralist who still had a footing in the district, or else to a dealer in real estate. The farmer was able to purchase again on credit. Thus it was that one farmer moved in little more than a decade from Barossa to South Hummocks, to Barunga Gap and finally to Wokurna. Hence, the seemingly small net addition of population in the areas settled early in the 'seventies, apparently concealed a considerable movement of farmers. As some moved on to the new frontier, others took their places.

This conclusion is reinforced by the strange absence in the records of farmers from the districts to the south of Adelaide, an area which was rapidly losing its farming community. A few were noted to have moved to southern Yorke Peninsula or to the South-East, but where did the rest go? It appears likely that in their move northwards many of these farmers were attracted by the existing farms which were for sale in the Lower North. Used to the much wetter conditions of the Adelaide hills, they would have been ill at ease in the dry conditions of the Upper-North. In fact, the bulk of the selectors in the early part of the decade came from the districts to the north-east of Adelaide, stretching from the Barossa Valley to Clare, along the valleys and hills of the Mt. Lofty Ranges.

Two other points need to be noted about the composition of the farming community which settled in the northern lands. Tables 10 and 11 clearly show the large proportion of men between the ages of 20 and 40 in these farming districts, in comparison with the rest of the colony. The 20 to 24 years age group stands out in this regard. This reinforces our previous impression that it was the second generation who moved into the newly opened areas. Yet the District Councils of Georgetown and Narridy, in the heart of the prosperous Mid-North, showed a remarkable similarity with the age structure of the rest of the population. The same situation was evident also in the areas of English, Neales, Truro and Dalrymple. Although allowance must be made for the ageing of the population in the interim and for the possible influx of older men into the district, it seems that many of the young men moved on with the frontier.

TABLE 10.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Ages</th>
<th>Belalie</th>
<th>Melville</th>
<th>Dublin, Dalkey &amp; Grace</th>
<th>S. Aust.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>0-14</td>
<td>250</td>
<td>311</td>
<td>524</td>
<td>41.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15-19</td>
<td>73</td>
<td>84</td>
<td>164</td>
<td>10.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>20-24</td>
<td>95</td>
<td>85</td>
<td>152</td>
<td>8.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>25-29</td>
<td>61</td>
<td>59</td>
<td>123</td>
<td>7.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>30-34</td>
<td>56</td>
<td>74</td>
<td>96</td>
<td>6.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>35-39</td>
<td>49</td>
<td>50</td>
<td>79</td>
<td>5.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>40-45</td>
<td>37</td>
<td>34</td>
<td>51</td>
<td>5.0</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

18. These tables have been compiled from the census statistics for 1876 and 1881. Belalie is in the Mid-North, Melville on lower Yorke Peninsula, and Dublin, Dalkey and Grace are on the Adelaide-Port Wakefield Plains, then being scrub lands; Georgetown and Narridy are in the Mid-North, Caltowie in the Upper-North and Balaklava was scrub land inland from Port Wakefield.

19. See above, pp. 64-65
### TABLE 11.

Age Structure of males for selected districts 1881

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Ages</th>
<th>George-town &amp; Narridy</th>
<th>Caltowie</th>
<th>Balaklava</th>
<th>South Aust.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>No.</td>
<td>%</td>
<td>No.</td>
<td>%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>0-14</td>
<td>273</td>
<td>40</td>
<td>153</td>
<td>33</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15-19</td>
<td>63</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>57</td>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>20-24</td>
<td>77</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>75</td>
<td>16</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>25-29</td>
<td>68</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>53</td>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>30-34</td>
<td>44</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>33</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>35-39</td>
<td>38</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>36</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>40-44</td>
<td>38</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

This mobility is the more explicable on seeing the large number of unmarried men in these frontier districts. In Belalie, in 1876, almost two-thirds of the males between the ages of 20 and 25, and more than half of those between 25 and 35 were single. In addition, one-sixth of all men 35 or over were unmarried. A similar situation existed in Melville also. In 1881, the areas of Balaklava, Caltowie and Georgetown and Narridy all showed the same marital conditions for those under 35 years, but the proportion of single men 35 years and over was generally higher, being 23% in Georgetown and Narridy and nearly 20% at Caltowie. One-quarter of the men over 34 years in Tatiara, in the Upper South East, were unmarried in 1881.

To sum up, then, we can say that the advance to the frontier was undertaken by three main groups. Firstly there were family groups, some of the parents being middle-aged, but many being still in their twenties and thirties. These were no doubt the largest group. There were also the single young men, who were the most mobile group.
Finally, there were the single men well past their youth. Denied marriage, they preferred to live adventurously on the new wheat-lands which had yet to be proved.

These, then, were the people who created the unprecedented demand for land and who by their mobility greatly increased the difficulties faced by those who sought to control settlement. During the dozen years after 1869 they purchased 5,500,000 acres either by cash or credit, whereas in the previous 32 years since the foundation of the province only 3,750,000 acres had been sold. In keeping with this acceleration in land sales, the number of farmers rose from 8,775 in 1871 to 12,660 in 1881, an increase of about 45% in ten years. It was this expansion which more than anything else contributed to the necessity for positive legislation in land matters.

2. AVAILABILITY OF AGRICULTURAL LAND.

The tempo of the expansion of agricultural settlement placed considerable strain upon both Legislature and Lands Department. By force of circumstances, the Legislature found that, whether it liked it or not, it had to maintain control of the settlement of the new wheat lands. No longer could it remain aloof from the problems of the farmer. As the selectors had financial obligations to the State, the Legislature became intricately involved with them. This new situation, one that was often bewildering and disturbing to many who sat in Parliament, was reflected in some of the mistakes and hesitations of the decade. The problem of the Crown Lands Department was of a different kind. It was inundated with work. A slight
reorganization of the Department, coupled with the tireless leadership of the Surveyor-General, enabled the usual standard of efficiency to be maintained. In fact, it was the work of the Departmental officers which enabled settlement to proceed as smoothly as it did, with a minimum of complaints from all sides.

One of the big problems with which both Parliament and the Department of Crown Lands were faced was the provision of agricultural land in sufficient quantities to satisfy the demand. It should be noted that South Australia at no stage followed the practice of New South Wales in allowing selection before survey, but always insisted that survey must precede selection. Under Strangways Act (which remained in operation from 1869 to 1872) specified Agricultural Areas were gazetted in which holdings were limited to 640 acres, to be purchased on credit. Outside of these Areas, open Auction continued, there being no limit upon the area held. During the era of Areas, twenty-four separate localities were set apart for credit selection only. These were chiefly situated in the South-East and the mid-North, where land was in demand, with other Areas on Yorke and Eyre Peninsulas. It has been pointed out previously that while Agricultural Areas were in the main an administrative convenience, yet they did indicate some recognition of land diversity. In practice, however, the Areas caused confusion and widespread dissatisfaction. Farmers claimed that the best land was excluded and only second-class lands offered in them. In part they were right.

20. See above, pp. 132-133
21. SAPP 1874 No. 84, Land surveyed and open for selection in Areas.
22. The Northern Argus 3 Feb. 1871 and 7 July 1871.
For some unknown reason Cabinet in 1871 was determined that the Lake Wangary Area, on Eyre Peninsula, should be declared open at the first possible opportunity even though Goyder recommended that this should be the last of ten selected localities to be opened.

Moreover, Commissioner Cavenagh insisted that the farmers would be far better off if they bid at open auction rather than run the gauntlet of fierce opposition within the Areas. Acting on this supposition he excluded some excellent agricultural land from Areas.

On the other hand, many farmers suffered from ignorance and illusions about the content of the land laws. It seems that few realized that they could obtain land on credit when it was bought at public auction, hence the excessive demands for Agricultural Areas. Then, the very term "Agricultural" Area suggested to many that every surveyed block in the Area was fit for agriculture. This was far from the case, as the Department well knew. The land was surveyed not only to provide arable blocks but also to allow purchasers the right of commonage by which they could run sheep or cattle on unsold inferior land. Moreover, both the Surveyor-General and his Deputy expressed doubts about the grain-growing capacity of some of the districts which were eagerly sought after.

23. CLO 125 of 7 Feb. 1871 and 1017 of 8 Sept. 1871.
25. SAPD 7 June 1870, col. 104 comment by A. Blyth, the new Commissioner.
26. SAPD 10 Feb. 1870, col. 1676. See also CLO 433 of 4 May 1871.
27. CLO 653 of 8 July 1872 and 1309 of 13 Oct. 1874.
28. CLO 145 of 17 Feb. 1870 and 704 of 1 July 1871. The cause of their doubts was the hot north winds which they thought would destroy the crops in the maturing season. In many cases, as Goyder later admitted, these localities proved to be some of the colony's best arable land.
The majority of the Areas were opened up on the recommendation of the Surveyor-General, but as time went on the Legislature, urged on by pressure groups, demanded that other lands be declared Agricultural Areas. By then, however, the death-knell of the Areas system had been sounded by the support accorded, during the discussion of the Waste Lands Alienation Bill of 1870, to the proposal that all land south of Goyder's Line should be surveyed and offered for selection. Two years later, despite the opposition of Goyder, who claimed that no such change was yet necessary, the proposal became law. This removed any legislative recognition of land diversity, apart from a distinction between agricultural land to the south and pastoral land to the north of Goyder's Line. Even this distinction was obliterated in 1874. In May of that year Goyder reported that because of the large sales of land since Strangways Act (about 1,750,000 acres altogether) and because of the continued demand, shortly all land south of the Line would be declared into Hundreds. Within these Hundreds there was but 25,000 acres of first class agricultural land and 400,000 acres of fair arable land unsurveyed. There seemed to be only one alternative - to go beyond the Line. Goyder himself (and he reflected the sound knowledge of the Department) was not sanguine about the wisdom of such a step.

He wrote to the Commissioner:

30. SAPD 14 June 1870, col. 227. Not one member of the House disagreed with the proposal, but the Bill failed to become law.
31. CLO 653 of 8 July 1872.
32. CLO 497 of 4 May 1874.
"Outside the limit of the First Schedule (Goyder's Line), from Melrose north, the land, except in the Ranges, is mostly good agricultural soil - but the rainfall is not reliable, and the result of farming operations must therefore be doubtful."

This was not the popular view. The apparently successful settlement of the Mid-North during the previous few years had reinforced the growing impression that, contrary to earlier impressions, all the land in the north of South Australia was suitable for the growing of wheat. This view was expressed in debate by the Chief Secretary, Arthur Blyth.

"It was a little singular that the question of what was pastoral and what was agricultural land had been gradually extending year after year. He was old enough a colonist to know the time when it was asserted that the land North of the Para River was not fit for cultivation and could not be ploughed. Subsequently agricultural settlement was extended to Gawler, and they had gone on step by step until a feeling was entertained two years ago that the line of rainfall laid down by the Surveyor-General for defining the classes amongst pastoral lessees might be fairly taken as the limit of the agricultural land......It was generally admitted that this line of rainfall was one which should not be allowed to continue to exist as an obstacle to further settlement. As an obstacle it needed to be removed."

So strongly were these views held in subsequent years that Parliament refused to give greater security of tenure to pastoral lessees who occupied country hundreds of miles north of Port Augusta where rainfall was measured in points rather than inches and which ten years previously had been unable to support even a few head of cattle. In fact, the limit of free selection was placed in 1874 at the 26 parallel, in the midst of the Australian desert!

---

33. SAPD 14 July 1874, cols. 905-906.
34. SAPD 1 Aug. 1878, cols. 557-558; 11 Sept. 1878, col. 926.
Another Government restricted leases of the Nullabor Plains to enable it to be resumed and surveyed for agricultural use if necessary.

In short, under the pressure of demand the Legislature made no distinction between arable and non-arable land. All alike was made available. Though the enthusiasm of some led them to reaffirm the Wakefieldian principle of the equality of land, there was generally some recognition by members of Parliament of the diversity which did exist in land. However, they claimed now that it was not the responsibility of themselves or of the Department to decide whether or not the land was fit for agriculture. That should be left to the farmer himself. If he was prepared to take the risk, then let him. If he chose land that was unfit for agriculture, that was his fault. Thus, from 1874 until the demand for land ceased in the 'eighties, land could be surveyed and selected anywhere in the colony.

The Department of Crown Lands, on the other hand, at no stage lost sight of the diversity of the land with which they had to deal. The reports of the Department furnished to Parliament often stated a small amount of good arable land in comparison with the second-class land. The farmers did not always appreciate this. Instead, the method of surveying land tended to give the impression that all the land was suitable for wheat-growing. To give the pastoral lessees

35. SAPD 1 Aug. 1878, col. 555.
37. e.g. SGO 1518 of 25 May 1877. The abstract attached showed that of 229 sq. miles recommended by the Deputy Surveyor-General to be surveyed, only 40 sq. miles were of arable land.
fair warning before their lands were taken, and to avoid losing time by shifting survey parties, the land was resumed and surveyed in a methodical manner, working from the settled areas outwards. This meant that good and inferior lands were all surveyed and made available for selection under credit conditions. The Department, in point of fact, was directed by Parliament to provide land by quantity, not by quality. To meet the demand, in 1879 100,000 acres were being offered each month in addition to the 1,750,000 acres already available for selection, and twenty-five survey parties ensured that the supply was continued. There was only one restriction to this plan of extensive survey. Land was not offered for sale which was more than a hundred miles from a port or within reasonable distance of a railway line. The Department recognized that, whatever the quality of the land, exorbitant transport costs could make wheat-growing an uneconomic proposition. Except for isolated complaints the survey work of the Department continued to render satisfaction, because its efficiency allowed land to be put

38. See explanation of Playford in SAPD 23 June 1880, col. 211.
39. 1879 SC Crown Lands Acts, questions 642-647. See CLO 180 of 10 Feb. 1876 for Playford's instructions to increase the amount surveyed.
41. e.g. Yorke Peninsula Advertiser and Miners' News 27 May 1873. The chief point of contention lay in the refusal of Goyder to recommend that land in the South-East be offered for sale before the drainage scheme was completed. Repeated applications for the land were refused. Goyder became unpopular because of his stand. Finally, Playford gave in to the pressure group and ordered its sale, much to Goyder's disgust. Goyder's opinion was vindicated when within a couple of years the purchasers of this land asked to be able to exchange because flooding made farming impossible. See CLO 464 of 10 Apr. 1876; 987 of 14 July 1876; 1239 of 29 Aug. 1876; 1808 of 29 Oct. 1877; 1038 of May 1879; 1250 of Sept. 1880.
into the market at a rate equal to the demand. The question which still remained (and it could only be answered by experience) was whether the land was in fact suitable for the growing of wheat.

3. METHODS OF SALE

In the previous chapter it was argued that one of the major faults in the land sales system which Strangways Act attempted to remedy was the inability of bona fide farmers to purchase the land they wanted. The Act was not altogether successful, but the difficulties previously encountered were not as formidable as those raised by the great demand for land. Throughout the 'seventies there was general dissatisfaction with the methods of sale, mainly because there were often several applicants for the same land. Parliament tried to overcome these difficulties by experimenting with several different methods of sale. This very willingness to seek the best solution was one clear indication of the changed attitude of Parliament.

Under Strangways Act land within the Areas was offered for sale at a maximum price. If it remained unsold, the prices were reduced at intervals until the minimum of £1 was reached, selection being possible at any time at the price currently ruling. Simultaneous applications for any one block were decided by lot. As the number of applicants was not excessive, little difficulty was experienced with simultaneous applications. Criticism was levelled chiefly at the fact that farmers, unwilling to risk losing their chosen plot, selected before the price was lowered to a figure that was compatible
with the land's productive capacity. When the Areas were first introduced the maximum price was generally in excess of the Department's valuation of the best land in the Area, and the shortest interval for reduction was a month, but usually two or three months. Twenty three months elapsed, for instance, before land in the keenly sought Mt. Muirhead Area was available at £1 an acre. Later, this policy was altered as its defects were seen, so that the upset price was fixed more in keeping with the valuations of the Department and the time for reductions was considerably shortened. Moreover, the reductions were timed so that the land would be available at a reasonable price during April and May, the best time for farmers to purchase.

Although the Blyth Government attempted for two years to introduce a fixed price of £1 an acre, "Dutch auction" remained in operation until 1877. Keen competition, however, demanded that a satisfactory means of resolving simultaneous applications should be found. Lot fell into disfavour because it was too easily abused, as those

42. CLO 505 of 28 June 1869 and 435 of 5 May 1871. The value of the best land and the upset price fixed were respectively, Warrow 25/- and 40/-, Broughton and Gulnare 40/- and 50/-, Troubridge 30/- and 50/-, Naracoorte 60/-, Mt. Muirhead 120/- and 80/-. 43. CLO 533 of 29 May 1871; 761 of 15 July 1871; 764 of 17 July 1871. Thereafter the recommendations of the Surveyor-General were accepted by Cabinet.
44. Provision for weekly reductions was agreed to by the House in 1869, but was rejected by the Legislative Council. SAPD 2 Sept. 1869, cols. 217-218; 5 Oct. 1869, col. 515. The following year the Council relented and the Waste Lands Act Further Amendment Act of 1870-1 allowed weekly reductions.
45. CLO 435 of 5 May 1871.
46. SAPD 7 June 1870, col. 103; 9 Aug. 1870, col. 455; SAPD 26 Sept. 1871, cols. 571-572.
who could afford the deposit on multiple applications enhanced their chance of success. On one occasion it was claimed that a squatter submitted five applications for one piece of land which was also sought by one bona fide farmer. The lots were drawn by a bank manager who was agent for the squatter. The bona fide applicant lost. A new method, limited auction, was tried in 1872 by which applicants for the same block bid against each other. So great was the competition that almost every block had to be auctioned and sales on occasions did not conclude until almost midnight. Some bidders, although bona fide, when they failed to secure their first section in a block, ran up the other sections to fantastic prices, hoping thereby to force others to surrender the land under section 18 of the 1872 Act. This provided that if a person did not secure all the sections for which he applied, he could surrender those which had been purchased by giving notice in writing within two days. Such practices threw the whole sales system into confusion. The Department threatened to prosecute fictitious competition, with some effect. A greater remedy, though, was the surveying of larger sized blocks enabling purchasers to secure their wants by one bid.

47. SAPD 28 May 1872, cols. 996–997.
48. During the first twelve months of operation there were 1705 applicants of whom only 717 gained the land. SAPD 27 Nov. 1873, col. 225. During one month in 1876 there were 270 applicants for land in the Hundred of Curramulka, 120 being unable to secure the land they wanted. SAPD 5 Oct. 1876, col. 1449.
49. SAPD 17 July 1877, col. 403.
50. CLO 1113 of 16 Oct. 1873. Enclosed in this correspondence is a notice placed in the sales room.
51. CLO 530 of 11 May 1874.
The high prices and the uncertainty of completion of purchase caused limited auction to fall into disfavour. There was no agreement on a substitute. During debate on the Land Bill in 1874 one by one all modes of deciding simultaneous applications were defeated.

Limited auction remained on sufferance. Three years later, after open tender, tender of rent and tender for choice had each been rejected, the House accepted auction for choice, a modification which Goyder had recommended in 1873. Bidding was for priority of choice, the highest bidder exercising his complete right of selection first, the second highest bidder next, and so on. There was no possibility that a farmer could not get as much land as he wanted, within the limit of 1000 acres set by the 1877 Act...provided, of course, that he could afford to pay a price which enabled him to choose before the land he wanted was selected by a higher bidder.

As before the new departure caused continued dissatisfaction. Would-be purchasers disliked "bidding in the dark." Perhaps no-one else wanted the land he sought....but perhaps they did....he couldn't be certain. Urged on by the desire to secure his favourite spot many a purchaser was lured into paying a price beyond what he could afford and beyond what he had considered the value of the land, only to find later that no-one else wanted the block. Witnesses before the 1879

52. SAPD 18 Aug. 1874, cols. 1327-1343. The Government were convinced of the "radically vicious" nature of limited auction, but were themselves in doubt about a substitute. CLO 851 of 30 June 1874.
53. SAPD 1877, cols. 401-404, 435-438, 924-932.
54. CLO 1113 of 16 Oct. 1873.
Commission almost unanimously condemned the system.

Once more it was changed, this time in 1879 to the system suggested by the Crystal Brook branch of the Farmers' Mutual Association. Individual sections were classified by the Survey Department and offered at auction in the order of their value. A purchaser of one section possessed the option to take adjacent sections at the same price, the total area naturally not exceeding the limit set by the Act. It was a sensible solution to the problem and immediately worked well. Previously, classification had been opposed because some country described by the surveyors as unfit for agriculture had turned out to be splendid arable land. Now it was seen that this risk had to be taken. The usefulness of this system, however, was short-lived because the land bubble burst. Competition faded and simultaneous applications once again became a rarity. The solution, in fact, arrived too late, but at the same time the adoption of classification of agricultural lands was a step in appreciating again the great diversity of the land, and a step too in allowing the Department to use its knowledge and impartiality to fix an adequate price for land.

55. e.g. Joseph Orchard, selector at Baroota, who gave £6.6.0 per acre for his land: "I was bound to give it to be sure of my block. There were so many in for it. It was like cutting each other's throats." 1879 SC Crown Lands Acts, question 1896. See also Ibid, Report, paragraph 22 and Appendix, p.98.
57. 42 and 43 Vic. 157.
58. SAPD 23 June 1880, col. 206.
59. SAPD 10 July 1877 cols. 396-397. Valuation on this occasion was defeated 23-4.
60. CL0 691 of 21 May 1880. The Surveyor General reported no bids for the 59,021 acres offered for sale on the previous day.
4. CONDITIONS OF PURCHASE.

It was a new situation for Parliament and the Department to be concerned with the land once it had been sold. The conditions imposed on purchasers by the various credit Acts were designed primarily to ensure the bona fides of purchasers. The Department soon realized that it was difficult to frame regulations which at the same time prevented fraud and yet did not penalize the bona fide farmer. The least unsatisfactory method discovered was the insistence on cultivation as a proof of good intentions. Even so, the Department was troubled continually by malpractices carried on by those who sought to monopolize land for investment or for pastoral use. Here again Parliament was prepared to experiment, admittedly with a little hesitation, which was natural in view of the novelty of the whole situation. The members, moreover, adopted the positive approach of insisting that the intention of the land laws to establish a settled farming community should be carried out as far as it was possible.

To Strangways, and the Act which bore his name carried it out, a purchaser was bona fide if he intended to use the land and fulfill his obligation by paying for it within the specified time. Hence, the major condition to which the selector was bound was the erection of improvements to the value of 12/6 per acre within four years (in 1869 this was amended to 10/- in five years). For this amount it was expected that the purchaser would fence his block and erect a dwelling. There was no statement as to how he should use his land.

That was left to his own discretion. The other condition of Strangways' Act was popularly called "residence". The Act used three terms, "occupation", "taking possession" and "residence", but defined none of them. In the view of the Crown Solicitor, all that the Act demanded was the erection of improvements as an outward sign of each of the three. These improvements were required to be erected by the end of the second year, so two years had to elapse before the Government could legally act against those who infringed the Regulations. Before that time it became obvious that erection of improvements did not necessarily prove bona fides. Upon inspection, and through local report, Bonney was certain that many were holding land in the interests of others. So long as the conditions were fulfilled and the dummy did not turn against his master the Department was powerless to act. On the other hand, the non-fulfilment of the conditions did not necessarily prove the lack of bona fides. The farmer ploughed first. It was only when that task was completed that he built a dwelling and erected fences. But ploughing was not an "improvement" under the terms of Strangways' Act.

Two schools of thought developed out of this situation. Bonney's persistent plea to the Commissioner was to render personal "residence" compulsory. This, he claimed, was more than an outward sign of bona fides. He received little support from the Government. Instead the

62. CLO 834 of 30 Aug. 1870.
63. CLO 958a of 29 Aug. 1871.
64. CLO 825 of 28 July 1871.
65. CLO 746 of 11 July 1871; 825 of 28 July 1871.
trend of thought was in the opposite direction, to allow what was termed "substituted residence." Under the Act of 1872 which sanctioned this idea, a purchaser could place "his son, step-son, son-in-law, or other male relative, or man-servant" upon the land.

Although personal residents were given priority of choice over substituted residents at the sale, and though the latter was unable to complete purchase as early as could the former, this altered the whole concept of bona fide settlement. Residence could no longer be the testing point of the selector's good intention. Instead, cultivation - also an outward form - was made the measure. According to the 1872 Act, in addition to the erection of improvements, all purchasers on credit were required to cultivate one-fifth of his land each year until within five years the whole block was under cultivation. This alteration Bonney vigorously opposed. In the first place, he stated, cultivation would in some instances create hardship for the bona fide farmer because the land may not be suitable for wheat farming. The farmer should be allowed to decide in what manner he could employ his land most profitable. Then, secondly, he was certain that such conditions would not stop malpractices.

"A long experience in the carrying out of regulations relating to the acquisition of land has taught me that various methods will be resorted to and the most unscrupulous means adopted to evade any regulations which stand in the way of land monopoly."

66. 35 and 36 Vic. 18, clause 23.
67. Ibid, Fourth Schedule. If it was found impossible to cultivate one-fifth by the end of the first year, the cultivation of two-fifths by the end of the second year was accepted as an alternative.
68. CLO 256 of 18 Mar. 1872.
The cultivation clauses, which held sway throughout the remainder of the 'seventies, contributed towards a mono-culture. Residence, whether personal or substituted, coupled with cultivation and the limitation of area, resulted in a continuous line of medium-sized farms, fenced, with a dwelling and field of wheat. Whether the settlement was bona fide or not was another matter. As Bonney had stated, such conditions of cultivation sometimes adversely affected the bona fide settler, and did not seriously deter those who were determined to find loopholes in the Acts.

Contrary to initial expectations, wholesale purchases by capitalists seeking gain and monopolists seeking land were prevented by the provisions of the Land Acts. The cards were heavily stacked in favour of the bona fide selector in other ways. Foremost was the persistence in surveying the land before selection could take place. The Survey Department and not the former lessee determined the manner in which the run was to be split up. Moreover the blocks were made large, generally between 320 and 640 acres. Although these could be subdivided upon application, and with the approval of the Commissioner, any one person could select only a maximum of three blocks in order to take up his quota of land. The Surveyor-

69. 37 and 38 Vic. 22 gave power to the Commissioner to relax conditions of cultivation in cases of hardship.
71. See e.g. CLO 288 of 22 Mar. 1871; 491 of 19 May 1871.
72. See instructions to survey parties enclosed in CLO 530 of 11 May 1874. In 1877 the area of blocks was limited to a maximum of 500 acres. SAPD 14 Dec. 1877, col. 2048.
73. See Waste Lands Alienation Act of 1872 and The Crown Lands Consolidation Act of 1877. Subdivision was normally allowed only (1) if the applicant's total requirement of land was smaller than the blocks offered, or (2) if the area of the whole block would bring his total holdings to more than the limit set by the Act.
General and the Commissioner were quick to prevent any survey which appeared to favour the lessee instead of the selector. On one occasion a mistake was made in the survey of land along the Broughton River, allowing a lessee to monopolize several miles of the water front. Parliament promptly wanted to know how this had happened. It was made very clear that another similar mistake must not occur. Others did occur, but infrequently.

Parliament and the Departmental heads had seen sufficient of the fate of the Land Acts of the eastern colonies, especially Victoria, to be careful that mistakes made there were not repeated. There were no pre-lease rights to keep out the selectors. The provision of commonage for selectors ensured that adequate grass was available for their cattle. Reserves were strictly limited and were declared only upon the recommendation of the Department. Applications for mineral leases were carefully watched, some proof of the mineral possibilities of the land being required. During the years

74. CLO 147 of 13 Feb. 1871; SAPD 10 Aug. 1871, col. 151.
75. e.g. CLO 958 of 19 Aug. 1871. This case concerned land along the Yackamoorundie Creek where the absence of roads and reserves allowed the lessee to keep the selectors from water. In the same note, Bonney referred to instances where subdivision had allowed sheep farmers to monopolize the water frontage. But he only knew of two such cases. Most of these irregularities occurred in the absence of Goyder, chiefly because his deputy did not know the countryside as well as the Surveyor-General.
76. SAPP 1870-1 No. 23. Report on Victorian Land Regulations; made by Goyder after a visit to Victoria. S.H. Roberts, Australian Land Settlement 1788-1925, p.259, n.27, claims that during the 'seventies "Victoria was the mentor, South Australia the pupil". This was far from the truth. Victorian example was often noticed but more for what should be avoided than what should be attempted.
77. The Legislative Council attempted in 1877 to give the lessee the right to purchase two selections, the total not to exceed 1000 acres. The House refused to agree, and no further attempt was made in this direction.
78. see e.g. CLO 1309 of 13 Oct. 1874 and 17 of 4 Jan. 1872
79. CLO 1209 of 12 Sept. 1874.
before open auction was abolished (1872) applications for the
wholesale survey of pastoral runs were refused on the grounds that
the land would be required in the future for farming operations.

There was but one avenue left for the pastoralist who wished to
circumvent the law, to employ dummies. This was widely attempted
at first, but its prevalence declined sharply later in the 'seventies.
Bonney, backed by the Commissioners, enforced forfeiture of
the selection wherever dummyism was obvious. The Commissioners
suspected other cases, but were powerless to act so long as the
dummy kept the conditions imposed by law, unless "technical" reasons
for forfeiture were available. Despite Bonney's insistence that
greater facilities to convict dummies should be provided, four
years elapsed before the first attempt was made to give the Commis-
sioner power to examine selectors and a further three years before
the provision became law. This casts some doubt upon the various

80. CLO 746 of 2 Aug. 1870.
81. See e.g. CLO 421 of 1 May 1871; 958 of 29 Aug. 1871; 928 of 25
Aug. 1873; 942 of 29 Aug. 1873; 965 of 1 Sept. 1873; 1231 of 17
Nov. 1873; 1287 of 6 Dec. 1873; 486 of 13 Apr. 1875. From 1869
until 1876 a total of 283 agreements were revoked because condi-
tions were not fulfilled. Not all of these 283 were dummies.
SAPP 1876 No. 166, Revoked agreements under Waste Lands Act.
82. e.g. CLO 1189 of 14 Sept. 1874 where the ground of forfeiture
was the failure to send in returns, the other conditions,
Bonney admitted, having been fulfilled.
83. SAPD 1 Sept. 1874 cols. 1488-1493 (defeated 8-7 at about 9.30 p.m.
in a small House); 20 Oct. 1874, col. 2099 (accepted by House
upon reconsideration); 4 Nov. 1874, cols. 2209 et seq (struck
out by Legislative Council). The clause sought to establish a
tribunal consisting of the Commissioner, Chief Secretary and
Attorney-General who would have power to summon witnesses. Re-
fusal to answer was to be punishable by imprisonment. In 1875
the Government proposed to give the Commissioner power to summon
a selector before a J.P. The Bill lapsed. SAPD 29 July 1875, col.
551. For debates in 1877 see SAPD 2 Aug. 1877, cols. 559-564.
The clause was carried be 23 to 15.
ministries' repeated assertion that they were intent upon smashing dummyism which they knew existed. Part of the opposition to such provisions sprang from the conviction that to summon selectors to give evidence to an administrator was "un-British", a contravention of English practice which demanded that such proceedings be heard in a judicial court. Most members also were reluctant to place great power in the hands of any one individual even if he were answerable to Parliament. But when this power was granted in 1877, it was used to good effect. Suspicion of dummyism was followed by thorough investigation. But the main damage had already been done, for in a number of districts the dummies had completed their work and the land was in the hands of their masters.

There were two principal areas where wholesale dummying occurred. One was in the Broughton and Gulnare Agricultural Areas, and the other, the most important, in the South-East district. By the end of 1875, of the 45,923 acres for which purchase had been completed in the South-East, 34,134 acres had been sold subsequently to pastoralists and only 7,742 acres were retained by the original selectors. Throughout the rest of the colony 37,430 acres out of 120,774 acres

84. Statement by Attorney-General, Mann, in SAPD 1 Sept. 1874 col. 1488.
85. SAPD 2 Aug. 1877, cols. 559-563.
86. e.g. CLO 1687 of 26 Nov. 1880. A complaint was received that the owner of Morambro station was employing dummies. Upon investigation it was found that the agent for the station had paid the deposit for seven applicants with his own cheque, which the Bank produced as evidence.
87. SAPD 28 Sept. 1875, col. 1175; 1879 SC Crown Lands Laws, Report, paragraph 6. The known cases of dummyism occurred most frequently in these areas. See CLO 147 of 13 Feb. 1871 (Broughton); 373 of 2 April 1874 (Mannanarie); 1287 of 6 Dec. 1873 (Binnun); 138 of 4 Feb. 1874 (Kyberbole); 1885 of 4 Dec. 1876 (Penola); 1687 of 26 Nov. 1880 (Morambro).
had passed into the hands of pastoralists, while other lands had been bought by land agents and financiers. This evidence strongly suggests, but does not prove, that prior agreement had been made to sell. Occasionally a bona fide purchaser sold almost immediately he had completed purchase, either because the lack of transport facilities made wheat-growing an unprofitable occupation, or because land (as in the Hundreds of Seymour and Coolinong) proved unsuitable for crops. But in the great majority of cases there can be but one verdict - dummyism had occurred.

Witnesses before the 1879 Select Committee, however, were generally agreed that wholesale dummyism no longer existed. Where such did exist, they contended, it was legally accomplished through "substituted residence", or carried on by wealthy farmers rather than by former lessees. This decline of dummyism can be attributed to a number of factors. The longer term of compulsory credit granted under the Act of 1872 (increased to six years) increased the risk of dummying, especially as transfer was not allowed at any time during the term of credit, except under exceptional circumstances. Also the much larger number of farmers who sought land from 1872 increased the competition, and their better financial position after several excellent harvests enabled them to compete more easily with

---

88. SAPP 1876 No. 124, Purchases on land completed under credit regulations, pp. 1 and 3.
the owner of capital. In addition, the requirement to cultivate rendered the land less acceptable to the pastoralist unless he was prepared to wait a number of years before gaining effective use of it.

The report of the 1879 Select Committee, a well-considered and moderate judgement, well summed up the position at the time:

"The substitution of a numerous yeomanry owning agricultural holdings for a few pastoral lessees on large tracts of land let by the State, has been the object of land legislation in all the Australian colonies. In South Australia, if not an unqualified success, certainly it has proved no failure, for settlement has taken place, and (except in some Hundreds, especially in the South-East), the settlement is such as contemplated by the Legislature when stopping cash sales in favour of giving credit for a limited number of acres to persons desirous of engaging in agricultural pursuits."

In general, then, the credit selection Acts had enabled a fair proportion of the increased population to be settled on the land in an orderly and productive manner. While there were the inevitable complaints about aspects of the land system, its liberality was widely acknowledged.

5. BONA FIDE SETTLER VERSUS INVESTOR.

It will be remembered that the major difficulties confronting the farmers seeking to purchase Crown Lands in the 1860's was the competition from the investors in land and irregularities at the sales. These difficulties were not dissolved by the legislation of the 'seventies. "Land sharks" and speculators continued to ply their trade to the discomfort of the farmers, and, of greater importance,

91. Ibid, paragraph 20.
the investors still possessed sufficient influence to be able to share in the land boom. They used "substituted residence" conditions to purchase land, they dealt extensively in country township lands and ready-made farms, and they provided cash for the farmers. This was one of the pressures placed on the Legislature whenever it considered land legislation, as investors worked to maintain their position in the land trade.

The "land sharks" were supposedly defeated by the Frauds at Auction Act of 1868-9, but in fact the Act never worked well. The farmers, who were affected most by such activities, did not possess the means to institute legal proceedings which were both costly and uncertain. When they were "caught", they still preferred to pay, say, £50 and gain their section rather than take advantage of the Act. Cavenagh, when Commissioner, had to admit that "a good deal of trickery" was still continuing. The matter came to a head and became a public issue when James White, a member of the House and a prominent land agent, was accused of seeking bribes at auction. The charge was so far substantiated that the Government struck him off the list of J's. P. These "sharks" took advantage of the farmers' fear of simultaneous applications. Prospective applicants were watched in the Land Office, the sections of their choice were noted and a similar application entered. The bona fide applicant was then approached with the suggestion that for a consideration the

92. e.g. CLO 654 of 17 May 1875 (enclosed with 1169 of 15 Aug. 1876) and 650 of 27 May 1875.
93. SAPD 10 Feb. 1869, col. 1676.
94. See SAPD 4 and 5 July 1877, cols. 215 et seq.
other application would be withdrawn. One shabbily dressed person was reported to have made a fortune by this means without ever having bought a section. The "sharks" were almost excluded when auction for choice was inaugurated in 1877, but this only substituted one kind of throat cutting for a worse kind. When the new mode of sale was begun in 1879 the land shark returned, but with the falling off of sales in the next year his business disappeared.

The struggle between the investor and the bona fide purchaser was more intense and far more significant than the nibblings of the land sharks. Land always had been the chief commodity for investment and speculation, and those who had fared well from land did not surrender easily. Moreover, there were many in both Houses of Parliament who fitted into that category.

Under Strangways' Act the investor could still buy in the open market, although he was virtually excluded from the Agricultural Areas. While the Government's credit sales offered favourable rates of interest, private dealers were able to offer longer terms for payment. They retained their share of the land trade, although during the currency of Strangways' Act the overall demand for land was never great.

Throughout the rest of the decade the scales swung first one way and then another in an uneasy balance. At no stage did the Parliamentary champions of the interests either of the farmers or of capital gain complete control over the other. Nor were the issues

95. 1879 SC Crown Lands Laws, question 859.
96. Ibid, question 1896.
clear cut so that it could be possible by voting divisions to define parties. The Act of 1872 can here be examined as an example. On the one hand, auction was dispensed with altogether for the first occasion that new country lands were offered to the public. All were compelled to purchase on credit, to effect improvements and to cultivate the land. No transfers of selections could be achieved except in cases of physical incapacity, illness or necessary absence from the colony. If in addition to these personal residence had been insisted upon the speculator would have been virtually excluded from the land market. But the conditions of residence were relaxed by this same Act to allow residence by a "son, step-son, son-in-law, or other male relative, or man-servant. In introducing the Bill, Reynolds said:

"He was of the opinion that we had got as a colony nearly to the end of the tether with regard to men desiring and being able to take up land for personal occupation. The population was small, and its engagement such that not many men could now be spared from their industrial pursuit to go on the land. But there might be those who would assist to place men on to cultivate large blocks of land...."

He was saying what another member had claimed the year before, that substituted residence was being introduced because the "merchants and tradesmen of Adelaide" wanted to invest in farms. The

97. 35 and 36 Vic. 18, clause 33.
98. SAPD 25 Apr. 1872, col. 659.
99. SAPD 17 Aug. 1871, col. 209. A few in the House and a majority in the Council in 1870 sought to allow residence by an "agent or bailiff". By 1871 support for the relaxation of residence conditions had increased so that the House agreed to residence by a servant. Both Bills failed to become law. SAPD 1870 cols. 584-591, 1530, 1719-1720; SAPD 1871 cols. 209-216. See also CLO 958a of 29 Aug. 1871 where Bonney condemned such a proposal as likely to re-introduce competition from the speculator, to the detriment of the farmer.
compromise did not end there. Where simultaneous applications occurred, the personal resident was given priority over the one who would not reside personally. In addition, those who did not personally reside were unable to complete purchase until six years had elapsed, a year longer than those who had resided personally.

The results of substituted residence clearly indicated that, although it provided opportunities for investment, there was also a demand for it from bona fide farmers. Of those holding land under substituted residence in 1884, some 1,150 in all, about 45% were farmers who had used the provision to augment their holdings. But names such as W.G. Goodchild, E.A. Wright, James White, H.R. Fuller, James Shannon, Ebenezer Ward, G.A. Gebhardt, G.C. Hawker and George Riddoch revealed the interest of land agents and investors.

The operation of investors and speculators was severely limited by their inability to transfer selections. The excuse of necessary absence from the colony was used on numerous occasions to gain transfer - the transferee returning to the colony (if he ever went out of it) within a short while, - but this was a trick of small-scale speculators rather than of prominent investors. Further, the Act of 1877 prohibited a transferee from selecting again for five years.

100. SAPP 1884 No. 101, Land held under substituted residence provisions.
102. 1879 SC Crown Lands Act, question 628.
103. This on occasions was a hardship upon a bona fide farmer who had made a genuine mistake in selecting land. If he applied for a transfer he was unable to select again. See Ibid, Appendix, p. 103.
The other chief method of speculative purchase was to purchase by cash country lands which had lain unselected for two years. The large demand for land meant that such blocks were scattered. While stopping wholesale monopoly, this played into the speculators' hands as a future sale to a farmer in the district was assured. The spread of railways and better roads, the growth of a nearby township and the increasing value of nearby productive land all enhanced the value of such a purchase even though the block remained unimproved. But, it must be remembered, the capitalist was given second choice for the land. He might make a profit here and there, but his scope was limited. The situation of the 'sixties was no more.

Investment, in fact, was to a large extent redirected during the 'seventies, especially at the end of the decade. First and foremost in importance was town property, which increased in value enormously due to the rapid growth of the colony. The value of business sites in Adelaide rose by 12% from 1876 to 1882 and residence sites by 100%. Suburban Land and Building Investment Societies blossomed quickly, the Directors of which were usually the prominent investors of the 'sixties. Country townships shared in this investment to a lesser extent. The year 1882 saw the climax of this investment in a speculative bubble. Scores of new private townships were laid out and subdivided on the Adelaide plains and hills within fifteen miles of

104. After two years the land could be sold for cash. After five years the land could be leased with right of purchase at £1 per acre at any time.
105. Stow, South Australia, op. cit., p.90.
106. See the copies of Rules and Regulations of various societies in South Australian Pamphlets, VOL. 11, Melbourne Public Library.
the capital. This was the primary field for land investment.

Then, as the 'seventies progressed, opportunity was created for the purchase of ready-made farms. Many of the early selectors, uncertain of the grain-growing capacity of the land they were to occupy, were cautious and limited their farms to a couple of hundred acres. Unable to select again nearby, when purchase was completed they moved on to choose a larger farm. Because most would-be farmers had the chance of purchasing on credit, few were prepared to pay cash for the ready-made farm. The capitalist saw his opportunity and stepped in. The farm was re-offered to neighbouring farmers on terms, or else let on lease. The statistics of land held under leasehold are unfortunately unreliable during this period (as land held under credit was sometimes included as freehold, sometimes as leasehold) but it appears that at least half a million acres were held under lease in 1881 in the districts which had been opened up by the land laws of the 'seventies.

The other chief avenue for the use of capital was the provision of capital to the selectors. The law forbade mortgage of a credit selection, but there were ways of circumventing this. The fact that more than half of those who had held land under personal residence

108. Ibid, Appendix pp. 85-98, for a return of selectors who had completed purchase and sold again. The purchases by Siekmann and Moule (p.86) are an example. See also evidence of John Moule in Ibid, and SAPD 30 June 1880, col. 275, where one instance of a profit of £700 upon a resale was cited.
mortgaged their property immediately purchase was completed supported the claim that most had to borrow to complete purchase and many to continue farming. Generally the selector obtained money through mortgage over stock or bills of sale. In many cases the capitalist advanced money to a greater extent on these securities than was normal, considering the selection as a part security. In law he had no security, for in the event of insolvency the land returned to the Crown, not to the creditors. But he took the risk, at the same time charging high rates of interest. Normal charges seem to have been 20%, others as high as 30% and 40%. As the risk was spread over a large number of people, the chance of overall loss was small. In fact, the gain was great.

Over this the Government exercised no control. Its only move, in fact, was to allow, in 1879, selectors to mortgage their land, despite the fact that the Select Committee, and the majority of witnesses before it, had roundly condemned the proposal. This measure, in fact, legalized what had been common practice.

Parliament, in short, considered land policy under pressure from investors who for so long had been able to use for their enrichment the inability of farmers to purchase land from the Crown at reasonable prices. When direct purchase by investors was made difficult

110. 1879 SC Crown Lands Acts, Report, paragraph 9. 470 out of 841 selectors under personal residence and 74 out of 194 under substituted residence had mortgaged, when purchase was completed, to the value of £349,687, an average of nearly £650 per selector.
111. Ibid, Appendix, p. 102.
112. Loc. cit.
114. See debates in SAPD 10 and 24 Sept., 1 and 2 Oct. 1879 (House of Assembly) and 9, 14, and 14 Oct. 1879 (Legislative Council).
by conditions of personal residence, the way was opened by allowing "substituted residence", and later the provision of cash by mortgage was legalized. Investment in land remained a prosperous business.

6. THE NATURE OF GOVERNMENT POLICY.

The foregoing paragraphs have been concerned with control. There was also encouragement, although this was subsidiary to control. Encouragement was given in the form of easier terms of payment, relaxation of conditions of cultivation when hardship occurred, and an increase in the maximum area allowed. Government policy was positive in its intention to establish a settled yeomanry. But the traditional pressure of place-seeking and power politics upon the members of the Legislature (although not as strong as in the previous decade) blunted this positive approach somewhat, with expediency often contributing to confusion in legislation. Government policy showed clearly the signs of this pressure.

During the decade of the 1870's there were four occasions on which payments for credit selections were made easier. In 1869 the period for payment was extended from four years to five, with an option of a three year renewal at the end of the fifth year. In 1871 the initial deposit (which was interest in advance, not payment of principal) was reduced from 20% to 10%, with a further 10% payable after three years. In 1872 the period for payment was extended to six years, with the option of paying at that time half the purchase money and receiving a four year extension, while in 1880
The period of credit was extended to twenty years, as recommended by the Select Committee of the previous year. In addition, in 1877 interest charges were reduced. These measures were partly due to the growing belief that it was better for the farmer to devote his capital to machinery and improvements than to immediately pay for the land.

Conditions of cultivation were likewise relaxed somewhat to give relief to those who needed it. In 1874 the Commissioner was given power to allow individual selectors to cultivate less than the required one-fifth of the area held, while three years later the requirement was lowered to one-tenth in the first year and one-fifth thereafter. The Commissioners used their discretion sparingly to prevent evasion, but sympathetically so as not to cause hardships.

There were very few complaints about the use of this power. Forfeiture was not immediately ordered where the conditions were not completely fulfilled. Generally, if the selector promised to adhere strictly to the conditions in the future another chance was

115. In the same year the Commissioner was given power to grant extension of time for payment in the cases of hardship. In fact, this was but legalizing what he had already done in consequence of the hundreds of applications for extension received after the failure of the 1876 harvest. Extension was granted to 279 selectors because of this failure and in the following 18 months a further 1284 selectors were allowed extension. 1879 SC Crown Lands Act, Appendix, p. 79. See CLO 119 of 19 Jan. 1877 for draft of letter sent to selectors stating that no immediate forfeiture would be enforced in cases of non-payment.

116. SAPP 1884 No. 40, Relaxation of cultivation and residence conditions.
given. Where heavy scrub or difficult terrain was encountered this leniency was much appreciated by the farmers.

The other direct field of help was in the increased area allowed under the Act of 1877, the maximum being raised to 1,000 acres of country land instead of 640 acres. The expressed purpose of this change was to allow farmers to combine grazing with agriculture, as the most economical form of husbandry. This was impossible on small blocks, it was claimed. Yet the great majority of farmers had not chosen the maximum of 640 acres already allowed, the average area, in fact, being generally less than 300 acres. Although there can be no doubt that a number of farmers wanted larger areas and that their representatives in Parliament genuinely wished to help them, there is room for the belief that some who pressed for the increase were interested more in future sale of land than in its present use.

Government policy, then, was not simply to alienate land for settlement. It was concerned that settlement should be permanent. Governor Fergusson reported to the Colonial Office that legislation was being "irresistibly directed to check accumulation by individuals of landed property, to place it within the reach of and even to confine it to the small agriculturists, and so to raise up a peasant proprietory." Election contests, he continued, were not fought between those who put forward liberal or conservative opinions,

118. SAPP 10 July 1877, col. 345.
119. SAPP 1877 No. 122, Selectors under Waste Lands Act.
120. e.g. CLO 393 of 22 Mar. 1875.
but between "candidates who advocated to a greater or less extent the principle which pervades all (South Australian) agrarian legis-
121 slation." An enormous amount of energy and ability was directed towards the achievement of such an agricultural community. Of this there can be no doubt.

But that simple picture was by no means the whole truth. The following testimony of Boucaut, perhaps the most dominant persona-
122 lity of the decade, deserves consideration. In a letter to the secretary of the Miners' Union, Moonta, he wrote:

"It would be perfectly useless for me or any other body of the public to attempt actually to frame a (land) measure. No two meetings ever do agree, and seldom half a dozen men at one meeting. It is by reason of this difference of opinion that the desires of the people of this colony have been set at nought in the interests of the land monopolists. These men cry 'measures, not men', promise anything and then deride their promises. If you could arrange a scheme of a particular land Bill many of these men will promise to try to carry it, and as soon as they get in will do just the reverse and say they found they could not 'carry it'. I re-collect one minister who pledged himself solemnly just before the first meeting of this Parliament to go for personal residence and six weeks after joined a Government to carry the reverse. As long as you allow this, you will be sold like so many pigs for market."

In other words, Boucaut was claiming that the nature of Parliamentary activity had not changed since the previous decade. Indeed, expediency often triumphed over consistency. Especially during the first half of the decade crisis succeeded crisis as rival claimants sought to occupy the Treasury benches. The greater stability of Governments in the late 1870's was due mainly to the increase in the members of the House of Assembly from 36 to 46 rather than because

121. Governor's Despatch 31 Dec. 1870 (S.A.A. 14)
of any change in traditional attitudes. Land was the leading issue of the day, and thus debates on the land question were regarded as trials of strength for the rival parties. Amendments were often passed that confused the position instead of increasing the efficiency of the administration.

This, then, is the enigma of the 'seventies. On the one hand the numerous farms which dotted the northern plains seemed to suggest that the legislation was wisely conceived and correctly directed. On the other, the place-seeking of Parliamentarians and the satisfaction of capitalists suggest that wisdom was not the only factor in its conception and that the benefits were not solely directed towards the agriculturalist.

123. Stow, South Australia, op. cit. p.77.
Chapter 9.

AGRICULTURAL LEASEHOLD AND LAND BOARDS.
1882-1890.
CHAPTER 9.

AGRICULTURAL LEASEHOLD AND LAND BOARDS, 1882-1890.

While the farmers during the 1870's experienced some difficulties with seasons and with inadequate administration of the selection system, on the whole they had never experienced a period of greater prosperity. The day of hope seemed to have well and truly dawned. The 1880's proved, however, not to be the dawn but the twilight, the prelude to the long night. It soon became obvious that the wheat industry was in a critical situation. Tied to the land because of mortgage and debt, limited by inadequate holdings and plagued by a fantastically bad run of seasons, the farmers on the fringe in particular were threatened with complete failure. The future of the North was at stake.

Four years were needed before this was clearly seen by both farmers and legislators. After initial optimism and reluctance to admit failure, both groups finally grasped the fact that they had made a serious miscalculation of the capacity of the northern lands and that radical changes were now required in the whole land system. These changes were, firstly, the leasing of agricultural lands, and, secondly, the establishment of permanent local Land Boards. Both of these innovations represented a complete break with the past. Formerly they had been opposed vigorously, but now in the face of necessity Parliament almost unanimously adopted them. The old had passed away, and with little reluctance the new had been established. This chapter, then, analyses the crisis and the changes. The contrast
with the great reluctance to change of the pre-1868 period is complete.

1. JUDGMENT ON THE NORTH.

The advance to the North had been greatly stimulated by a series of good seasons. The winter of 1880 proved to be the turning point. For the next six years the agricultural districts experienced a marked deficiency of rainfall. In the frontier districts the harvests were negligible, often not even worth reaping. Red rust, locusts and rabbits heightened the distress. Instead of unfettered optimism, doubts began to arise. One usually optimistic editor claimed that "wheat growing in South Australia is, to say the least of it, a precarious occupation." The new wheat lands were on trial. The question was urgently asked - what were the capabilities of these northern lands?

One answer was given by Borrow, Inspector-General of Credit Selections. His opinion was important not only because of the position he held, but also because it epitomised the views of so many of the members of the Legislature. He had spent his twenty years of service in an office in Adelaide, first as a clerk in the Lands Office, later as Chief Clerk and then as Inspector-General of Credit Selections in succession to Charles Bonney. This latter post was chiefly a clerical one, with four sub-inspectors performing the

2. Port Augusta Dispatch, 3 Dec. 1880.
3. SAPP, Blue Books 1872, 1879 and 1881.
actual duties of inspection within their respective districts. He was not familiar with the northern lands, nor was he acquainted with agricultural practice, except by hearsay. The same was unfortunately true of so many in Parliament.

When settlers in the Willochra Valley approached Commissioner Catt seeking relief because of three successive harvest failures, Borrow was dispatched to make a special report. He confirmed the claim that, due to little rain and the inroad of locusts, the average yield had been only 1½ bushels per acre. From conversation with the farmers he learnt (and this was probably true of farmers in many localities) that they had not expected their request to be granted in full, but saw no harm in asking for more than they desired. What they wanted, in fact, was a lenient administration of the existing law and a public statement to that effect so that the storekeepers and millers, to whom they were in debt, would know that their mortgagors' selections would not be forfeited for non-payment of rent. They did not seek any alteration of the law. Borrow's reaction to his visit was this:

"I found the farms well-improved, with substantial fences, and every evidence of bona fide occupation, and in spite of the failure of last year, and the year before, a very large number of farmers were busy ploughing.....The selectors in these Hundreds are a most self-reliant and industrious set of men, not to be cast down by a little bad luck. They appear to have the utmost reliance on the capability of their land to produce wheat. .....Those concerned should be the best judges."

He was advocating a continuance of the policy of the 'seventies, which assumed that Parliament should accept no responsibility for the success of farming on lands that it threw open for sale, even though the settlers were required to cultivate the land. If failure came, the fault lay not with Parliament but with the settler who should have shown more judgment in selecting his land. The farmers were the judges of the land, not Parliament.

This advice was the basis for the legislation of 1881 and 1882. So long as the settlers did not admit failure nothing should be done to deter them from continuing occupation. The ministry was influenced by the large amount of land still being sold in the North, some of it bringing very good prices. More than 400,000 acres of newly opened country lands were selected in 1880, and in the next year the amount increased to more than half a million acres. Even during the years 1882 to 1884 an average of 250,000 acres were selected each year. Since the farmers had faith in the land, so the Government would maintain its faith in the present land system.

Goyder, on the other hand, would not accept this viewpoint. As seen earlier, his line of rainfall drawn in 1865, although primarily designed to define a temporary phenomenon in the pastoral field, was based upon continual observation of the country and was accepted by himself as a rough guide to the limits of reliable rainfall. In the early 'seventies he had strongly advised against selling land

---

6. SAPD 14 June 1881, col. 79.
7. SAPD 15 June 1882, col. 132.
8. See above, Chapter 6.
on credit beyond that Line, but in his official position he had been forced to arrange resumptions of land far beyond it. Whether or not the succession of splendid seasons and the high yields obtained beyond the Line in the late 'seventies caused him to doubt the accuracy of his judgment it is difficult say, but if he did waver it was not for long. At the same time as Borrow was advocating a continuance of a laissez-faire policy, Goyder was emphatic that the districts beyond his rainfall line had been given a fair trial and had been found wanting for agricultural occupation, so much so that most of the selectors were heavily in debt, with their improvements and some cultivated land as the only results of their labour. He suggested that there were three possible courses by which these farmers could be placed in a position to earn a fair living. In the first place, their blocks could be enlarged sufficiently to allow them to graze sheep as well as grow wheat. This Goyder claimed was either impossible because there was insufficient unsold land in the vicinity or undesirable because inferior pasture land would have to be resumed from the present pastoral tenants and given to others for pasture, an act grossly unfair to the pastoralists. Otherwise, the Government might allow the farmers to go bankrupt and the creditors to dispose of the properties. This was


10. Goyder's memorandum was undated. Although it was not filed until late September 1882, it is probable that he submitted it about the time of Borrow's report, in February. Certainly he would have submitted it well before the beginning of the new Parliamentary session in June.
even less desirable, for the new holder might be placed in the same unfortunate situation as the old, while bankruptcy was a severe blow to any farmer and greatly lessened his chance of succeeding elsewhere. Instead, Goyder suggested the following ambitious plan.

"Allow the selectors to surrender, and place to his the amount of interest already paid, on account of a further selection of scrub or other lands, or Miscellaneous Leases, Scrub Leases, or ordinary selection, upon lands which though they may be inferior are within the limits of reliable rainfall: allow the selectors a fair value for his improvements to enable him to pay his debts, and employ him for twelve months in constructing water reservoirs upon or near his surrendered land; the lands will then be available to lease by the Government, in blocks of from four to ten thousand acres, according to the character of the country, the leases to be for twenty-one years for grazing, with the option of cultivating any portion under certain conditions to be specified....To enable this system to be carried out, the consent of the selector to surrender would have to be obtained. Those declining to surrender have other views than bona fide farming, or have not suffered from drought."

Although it is doubtful whether such a proposal could have been put into action, the chief reason for its non-adoption was the conviction of the ministry that they had a responsibility not to allow a large area of the colony to be depopulated. There might be defeat, but there could be no retreat. Commissioner Catt agreed with Goyder that the difficulty in the North was basically climatic, but he refused to offer any incentive for

11. CLO 1677 of 1882.
13. Ibid, cols. 134 and 137.
farmers to give up their ill-chosen holdings and return to the South. Nor would the ministry agree to reinstate Goyder's Line (or its equivalent) as a suitable boundary of agricultural settlement, despite cogent arguments demonstrating its usefulness. Goyder remained a voice crying in the wilderness in his insistence that the North had not passed the test and in his advocacy of the policy of retreat.

A middle course between the views of Borrow and Goyder was advocated by the central committee of the South Australian Farmers Association, which by this time had gained public prominence. Catt regarded its views as "the combined opinion of hundreds of intelligent practical men" while another member of the ministry stated that the President and Vice-President were "most reasonable men." The Association became a force to be reckoned with during the elections of 1881. During the campaign for the election of the House of Assembly it put to each candidate a series of questions designed to reveal their attitudes to the problem of the North. Although this was partially successful in directing the farming vote to suitable candidates, for the Legislative Council election a few months later the Association chose six candidates for a

14. See the arguments of Playford in SAPD 22 June 1882, cols.165-6.
15. SAPD 28 July 1881, col. 414.
"farmer's ticket", and issued "how-to-vote" cards. In spite of some dissension about the "ticket", the farming community rallied behind the central committee sufficiently to enable five of the six to be elected. Prominent men, like Baker and Grainger, who were rejected by the Association, were defeated even though they received solid support from the urban districts. Thereafter the Farmers Association could not be ignored by the Legislature.

Issues were often fought on the grounds of support for or opposition to the policy of the Association, and ministries were quick to point out those parts of proposed legislation which were in agreement with the policy of the Association.

The first two questions put to the candidates in the 1881 election were these:

1. Do you favour granting to selectors, after six or nine years' residence, an option for a lease, at a maximum rate of 4% per annum, the selector having the right to cancel the lease on payment of the purchase money and interest?

2. Do you favour leasing for 21 years land unselected for two years, in blocks of not more than 5,000 acres at the upset rental of not more than 6d. per acre per annum, with the option of using it for either cultivation or grazing, and offering these blocks on lease before offering them for cash sale?

20. SAPP 1881 No. 30, Legislative Council Election - April 20th, 1881 - election of six members. The only one on the ticket not elected was the conservative Hay, who was defeated by Buik, rejected by the Association because he was a Protectionist.
22. e.g. SAPD 28 June 1883, col. 301.
23. SAPD 14 June 1881, col. 414.
These questions revealed the attitude of the Association to the all-important question, "What were the capabilities of the North?"
The Association claimed that in much of the northern lands there was need for large blocks on which grazing could be combined with agriculture. Wheat alone could not provide a living here. The farmers, however, could not afford to purchase land for larger blocks, in fact in many instances they were unable to pay for the land they had bought already, so leasehold was suggested as a cheaper means of holding land. In addition, however, the Association recommended that the land should not be given a hasty trial. From six to nine years' residence was required before a true assessment of the land could be made.

These, then, were the three judgments of the capabilities of the northern lands uttered during the first half of the 1880's. At first the legislation reflected the faith of many settlers in the land, then it was influenced by the need to re-adjust the existing situation. Only the advocacy of retreat went unheeded. That was left for the farmers of the 'nineties. But in the meantime there was no doubt as the decade continued that the whole land system must be reviewed. The North had been overestimated. The crisis revealed that the land laws were inadequate and that change was imperative.

24. See also CLO 515 of Mar. 1883.
2. INTRODUCTION OF AGRICULTURAL LEASEHOLD.

The first great change that took place was the introduction of leasehold for agricultural lands. Formerly this had been opposed very strongly by an overwhelming majority in Parliament, but when other measures (such as reselection of the land at lower prices) failed to bring any solution there was no alternative. Leasehold was introduced even though its adoption meant that less revenue would be received from land than in the past, a situation which necessitated the imposition of direct taxation for the first time. Both of these measures indicate the extent of the break from the past.

Legislative attempts to aid the selectors in their desire to continue farming dated from 1879, when Ward, ignoring one of the recommendations of the 1879 Select Committee on the workings of the Crown Lands Acts, introduced a measure designed to allow all who had held land for two years the right to mortgage their selections. Despite the strong opposition of the Commissioner of Crown Lands to this proposal, the Morgan government decided that "this should be an open question." The measure was passed with little difficulty. Playford later admitted that his fears about the results of the legislation were unfounded. Dummying had not increased, as he had expected, and the number of applications for

permission to mortgage were relatively few. Capitalists, in fact, were reluctant to advance cash upon such uncertain security, many seeking high interest rates because of the risks involved. The Crown Lands Department, however, fixed a maximum charge of $12\frac{1}{2}$, but the average rate of £9.64 charged during 1881 showed that selections were not regarded as good security. Sums borrowed under this legislation were generally in the vicinity of £200 to £300, although some very much larger amounts were involved.

The right to mortgage, though, was no panacea for all the ills of the farmer. During 1880 and 1881 the Department received numerous requests for extension of time for the payment either of interest or of principal. In one petition, farmers from the Hundreds of Baldina and Bright stated that they believed that the intention of the selection Acts was "to enable persons of limited means to obtain from the land itself by application of labour the means to pay the second instalment of interest and subsequently the purchase of the land itself." This, they claimed, they were unable to do because of the poor crops they had harvested. The Commissioner of Crown Lands Playford, gave tacit assent to this view by

28. SAPD 14 June 1881, col. 81.
29. CLO 231 of 14 Feb. 1880.
30. Charges of up to 24% were made before the maximum was fixed. SAPD 14 June 1881, col. 81 and 15 June 1882, col. 132.
31. Credit Books, Lands Department, give full details of these mortgage transactions.
32. CLO 85 of 1880, 117, 147 and 2010 of 1881, and files of the Credit Selection Department.
replying that he fully sympathised with the farmers, and "so far as it would be right and I have the power I will most willingly assist all those who fairly deserve it." Convinced that the farmers had faith in the land, first the Morgan ministry, of which Playford was Commissioner of Crown Lands, and then the Bray ministry, of which Catt was Commissioner, passed legislation extending the time for payment.

By 1882, however, when the fringe lands continued to give poor yields, it became obvious that extension was merely dabbling with the problem. A stronger solution was needed. Yet, the ministry had to be extremely careful in its planning, for at the beginning of 1882 the colony was in the throes of a speculative boom. From the middle of 1880 local and English capital was poured into a score or more of newly-formed land, building and investment societies, new mining companies were floated, a new bank was born and trading in stocks and shares soared to record heights. Although the land companies concentrated upon suburban sub-divisions, activity extended to country townships in the North (Port Germain and Port Augusta, for instance) and even to the purchase and resale of the uncertain agricultural lands. Prejudicial reports about the

33. CLO 85 of Jan. 1880.
34. SAPD 1880, cols. 1319-1329 and SAPD 1881, cols. 412-420, 1282-4 and 1418-1421.
capabilities of these northern lands were bad both for business and for the reputation of the colony at a time when the Government were busily advertising for immigrants. Hence, although Goyder's policy of retreat was rejected by the ministry, Borrow's advocacy of continued faith in the northern lands was modified. In fact, the Government acted upon the admission by some of the selectors in the Hundred of Pichi Richi that, because they had made "a serious miscalculation in the producing capabilities of the soil", they had given too high a price for their land. The core of the 1882 Act was the provision that selectors could surrender their sections in order that they could re-purchase at a lower price. It was a courageous act in the face of the speculative boom. As it happened, it heralded the bursting of the land bubble. Company after company reported that land was unsaleable and that no avenues for investment were open. Accusation of misrepresentation, and the failure of a number of these speculative concerns indicated that there had been little rationale to support the behaviour of investors. It became apparent that the three staples of the colony were at a low ebb: mining was decidedly on the wane, the pastoral industry was stagnant and the agricultural community in the midst of drought.

37. CLO 184 of 18 Jan. 1882.
38. 45 & 46 Vic. 275, clause 7.
Speculators had been able to stimulate a boom by astute timing and discriminating propaganda about the large influx of population, but they were unable to maintain it in the face of the realities of the economy. The banks, alarmed at the rapid increase in their advances and discounts without any corresponding rise in deposits, refused to make any fresh advances, even to the Government.

Few were satisfied with the 1882 Act. Although some of the land in the Upper North had been purchased at a high price, the great bulk of the sections which had been bought for more than £2 per acre were situated within Goyder’s Line, in the more favoured agricultural districts. These were the farmers who benefited most, not those who were in such dire straits. When these selectors bid again for their blocks they were usually confronted by no opposition, as cash was unavailable and the farming community had a general understanding that they would not oppose one another.

More than 80% of those who surrendered under this Act reselected their farms (the remainder either not bidding or were outbid), most paying only £1.0.6 per acre where previously they had paid up to £7 or £8 per acre. Many were then able to complete the

40. Ibid, pp. 1410, 1549 and 1797.
41. The average price paid for land fell as the farmers moved north. e.g. 1873, £1.14.8; 1877, £1.5.8; 1881, £1.3.11. Some land north of Goyder’s Line, however, brought high prices, even as late as 1881. SAPD 15 June 1882, col. 132 and Lands Department, Sales Books, (StackA), op. cit.
42. 1888 Land Commission, question 2296.
43. SAPP 1883-4 No. 83, Surrendered selections under Crown Lands Amendment Act, 1882. Examples of reduced prices were :- M. Deinhoff, original price £3,005.12.6. new price £704.3.6, area 687 acres; J. Turner, £3,345.6.0; £654.19.6; 640 acres.
purchase of their selections far more easily than they had anticipated. The plight of the Upper North in fact confirmed the alienation of a great amount of land in the Mid-North.

There was provision in the Act that anyone who wished to could surrender their present section and reselect elsewhere within a year, the money paid for the former section being transferred to payment for the new block. In addition, the value of the improvements on the old farm was credited to the selector's account. At first sight this provision appears to have been modelled on the scheme of Goyder. The failure to restrict the new choice to the better rainfall areas, and the offer of alternative means of relief, however, rendered the Act far different from the suggestions of Goyder. No one, let alone Goyder, regarded it as a programme of retreat. In fact, very few availed themselves of this provision. Those who may have wanted to were usually bound by financial obligations to storekeeper or agent, while those who were free of such restraints did not desire or need to depart. The 1882 Act left the problem of the north unsolved.

The only real relief offered to the settlers in the Far North was remission of interest and the granting to the Commissioner of Crown Lands the power to remit cultivation and residence conditions wherever the nature of the land made that desirable. Those who had reaped yields of less than six bushels per acre (regarded as the minimum for maintaining a living) received remission ranging from

44. 45 & 46 Vic. 275, clauses 5 to 7.
But unsatisfactory though the legislation proved to be, it was the first step towards a saner estimate of the situation in the wheat industry. The real break-through came in 1883 when the Bray Government finally saw that the long-standing glorification of South Australia's land system and the depreciation of Victoria's was a far cry from the actual situation. For a few years South Australia took its head out of the sand and looked around. Victoria appeared to be settling the Wimmera lands - the equivalent of South Australia's North - with a great deal of success, not by the sale of Crown Lands but by leasing with the right of purchase. "We can't be wrong in following this example", exclaimed Catt as he introduced the 1883 Bill, designed to institute a similar scheme in South Australia.

This changed attitude to leasing Crown Lands for agricultural purposes was in many ways quite unexpected. For years isolated members had advocated it, but without avail. The old guard, still haunted by Wakefield's vision, maintained that only through the sale of land and the use of the proceeds for emigration and public works would true prosperity be won. The loyalists protested that it was a British trait to prefer freehold: if South Australia was to remain British it must retain freehold farming. Those who traded in real estate complained in public that leasehold would

45. Ibid, clause 9. Where yields had been less than 6 bushels a credit of 1 year's interest was granted, where less than 5 bushels, 2 year's, where less than 4 bushels, 3 year's.
46. SAPD 8 June 1883, col. 302.
lower the value of land and in private regretted that their lucrative trade would suffer. Administrators foresaw difficulties for the State in its position as landlord to many farmers, and also observers of farmers' behaviour noted the keen desire to be owners of the land they farmed. Against such an array of arguments and prejudices the advocates of leasing made little headway. Even Bundey's eloquence, and his quotations from master-theorists like J.S. Mill, failed to move the House. The minority in favour of leasehold took heart late in the 1870's when Goyder was found to be sympathetic. C.H. Bagot, ageing but still highly respected for his penetrating mind, joined this small band and began to seek converts. The existing system of cash sales, even when credit was available, was unjust, he claimed,

"in as much as requiring cash payment for the land cannot fail of giving capital a depressive power over the class of persons it is most desirable should occupy the land, namely the industrious and hardworking, who will require all of what little money they may possess to enable them to occupy, and who can only hope to meet the purchase day of payment by borrowing at a ruinous rate of interest, accompanied by the mental terror of possible foreclosure at a not very distant day."

The brief consideration given to the idea by the 1879 Select

47. e.g. see views expressed before the 1865 SC Selling Crown Lands, questions 317-8, 356-360, 475-481, 507, 1757-9.
48. SAPD 9 May 1872, cols. 854-862.
Committee investigating the workings of the Crown Lands Acts indicated the little progress made by this group's activities in the halls of Parliament. Then, despite the strength of the South Australian Farmers Association with its insistence upon leasing Crown Lands, the Bray Government in 1881 and 1882 refused to consider anything more than leasing lands which formerly had been used as commonage or were infested by rabbits. The House, however, would not accept even that.

When the ministry met early in 1883 to consider their course of action they were well aware of the strong prejudice against leasing agricultural lands. They knew, too, that, if such a step were taken, the Treasury would be even further embarrassed than it was at the present. During the previous ten years revenue from the sale of land had almost equalled revenue from custom duties, the two together yielding slightly more than 50% of total proceeds. The shrivelling up of land sale revenue pointed to an imminent financial crisis. Already the Act of 1882, which allowed surrender for lower prices, had cost the State about £350,000 in anticipated revenue. If leasehold was introduced a further reduction in revenue would ensue at a time when expenditure was soaring to a record level of more than £2,250,000. Loan funds had enabled the heavy

52. See election questions cited above, p.
53. CLO 528 of 7 Apr. 1881 and 869 of 23 Apr. 1884; SAPD 7 June 1881, cols. 34-5. Playford in public claimed that the Government were carrying out the views of the Farmers Association.
programme of public works to be continued up until the present, but now the debt had risen to almost £50 per head, regarded by British bankers as the limit of safe investment. It appeared as if that avenue would soon be closed. Hence, coupled with the question of leasehold was the consideration of additional means of taxation. If the prejudice against leasehold was strong, the feeling against direct taxation of income and property was even stronger. It was a courageous act on the part of the Bray ministry to introduce both measures.

As it happened, it was left to another ministry to carry the programme through, for immediately after the election of 1884 the Bray Government was soundly defeated and the Colton ministry took office. Yet this change made no difference to the direction of policy. The politics of the 1880's were far different from those of the preceding decades. The increase in the size of Parliament had some stabilizing effect because majorities tended to be larger and therefore less easily dislodged. But the main difference lay in the attitude of members. In April 1886, for instance, G.C. Hawker (who had taken a leading part in the making and breaking of so many Governments) wrote to his son saying that he could not understand why a group of members were trying to upset the existing Government. "They certainly are very incapable and weak, particularly Newland and Spence," he wrote, but then added that it must

56. For no-confidence debate see SAPD 10 June 1884 col. 30 et. seq.
be borne in mind that they had a terrible state of affairs to contend with. Hence, he concluded he would not help to turn them out unless they did something deserving that fate. The contrast between the many political manoeuvres that preceded the passing of Strangways Act and the unanimity of the Legislature in the passing of the 1884 Act authorizing the leasing of lands (a break from tradition equally as great as Strangways Act) is most evident.

Although the colony did not reach the depths of depression until 1886, the signs of the gathering gloom were evident in 1883 and 1884. Coles introduced the legislation of 1884 with the prophesy that "wheat will not be produced in this colony in the course of a few years at a profit, at all events for export." In the light of this, the Legislature put measures before men. This was true also of the income tax Act, which was known to be distasteful to the general public.

The only real opposition to the proposal for leasing the northern lands came from John Baker in the Legislative Council, who claimed that leasehold required "a nation of slaves", citing Ireland as an example of this. The Bill failed only because the Council demanded that holders of selections under substituted residence

57. G.C. Hawker to E.W. Hawker 29 Apr. 1886.
58. For the easy passage of the legislation see SAPD 3 and 4 Sept. 1884 cols. 860 et seq.
59. SAPD 8 July 1884, col. 208.
60. Coghlan, op. cit., p. 1800.
61. SAPD 7 Nov. 1883, col. 1500.
conditions should be included. In 1884 the chief opponent of leasehold was to be found in the ministry. He told his colleagues:

"Perpetual leases I strongly object to, not so much from the fact that it is as certain as that sparks fly upwards, that after a time when the number of holders of such leases becomes large enough they will refuse to pay any more rent, as from the political demoralization which is engendered in the minds of the people by the raising up of a class who will eventually repudiate their contracts with the Government. I believe there are only 9,000 selectors amongst our electorates of some 50,000, yet see how powerful they are, and how they can force Ministries and Parliaments to pass measures for their benefit."

The ministry, however, continued to support the idea of leasehold. The farming community quickly demonstrated their approval of the step taken. Within a year of the passing of the Act more than 3,000 had surrendered their blocks so that they could receive them again under lease. The Crown Lands Department, the staff of which had been curtailed during the previous years, was hard pressed to perform the necessary work to fix adequately the rentals for the new leases. The minimum rent set by the Act was 2d. per acre, but in practice rents ranged from 3d to 6d. Although there were some complaints about these prices, there was no apparent dissatisfaction with the system of leasehold as such. The farmers in the north, if

63. CL0 922 of 16 May 1885.
64. The prices were recorded in the Credit Sales Books of the Lands Department (StackA). See also CL0 250 of Feb. 1885.
they had not been convinced already that leasehold was necessary for their survival, were now thoroughly convinced of the advantages of such tenure.

3. THE INTRODUCTION OF LAND BOARDS.

The second great change in the land laws of the 1880's was the introduction of Land Boards. These were soon seen to be a necessity if the leasing of Crown Lands was to be administered efficiently. The Department soon became aware that to determine rentals from the office in Adelaide was completely inadequate. Once again it was to Victoria that South Australia turned for example. The Victorian system of Land Boards was closely studied during 1886, leading to the introduction of Boards to deal with agricultural and grazing blocks (1886) and the South-East drainage lands (1887).

It is probable that the Playford ministry had agreed to establish permanent local Land Boards before the 1888 Land Commission recommended the adoption of such a policy. As with the introduction of leasehold, this departure from traditional policy was supported by a large majority in Parliament. Previously, opinion had been very much opposed to Land Boards. The 1879 Select Committee, for

65. CLO 1321 of 6 July 1887; 876, 884, and 937 of Mar. 1888.
66. CLO out-letter Book no. 498 of 1886.
instance, although advocating further enquiries about the Victorian system, did not recommend the establishment of Land Boards. In 1881 the House of Assembly decisively rejected a proposal for their establishment, and as late as 1884 the Colton ministry ignored petitions by farmers in support of Boards, even though Goyder declared himself to be in favour of their introduction. The workings of the South-Eastern Drainage Board, although not altogether satisfactory, were sufficiently successful to give momentum to the rapid swing in support of Boards. The extent of this swing of opinion can be gauged from the almost unanimous support of witnesses to the 1888 Land Commission. Not only farmers, but politicians and administrators were agreed upon the necessity for the change.

The catchcry of the time, in fact, was "classification of land, not laws." In the years following 1884 the Colton and Downer ministries had sought to simplify the land laws by bringing all legislation within the scope of one Consolidation Act. In 1886, for instance, there were 45 different Acts under which people could hold land, resulting in tremendous confusion in the farming community. As many would not, or did not, read the form of agreement by which they held land, few knew for certain the conditions they

72. CLO 1351, 1355, 1366 and 1439 of July 1884. For Goyder's comments see CLO 1355 of 16 July, 1884.
73. SAPD 30 Oct. 1888, col. 1535.
74. SAPD 17 July 1888, col. 287.
75. SAPD 31 Aug. 1886, col. 883.
The Consolidation Act of 1886 was designed to overcome this situation. Certainly it simplified administrative procedure to some degree, but the question of determining fair rentals remained the same. When the members of the 1888 Land Commission travelled extensively over the farming areas of the colony, they realized for the first time that what many farmers had been saying for years was in fact true; namely, that land in South Australia varied tremendously from locality to locality. No legislation, however honestly and purposefully devised, and no administration centred in Adelaide, however efficient and enlightened, could deal adequately with such diversity. Only men with local knowledge, only men vested with discretionary powers to deal with exceptional cases, only men with sufficient time to examine prospective land-holders to ascertain their capabilities and chances of success - in short, only local Land Boards could cope. This was the unmistakeable verdict of the 1888 Commission.

The Legislation of 1888, then, should be viewed as the culmination of a search for a more adequate means of administering the lands which had been leased to farmers by the Crown. Even the most ardent advocates did not see this measure as the panacea for all ills. The farming community of the fringe lands (for it was these lands which were involved, the land in the prosperous Mid-North being now private property) could not be rescued finally

76. SAPD 17 July 1888, col. 381, and 20 Nov. 1888 cols. 1767-8.
77. SAPD 24 July 1888, col. 459.
without the adoption of new techniques of farming and/or a recovery in world prices and markets. These were outside the reach of Government action (apart from the encouragement given by the establishment of the Roseworthy Agricultural College), but in its own field the State had grappled its way to a new relationship with the farmers and to a new era of administration.

The 1888 legislation made radical changes in three other directions. Firstly, perpetual leasehold was allowed, where previously leases were terminable. Hence leasehold could now carry with it security equal to that of freehold. Secondly, if the farmer chose a lease with a right of purchase, the minimum purchase price he had to pay was only 5/- per acre. Apart from the Special Surveys in the first few years of the colony's life, the price of land had never been allowed to fall below 20/- per acre. That figure - artificial compromise though it was - had withstood the attacks of decades, being defended by land dealers, Wakefieldian supporters and traditionalists. Now, having admitted that they had grossly over-estimated the capabilities of the northern lands, members had no valid arguments to withstand a lowering of the minimum price. In fact it was the Legislative Council - the bulwark against any

78. 51 & 52 Vic. 444, part 2, clause 25. Perpetual leases were first introduced in 1886 in connection with Working Men's Blocks, a scheme (proposed by C.W. Colton) designed to give workers small blocks in suburban areas by which they could supplement their income.

79. 51 & 52 Vic. 444, clauses 24 and 48.

80. Pike, Paradise of Dissent, op. cit. pp. 69, 80-1, 120.

former effort to dislodge the almost-sacred 20/- which insisted that the new minimum be 5/- and not 10/- as suggested by the House of Assembly. The actual price to be paid was to be fixed by the various Land Boards. In the third place, conditions of residence and cultivation were abolished. As Commissioner Coles stated, the new requirements were only "pay your rent and taxes, and do what you like with the land," although he should have added that lessees were required to keep the land free of vermin and to maintain all improvements in good order. With the demand for land at a standstill, and the likelihood of trafficking in land greatly lessened because of leasehold tenure, insistence upon the "bona fides" of applicants (that phrase which recurred so often in the debates on Strangways and subsequent Acts) was nonsensical. The act sought not so much to fence out the occasional trafficker but to aid the many settlers.

The Boards were quickly appointed, there being five in all - The Central, Northern, Yorke Peninsula, Western and South-Eastern. The Surveyor-General (Goyder) or his Deputy (Strawbridge) were appointed chairman, but at least three of the five members were required to be local residents who were not civil servants. Although the Commissioner of Crown Lands soon felt the need for greater

82. SAPD 21 Nov. 1888, cols. 1803-5.
84. 51 & 52 Vic. 444, part 2, clause 29.
85. Ibid, clause 13.
co-ordination between the various Boards, they independently arrived at a similar basis for their work. This was no doubt due to the dominance of Goyder. All Boards resisted local pressure to cut up large sheep stations in such a way as to grant the pastoralist too little land for the size of the improvements at the head station. All tried to encourage farmers to apply for perpetual leases rather than leases with a right of purchase, and they were agreed, too, that rentals should be fixed at a level to ensure continued occupation.

The Northern Land Board, for instance, reported;

"The Board..., considering that the value of the land is determined by what can be made from it, has fixed the rents as nearly as possible in accordance with its carrying capacity, but recommending proportionately higher rates where the land is suitable for agriculture."

In broad policy, then, there was general agreement, but in details there were considerable differences. One Board placed great reliance upon information given by settlers, while another considered that such information was often unreliable. After several months' work, the Yorke Peninsula Land Board revised the purchase prices which they had set earlier, considerable lowering their previous figures. The minutes of the same Board reveal decided differences of opinion between members about the level of rentals. But their

86. Yorke Peninsula Land Board, Minutes 9 Aug. 1889 (S.A.A. 1266) and SAPP 1889 No. 78, Correspondence with and instructions to Land Boards.
87. CLO 1024 of 28 Mar. 1889 and 1678 of 13 May 1889.
88. CLO 1024 of 1889 "The Board deemed it advisable to err on the side of excess of value (of purchase price) to in some measure prevent the monopoly by capitalist and to induce people to apply for perpetual leases."
89. Ibid.
90. CLO 1678 of 13 May 1889.
91. CLO 1024 and 1678 of 1889.
work was thorough. They interviewed existing holders concerning previous farming experience and their financial resources and they thoroughly inspected the land. There were few complaints and such as were received were directed against the purchase prices and not against the rentals.

New administrative machinery did not mean that prosperity returned to the farmers. In this initial stage the Boards were limited to fixing rentals for those who held land already. Questions of adequate farm size and the suitability of the applicant for farming (both matters which the Boards later investigated when new land was being sought) were not considered at this stage. But, institutionally the colony was prepared for the advance into the Pinnaroo and West Coast lands which was to take place shortly after the turn of the century. It was possible to control that settlement in a way in which the interests of both State and settler were preserved.

On the other hand, it should not be forgotten that the previous lack of suitable controls had left its mark. Apart from the compulsory repurchase of large estates, the State played little part in the gradual readjustment of land holdings, which was achieved by sale and re-sale. The general outline of land ownership and land use had been determined in the thirty years before 1890. Large pastoral estates, numerous small agricultural farms and a band of medium-sized mixed farms in the fringe areas combined to form the patchwork of land settlement.

94. Ibid 8 Jan. 1890 et seq; 1891 Pastoral Lands Commission, questions 3834-3843, 4152.
95. CLO 2243 of 11 July 1889.
Chapter 10.

TOWARDS A NEW PASTORAL POLICY 1869-1890.
CHAPTER 10

TOWARDS A NEW PASTORAL POLICY, 1869-1890.

At the end of the 1860's, as we have seen in Chapter 6, Parliament liberalized the laws controlling pastoral settlement in the interior. Members had recognized not only the diversity of the land but also the great difference in kind between the land in the higher rainfall areas and the arid interior. Evidence of this changed attitude was given in 1869 when Parliament, at the request of the lessees concerned, granted a further extension of tenure to many of the leases which had been involved in the dispute over Goyder's valuations. The poor state of the pastoral industry prompted the granting of these concessions, and it seemed that the stage was set for a continuation of a liberal policy.

The situation, however changed abruptly. One pastoralist claimed of the 1870's and 1880's; "If the history of pastoral occupation were written, it would be a history of disaster." It was certainly true that the industry went through difficult times. In the first place, the pastoralists in many instances were forced off their former runs through the rapid advance of the farmers, as discussed in Chapter 8. Every pastoral lease in South Australia included the provision that the State held the right to resume the land (after due notice had been given) whenever it was required for sale, and so the pastoralists were compelled to retire unless they circumvented the law through

the successful use of "dummies" or "substituted residence" conditions. Apart from some hilly country, rough land and barren patches the land in the Mid-North and Upper-North was sold during the 'seventies and 'eighties to farmers. This caused a tremendous dislocation of the pastoral industry. Then, secondly, on the whole the market was not favourable, and during the 'eighties the position was made worse by a succession of poor seasons. Large profits were the exception rather than the rule. And finally, the pastoralists in the main did not receive sympathetic treatment from Parliament. The saner approach of the late 1860's was lost sight of in the following decade. The pastoralists were given scant respect for they stood in the way of the all-conquering agriculturalist, the current symbol of progress and prosperity. When they compared their treatment with that accorded to the farmers, the pastoralists felt very much aggrieved.

As the difficulties multiplied for the pastoralists, and as the misfortunes of the farmers caused a reassessment of their position, a more liberal policy was adopted by the Legislature in dealing with the pastoral lessees. At first only minor changes were agreed to, but when these were added to year by year the net result was a considerable liberalization of the terms of tenure. The two most important reforms were, firstly, the abolition of government payment for improvements in favour of private sale by the out-going to the incoming lessee, and secondly, the establishment of a permanent Pastoral Board. As in the agricultural industry, so in the pastoral the 1880's witnessed new methods of administration, methods that
were more in keeping with the realities of the situation than those previously in vogue.

1. EXTENSION OF TENURE.

The decade of the 1870's dawned with the pastoralists anticipating that they would receive fair and sympathetic treatment by the Legislature. In 1869 many of the leases in the more fertile areas of the Mid-North received extension of tenure, a concession which they had been refused outright at the time of Goyder's valuations in 1864-5. Again this liberal attitude was prompted by the lack of prosperity in the pastoral industry, for seasons had been inauspicious, prices had been low and the market for sheep had slumped so badly that boiling-down became a common expedient. This crisis brought concessions.

The leases concerned - those within Goyder's Line which had been renewed in 1865 under Goyder's valuations - had not been included in the concessions of 1866 and 1867 which granted longer periods of tenure. The pastoralists in these parts had suffered a little from the drought but not to any great extent. Thus these leases were due to expire in 1870. Unwilling to run the gauntlet of public auction, with its uncertainty of result and likelihood of high prices, the lessees appealed to Parliament for an extension of tenure for fourteen years, at a valuation to be fixed by the Government. In this appeal they were strongly supported by the business community of

2. See above, Chapter 6.
Adelaide, who depended so much upon the trade of the colony's primary industries.

At first sight the chances of success seemed to be weighted heavily against them. These were the pastoral leases which had stood at the centre of the agitation over the valuations of 1864-5 and at that time it had been reiterated both in Parliament and in private that there was to be no further continuation of the monopoly of these wealthy pastoralists. The view that they occupied the "people's grass" still persisted. Yet it was Cavenagh, a resolute opponent of the concessions of the previous years who introduced a Bill into the House in November 1869 which acceded to the pastoralists' request. His argument was three-fold. The previous dry seasons had brought ruin to a significant number of pastoralists, some of whom had been regarded as extremely wealthy and prosperous. The idea that squatting was a rich man's business had thus been destroyed. Secondly, the continued low wool prices gave little hope for a renewal of prosperity. Finally, the absence of enmity towards the squatters made relief politically possible. Perhaps the advent to office brought Cavenagh more wisdom, but more likely it was the unmistakeable pessimism of the sheep farmers which led him to change from his previous opposition. The financial ruin and subsequent death (resulting, it was claimed, from the shock of his changed

3. See SAPP 1868-9 No. 65 and SAPP 1869-70 Nos. 46 and 49 for three such petitions.
4. Border Watch 5 Feb. 1868, p.2. "We would like to see room made for people as well as sheep."
5. SAPD 25 Nov. 1869, col. 977.
fortunes) of well-known identity John Hallett had made a heavy impact upon the community of Adelaide. Evidence of the pastoralists' concern at the continued low prices was seen in the numerous meat-preserving and boiling-down works which sprang up at the time. The Directors of the Adelaide Meat Preserving Company formed in January 1869 included the pastoralists A.B. Murray, R.B. Smith, H. Scott, Thos. Giles, H.S. Price and W.L. Marchant, while H.B. Hughes erected his own works at Booyoolie. Other meat-preserving factories were built at Robe, Streaky Bay and Blanchetown. Boiling down works, non-existent in 1865, increased from six to thirteen during 1869. Elder Smith & Co. informed one of its clients near Port Lincoln that boiling down was the only outlet for sheep and that they had arranged to "get rid of" up to 100,000 sheep in that way. Sheep at Bungaree, renowned for their high quality fleeces, were dealt with similarly.

Parliament was unanimous on the need for concessions, although, as always, there were differences about the method to be employed. Amendments to the Government's proposal were introduced, but all liberalized the provisions. The terms of the renewed leases were increased from seven and ten years to ten and fourteen years, more in keeping with the pastoralists' request. Members recognized that the longer the leases the greater the ability of pastoralists to borrow capital on the security of the lease. It is interesting

8. Register 2 Feb. 1869, p.5.
10. Elder Smith & Co. to James Sinclair 18 May 1868 (S.A.A. Don. 2765)
that, in spite of the furore about Goyder's valuations of 1865, the pastoralists suggested that the leases should be valued again, even though it was obvious that the Surveyor-General would be responsible for the task. One pastoralist referred to the time when "Goyder was king", but declared that now "he was only a subordinate officer in the Crown Lands Department." Evidently the pastoralists felt that Goyder had learnt his lesson. The valuation decided upon by Goyder, in fact, created no dissatisfaction, and the great majority of pastoralists accepted the renewed lease at his figure. The leases which were not retaken were so unattractive that the Government found difficulty in selling them at auction, even at reduced prices. With the pastoral market almost at rockbottom, renewal was secured on favourable terms.

2. RESUMPTION AND RETREAT.

The situation changed abruptly when the agricultural advance began in earnest in 1871. This rapid expansion of settlement has been discussed earlier in Chapter 8. We need only reiterate that within ten years the farmers advanced about 200 miles to the north, taking up most of the fertile land which had been basis for the pastoral industry.

14. See Goyder's report in CLO 615 of 1 July 1870, in which he stated that the low prices of wool and the low value of livestock had formed the basis for his calculations.
The pastoralists had no means of stopping their stations being surveyed and sold. Some used delaying tactics but these only incensed both the selectors and the Department of Crown Lands, and in the end did hurt to themselves because they lost any sympathy they might otherwise have received. In Parliament, too, they were powerless because they no longer held the balance of power. The pastoral members had to sit by and see the pastoral industry being disrupted. As pastoral lands were resumed the only policy was retreat.

Parliament's attitude to the needs of the agriculturalist during the 'seventies has already been discussed, but for convenience it is summarized here. Wherever land was required for sale the pastoralist was forced to withdraw, irrespective of private hardships which might accrue thereby. As the demand for land increased, most parts of each Hundred were offered for sale, rendering continued occupation of unsold lands under annual leases very problematical. This necessitated hasty removal of the pastoralists' flocks. Thus at the beginning of the 'seventies pastoralists whose lands were resumed were only able to attempt to purchase the freehold of their properties or else to employ delaying tactics. Although the Crown Lands Department was very wary about large-scale purchases, some were able to buy security at the high price of £1 per acre. The

16. See above, Chapter 8.
Department tried to prevent delaying tactics, but where obvious hardship could be mitigated by a slight relaxation of the Regulations, the pastoralists' requests were acceded to. This applied especially to requests for permission to shear before removing the sheep. But after 1872, as the pastoralists were unable legally to purchase any land for grazing purposes, it was impossible for leasehold tenure to be transformed into freehold. The pastoralist must retire...unless he was willing and able to circumvent the law by the use of dummies or other means of deception. The small financial resources of many pastoralists, having not yet recovered from the severe drought of the 'sixties and from the low wool receipts, reduced the likelihood of illegal action and the vigilance of the inspectors of credit selections generally thwarted any such attempts that were made.

In this context annual leases and commonage rights became prominent issues. The policy of the Department was to allow the pastoralists to use the land until the time the farmers actually occupied their blocks. Then commonage was apportioned to the purchasers who applied for such rights, the remaining unsold lands being granted to the former lessee on a yearly tenure, terminable at three months' notice. Some of the pastoralists brought the wrath of the settlers

18. On one occasion a proposed boundary of a Hundred was altered to exclude land which, being hilly forest country, would not sell so that the pastoralist could have continued occupation. CLO 133 of 8 Feb. 1872.
and Department upon their heads by abusing these arrangements. During the last months of occupation an unscrupulous lessee, instead of gradually reducing his stock, would increase it to such an extent that the ground was denuded of grass. When the selector arrived with his few cows and horses, and perhaps a score or so of sheep, he found no feed. Otherwise, some lessees took advantage of the absence of Crown Lands Rangers to run their sheep upon lands set aside for commonage. If they were caught, there was always the defence that the sheep were travelling bona fide from one run to another. In fairness to the pastoralist, though, it should be pointed out that many selectors ran their stock on the lessees' land. In these tactics, however, the selectors were at a distinct disadvantage, for it was easier for the lessee to have the selectors' few animals driven to the nearest pound than for the selectors to do likewise with a flock of sheep. The misdemeanours of these pastoralists - and the practice was widespread - brought their own reward. From the mid-seventies the Crown Lands Department abruptly terminated leases and ordered stock to be removed well before the selectors arrived on the scene. In addition, legislation was passed in 1872 to provide the Rangers with greater powers so that convictions could be obtained, and in 1877 the fines imposed for trespass were greatly increased. These moves greatly alarmed the pastoralists who were already complaining that they were being unjustly treated.

20. CLO 886 of 3 July 1876.
As the agricultural expansion gathered pace, especially after 1874 when all instead of part of the lands within each Hundred was offered for sale, delaying tactics were almost useless. A frontal attack upon the policy of resumption was the only chance for survival for the pastoralists. They claimed that a revision of the existing policy was imperative because the sweeping away of Goyder's Line as a boundary of settlement had radically altered the whole situation. Previously those who had held leases within the Line had been aware that at some time or other the farming community would require their land and so they had reduced to a minimum expenditure upon improvements which did not return immediate financial rewards. This, however, was not true of those who held leases beyond the Line. In faith that they would hold their runs for the full term (until 1881 or 1888) they had spent large sums on permanent improvements - fences, wells, reservoirs and homesteads - which had not been in use for very long when the leases were resumed. Some of these improvements were not paid for upon resumption, while in most cases, as resumption occurred during the second half of the term of lease, only half of their value was payable by the State to the lessee. Hence,

24. CLO 143 of 28 Jan. 1875. In this instance the date of resumption was 13 January 1875, being 14 days after the expiration of the first half of the term of the lease. These 14 days reduced payment for improvements by half. The Commissioner, Everard, admitted that this had been done deliberately, but added: "Had I adopted the contrary course and so enabled the lessees to recover the full value of their improvements, my conduct would have been fairly open to comment, although, had I wished to do so, a precedent could have been found." See also CLO 2099 of 17 Dec, 1877 where Davenport and Morphett claim that improvements which cost them £6,852 were valued by the Government at £3,739, of which the lessees received only £1,696.
it was claimed, resumption caused heavy financial loss. To make matters worse, the pastoralists stated, large tracts of this resumed land were not sold when offered at auction, and where land was sold the success of farming activities was very problematical. One industry was being ruined without the substitution of any other profitable industry.

When these complaints reached the Commissioner of Crown Lands, he, as usual, sought the opinion of the Surveyor-General. Goyder began his report by justifying the actions of the Department, which had faithfully executed the instructions of Parliament. While the Legislature pursued its present policy, no other action towards the lessees could be contemplated. But, in concluding his report, Goyder clearly revealed his conviction that the policy of the Legislature was wrong. He reiterated his belief that farming to the North and North-East of Melrose would not be successful, an opinion which he claimed was based not on prejudice but upon an extensive experience of the country concerned. He concluded:

"I also concur as to the one-sidedness of the present land laws, which, whilst affording every facility for the farming population to settle upon the land, either by personal or substituted residence, prohibit the pastoral tenant from obtaining more than one square mile, irrespective of the nature of the soil, or extent of improvements made by him during his tenancy, and deprive him of the opportunity of continuing his occupation, even on a limited scale, and although the lands may apparently be only fit for pastoral purposes.

25. See the summary of the pastoralists' arguments in CLO 886 of 3 July 1876, printed in SAPP 1876 No.145, Correspondence concerning annual leases, p.1. About 800 sq. miles were resumed during 1875.

..."There can be no doubt that the losses entailed by the forced removal of stock at the present juncture - or what is worse still, in the middle of summer following the present drought, when the notices will expire and the lands be offered - will be realized, and that they are not over-estimated. Such loss must also seriously affect the price of meat, and if delay will prevent the farming population being induced not to settle upon lands not calculated for successful tillage, delay becomes not only desirable, but necessary .... Seeing that over one-half of the selectors who have completed the purchase of their selections from the passing of Strangways' Act to the end of 1875, have sold their land to others, the delay, whilst it supplies positive information as to the fitness or otherwise of the land for the growth of cereals, can be productive of but little evil compared with the good it will affect for the pastoral interest in the North, and general advantage to the community."

Goyder's views were acceptable to neither Government nor Parliament for their acceptance would have involved unpopular opposition to the insistent demands of farmers and political agitators. Instead, the rate of placing land in the market was maintained. Month after month the pastoralists were compelled to abandon leases which they had so carefully developed.

The pastoralists were not without representation in both Parliament and Cabinet. In the House of Assembly 13 of the 46 members were actively connected with the pastoral industry, while G.C. Hawker was a Cabinet member during most of the years 1876-1881, and Carr, Commissioner of Crown Lands for 16 months during 1876-1877, had held pastoral leases. Yet they were powerless to put a stop to the rapid destruction of the pastoral industry. Whereas in the 'sixties they, as a large party in the House, had been able to hold the balance of power and so win concessions, now they found the remainder of Parliament united in the policy of encouragement to the agriculturist. Rather than spend useless time and energy in opposing the
inevitable, the pastoral group were forced to accept the situation, 27
awaiting the time when further concessions could be sought.

Further large-scale resumptions in 1880 almost crippled the in-
dustry, for a large proportion of the runs which had been developed 28
through heavy expenditure were involved. On Pandappa, for instance,
fencing to the cost of nearly £16,000 had been completed only three
years previously, while the proprietors of Paratoo were in the midst
of spending £150,000 on reservoirs, wells, buildings and fences.

Soon after the resumptions were announced, however, land sales de-
clined rapidly and distress in the northernmost wheat districts in-
dicated that for some time hence these pastoral runs would not be re-
quired for closer settlement. The Commissioner, Playford, acted
swiftly by announcing that the Government would treat the lessees 30
as if the notices of resumption had never been served. It was this
action which caused some of the pastoralists to feel that once again
they might gain a favourable hearing from the ministry. But this
was small comfort when the events of the previous years were con-
sidered. Despite good rainfall and a partial recovery of wool prices,

27. This situation is quite clear from the absence of pressure upon
the Commissioner of Crown Lands during this period, and from the
attitude of the pastoral members of the House.

28. As the Crown Lands Consolidation Act of 1877 required that these
lessees be given three years' notice of resumption, the Commis-
sioner (and the Surveyor-General) had the most difficult task of
anticipating the demand for land during the next three or four
years. Cabinet actually reduced the estimate of Goyder. SAPD 24
Aug. 1881, col. 666 (Playford) and 11 July 1882, col. 302 (Hawker)


30. See the remarks of Goyder in SAPP 1890 No. 60, Report on Dis-
posal of Crown Lands in South Australia, p.18.
the upheaval which so many pastoralists suffered served to make the pastoral industry unattractive as a field for investment.

3. THE DEMAND FOR SUB-DIVISION OF THE FERTILE RUNS.

Two issues were important to the pastoral community at the beginning of the 1880's. On the one hand, the pastoralists in the fringe districts, whose leases were due to expire in 1888, sought a renewal of tenure. On the other, lessees of interior runs pressed for a reconsideration of their position, seeking the recognition that stock-raising on these lands was no easy business. Towards these goals the pastoralists pressed.

The pastoralists who held "the 1888 leases" (as they were commonly called) did not receive the favourable treatment for which they hoped. The popular demand for sub-division was so strong, and the pastoral members of the House were so divided among themselves that at their expiration these leases were sub-divided and sold at auction. At the same time the pastoralists felt aggrieved by the action of Parliament in passing the Interpretation Act of 1887, which, they claimed, deprived them of thousands of pounds due to them by the State for improvements. Although their claims were not justified (for the Act in fact only clarified the existing legal position and did not alter it) yet again it was apparent that Parliament had little sympathy towards the pastoralists.

The "1888 leases" included about 30,000 sq. miles of pastoral land in the districts fringing the agricultural lands. Pastoralists
had taken up this land during the boom period of the late 'fifties and early 'sixties, and, after several years of experimenting and testing, they were beginning to develop the leases when the great drought of the second half of the 'sixties overtook them. When the drought ended many of the original holders had retired, leaving pastoralists like Elder, Waite, Smith and Swan in possession of large runs, which had been partially developed. For these properties the 'seventies were favourable years. Although the recovery of wool prices in 1871 was not maintained, prices remained higher than pastoralists had dared to expect at the end of the previous decade. Good seasons returned. Rains were abundant until September 1875, and even after that, apart from 1876, the dry spells were not prolonged. Aided by heavier fleeces, resulting from improved breeds and the introduction of large-scale fencing, wool production rose rapidly. Prosperity, in fact, had returned.

This improved financial situation, coupled with the aggressive spirit of a section of the farming community, reproduced the almost irrational antagonism to the "inner" pastoralists which characterized the mid-'sixties. Copley, one of the leaders of the South Australian Farmers Association, demanded that farmers should be considered in connection with these pastoral leases, "for there were scores of young men growing up who were specially capable of going into the grazing industry, but unless there was a sub-division to enable men

of small means to occupy the land there would not be any scope for
33 them." This idea was enthusiastically taken up by the vast majori-
ty of witnesses to the 1879 Select Committee on the Crown Lands Acts,
so much so that the members of the committee firmly recommended the
34 adoption of such a proposal. The policy appealed to Parliament, as
it offered one means for increasing the Revenue. The State must make
35 a good bargain, was the cry, and under its influence any other method
of disposal except by public auction was unthinkable. Hence, from
36 1878 onwards Parliament pledged itself to honour "the ancient and
definite understanding that the land comprised in these leases should
37 be cut up when the present leases expire."

This issue split the pastoralists in the House. Each preferred
to follow the dictates of his own reasoning rather than maintain
some sort of common front, which was imperative if the needs of the
pastoral industry were to receive adequate recognition. Some were
interested only in the more fertile areas on the fringe of settle-
ment while others pressed for the requirements of the inner lessees,
as if one was in antagonism to the other. The Bray Government,
aware of this, sought support in 1882 for a more liberal policy to-
wards the 1888 leases by offering better terms to the lessees of the

33. SAPD 2 Sept. 1884, cols. 851-852. See also CLO 1774 of 8 Sept.
1884 where the S.A.F.A. stated its policy.
35. SAPD 17 Oct. 1882, col. 1274 (Colton) and 5 July 1883, col. 391
(Rounsevell)
36. SAPD 24 Oct. 1878, cols. 1356-1358 and 41 & 42 Vic. 123 of 1878,
part 3.
37. Register 20 Oct. 1884, quoted in Roberts, Australian Land Settle-
ment, op. cit., p.261.
interior. This bid failed when half of the pastoralists in the House either absented themselves during vital divisions or voted against the Government. In the following session the Government tried the same tactics, this time suggesting that only one-third of the 1888 leases should be sub-divided "as an experiment" with the remainder being granted extension of tenure. The support from the pastoralists was even less than before, so much so that when it was moved that consideration be deferred until after the next general election, not one of them voted to continue the debate.

Opinion during the 1883 election campaign decisively favoured cutting up all the 1888 leases, so that when the House reassembled the Bray Government fell immediately. All but one of the pastoralists voted against the Government which had tried to aid them, and in fact Hawker took a leading part in the opposition's moves. Whether or not they expected a better deal from the new Ministry it is difficult to say, but the Colton Government soon made it clear that they would carry out the public's wishes in cutting up the leases. The Pastoral Crown Lands Amendment Act of 1884 declared that all of the leases which were to expire should be offered at public auction in blocks "most suitable for securing the stocking and development of the country and the utilization of the improvements thereon." Even

39. SAPD 3 and 5 July and 23 Oct. 1883; Register 4 July 1883, p.4.
40. SAPD 12 June 1884, col. 104.
41. V. & P. (H.A.) 12 June 1884. Six pastoralists voted against the Bray Government, one for it and five were absent. See also E.W. Hawker, Diary, 14 June 1884 (S.A.A. Don.2617) and G.C. Hawker to E.W. Hawker 29 Apr. 1886.
42. 47 & 48 Vic. 321, clause 7. For debates see SAPD 21 and 28 Aug., 2, 23 and 30 Sept. and 2, 7 and 9 Oct. 1884.
though the pastoralists had increased their numbers slightly at the elections, they were so divided amongst themselves on this issue, and the supporters of sub-division were so united, that they had no chance of influencing policy. The pastoralists in the Legislative Council, realizing this, allowed the Bill to pass through Committee without any major amendment. In so far as the pastoralists had shown any fight, they had well and truly lost.

In one respect the 1884 Act represented a radical departure from the accepted path, a change which was to have widespread repercussions. The manner of sub-division was entrusted to a Board who were responsible to the Commissioner, and, in the case of disagreement between the two, to Parliament. A Board had never before been suggested for the settlement of pastoral affairs, and when such an arrangement had been mooted for the disposal of agricultural land, the majority in Parliament had resisted strenuously. There was general suspicion about the anonymous responsibility and dictatorial manners which seemed to have characterized other Boards in South Australia, especially Boards dealing with educational lands. A pastoralist, Simpson Newland, was the first to suggest that a Board be established, and he received public support when the South Australian Association met to discuss the Bill. The Government opposed the idea, Playford claiming that the most competent persons to subdivide the runs were the Surveyor-General and his staff. Support for the establishment of a Board, though, was sufficient to cause

43. SAPD 23 Oct. 1884, cols. 1415-1419.
44. SAPD 12 Oct. 1881, cols. 1069-1071.
45. SAPD 28 Aug. 1884, col. 814.
46. CLO 1773 of 16 Sept. 1884.
the Government to agree to the compromise that it be only a Board of advice, with no power of decision.

The Government appointed a very competent Board. Charles R. Goode, a stockowner with land near Saddleworth and a prominent figure in the pastoral community, was appointed chairman. John Miller, a farmer and grazier and a leader in the South Australian Farmers Association, and Walter Reynell, sheep farmer and a director of Elder's Wool and Produce Company, acted with Goode until Reynell resigned. Then Christopher Bagot, a qualified surveyor and joint owner of the Peake station in the Far North, was appointed in his stead. The Government at no stage dictated principles of work, nor did it hinder the labours of the Board. It was given a free hand. Before beginning the long task of inspection and sub-division, they set out the principles upon which they intended to work.

"Firstly - Rainfall and carrying capacity, utilizing as far as possible existing fences and improvements.
Secondly - Permanent waters.
Thirdly - Possibility of obtaining water by wells or dams.
Fourthly - Means of transit and proximity to market.
Fifthly - Taking care that no useless piece of country shall be put in a block by itself.
Sixthly - Minimum carrying capacity of any blocks, 1500 sheep; maximum number 15,000."

47. SAPD 23 Sept. 1884, cols. 1087-1093.
49. Observer 6 May 1899, p.15; Pascoe, Adelaide and Vicinity, op.cit., p. 359. Miller was regarded as the representative of the farmers on the Board.
51. CL0 1709 of 27 Aug. 1885. Reynell preferred to give no reason for his resignation, but inferred that he had disagreed with the decision to require permanent water on each block.
53. 1891 Pastoral Lands Commission, questions 4879-4880, evidence of John Miller.
54. SAPP 1885 No. 104B, Principles guiding Pastoral Board in sub-division of land.
In addition, the progress reports of the Board indicated a further principle, namely, that each block should enable the lessee to obtain an independent livelihood. Although it is uncertain upon what basis the members of the Board calculated independence it is probable that they were thinking in terms of production and costs. Realizing that sub-division of the leases could not be achieved satisfactorily apart from consideration of the rentals to be paid, the Board suggested to the Commissioner of Crown Lands that the blocks should not be auctioned, but be offered at a valuation to suitable applicants. The suggestion, which was in fact beyond the scope of the Board's commission, was rejected summarily, and the Board had to complete their task in a fashion which they knew to be unsatisfactory. When the Government published the prices at which it was intended bidding should begin, Miller complained again to the Commissioner, stating that such high prices could only bring ruin. In spite of Goyder's agreement with this criticism, the Commissioner refused to alter his decision.

Once the policy of sub-division was adopted and the Board appointed, the pastoralists seemed to have realized that further opposition to the policy was useless. The more unscrupulous of the

55. SAPP 1885 No. 104A, Second Progress Report of Pastoral Board, October 31st. 1885.
56. See David Penny, 'The Living Area: the origin of the concept and its importance', (mss., Paper delivered to A.N.Z.A.A.S. and seen by the courtesy of the author) pp.2, 3 and 6 for a discussion of the early faltering attempts to provide an adequate living area.
57. 1891 Pastoral Lands Commission, question 4886, evidence of Miller; SAPP 1888 No. 56, Final Report of Pastoral Board.
58. CLO 784 of 22 Apr. 1887.
59. CLO 1363a of 18 July 1887.
lessees tried to reduce competition and rents by deliberately allowing the runs to deteriorate during the last years of tenure, and in so doing largely increased the rabbit menace. But this was only rear-guard action and it did not change the fact that Parliament was determined to change the pattern of pastoral settlement to the detriment of the present holders of leases.

At the same time, in 1887, there was another sharp clash between pastoralists and Parliament over the payment for improvements made on the leases. For years some of the pastoralists had contended that they should be compensated for unsuccessful attempts to find water. Now they renewed their plea, using as their key argument the claim that search for water, though unsuccessful, still enhanced the value of the land. The ministry swiftly saw that these pastoralists held a different interpretation of the meaning of "value of improvements" from that of the officers of the Crown. The pastoralists, in fact, were firmly convinced that the "value of improvements" meant not only their cost but also the enhanced value which the improvements gave to the land. To prevent any ambiguity Parliament passed the Crown Lands Interpretation Act of 1887. The Act stated that the word "value" in the Acts of 1867 and 1869-70 "was intended to mean and means in regard to any

61. For some correspondence in this dispute see SAPP 1887 No. 124, Correspondence re basis of valuation of 1888 leases, especially p.3.
62. 50 & 51 Vic. 422.
63. Cf. Goyder's suggestion that value should be determined by replacement cost and not depreciated original cost. With prices of material falling, most agreed that depreciated original cost favoured the pastoralists. CLO 1422 of 26 July 1887 and 1892 Commission, Valuation of Pastoral Improvements, question 1238.
"particular well, dam, tank or reservoir, the actual cost of sinking, making, constructing, enlarging, deepening and improving the same, but not of repairs and cleaning, less a fair deduction for wear and tear and depreciation since such well, dam, tank or reservoir was sunk, made or constructed."

The Act added that "value" did not include expenditure incurred in prospecting for water, or sinking wells that were not permanent and useful. To Parliament the Act merely clarified the existing law: to the pastoralists the Act radically changed their rights to compensation. Witness after witness to the 1891 Pastoral Lands Commission instanced the Interpretation Act of 1887 as the chief cause of the pastoralists' distrust of Parliament. Some threatened legal proceedings, others implored the Commissioner to change the policy, but all was to no avail. Once again the pastoral community was powerless before Parliament.

As the time for the sale of the 1888 leases approached, it appeared that the 1887 Act might have severe repercussions. The Banks, having previously advanced money according to the pastoralists' understanding of the word "value", were now loath to offer credit on any pastoral lease. Would-be purchasers, nevertheless, found alternative means of finance, and competition for the leases was exceedingly keen. The former lessees showed their appreciation of the worth of these pastoral lands by being prepared to outbid all other competitors, so that when the sales had been completed

---

64. 1891 Pastoral Lands Commission, questions 1031-2, 1167-1170, 1677.
65. CLO 1422 of 26 July 1887 and 1912 of Sept. 1887.
the leases generally remained in the same hands as before. The in-
tention of the Government and the people, namely that small-holders
should occupy the fringe areas, was defeated, chiefly because of the
operation of the auction system. This fact was widely recognized
and proved to be one of the nails in the coffin of the system of
auctioning pastoral leases.

The other important factor about the sales, which also hastened
the end of auction, was the prices bid for the leases. The Govern-
ment had anticipated an average price of 25/- per square mile, al-
most a five-fold increase upon the rents paid by the previous
lessees, but the actual average prices realized at the three sales
were 38/-, 66/6, and 24/7, or a total average of 40/-.

The fears of the Pastoral Board and of Goyder that profits
could not be made if high rents were charged were borne out. Gradu-
ally leases were abandoned, and by 1891 it was widely recognized
that the 1888 auction sales had been a dismal failure. The policy

67. Ibid, p.308; 1891 Pastoral Lands Commission, questions 4884-
4885; Miscellaneous Plan Book No. 1, p. 93 (the property of
the Mutooroo Pastoral Company and seen through the kind per-
mission of Mr. T.E. Barr Smith). This shows notes made by P.
Waite on the plan of blocks offered in the Manna Hill area.
The blocks were bought by either Elder and Waite or by J.J.
Duncan, with two others purchasing one block each.
68. 1891 Pastoral Lands Commission, paragraph 16 (2) for recommend-
ation to abolish auction.
69. SAPD 1889 col. 1025; 1891 Pastoral Lands Commission, questions
3816–3817, evidence of Strawbridge, Deputy Surveyor-General.
70. Ibid, p.88, letter from Meldrum, manager of Bank of South
Australia, and questions 559–564, evidence of E.M. Smith, Chief
Clerk of the Lands Office; SAPP 1896 No. 115, Particulars re
pastoral leases abandoned since 1888; Roberts, Australian Land
of seeking to maximize rents for the benefit of the State's coffers and of taking repressive action against pastoral lessees who had accumulated extensive holdings had been shown to be devoid of value. Again, under crisis, Parliament took stock of the realities of the situation and gradually adopted a more sympathetic approach to the pastoralists.

4. TOWARDS A LIBERAL POLICY.

Although it has been argued that generally Parliament gave little attention to the needs of the pastoralists during the 1870's and 1880's, it should be noted that even during that period some concessions were granted - in the length of tenure, payment for certain improvements and in the provision of permanent water supplies in the interior. These aspects are examined here. It was at the end of the 1880's, and particularly at the beginning of the 1890's, however, that real progress was made. The first significant change was the abolition of the old system of State ownership of improvements in favour of the incoming lessees paying the outgoing. Then a permanent Pastoral Board was appointed to parallel development in the agricultural field. These developments came to fruition in 1893 (a time which is slightly beyond the scope of this work) so they are here only quickly examined. Parliament, in 1890, had not yet arrived at a truly liberal policy based on an understanding of the needs of the industry and of the diversity of the land, but it was certainly moving towards such a liberal policy.

It has been mentioned earlier that the attitude of the various
Governments to the occupation of the interior was influenced considerably by their policy towards the inner pastoral lands. On occasions this country was used as a pawn in the game of securing a majority of votes on other issues. Even when the needs of the interior were examined on their own account, attitudes towards the inner lessees tended to be transferred to those who were genuinely seeking to open the dry lands in the North, East and West. Above all, however, Parliament's approach to the whole problem was conditioned very much by ignorance. It is doubtful whether more than three or four in the House had travelled into the country, the settlement of which they were trying to encourage. But, it needs to be said that their task was often an unenviable one. The enormous costs involved in procuring water, forming station assets and bringing in supplies, the low level of stock and wool prices and the competition of stations in New South Wales and Queensland as fields for investment, all rendered stock-running in these parts a most unattractive proposition for all but the wealthy capitalist or the incurable optimist. The general barrenness of South Australia's policy towards the interior lands was partly a result of unconcern, partly of ignorance and partly of bewilderment.

The pastoralist did not share this unconcern, at least for himself, nor this ignorance, although his knowledge of the country and

71. S. Newland, The Far North Country, p.29. Newland claimed that only two or three members of Parliament had ventured to the North. He was the only one of those investigating the possible extension of the trans-continental railway who was prepared to go beyond the Peake. Ibid, p.6.

72. See above, Chapter 3 and 1892 Commission, Valuations of Pastoral Improvements, questions 3136-3142.
techniques was by no means complete, but he did share the bewilderment. The pastoralists in Parliament strongly criticised their fellow legislators' lack of success in promoting settlement, but few of them were agreed upon the remedy. Some claimed that "fixity of tenure" was the greatest need, others seemed to suggest that a guarantee against financial loss through Government action was needed, others sought for more adequate notice before resumption took place while others again considered that the Government should never alter the terms of lease during its tenure. Parliament refused to consider the possibility of fixity of tenure while some seriously asked whether it was not possible that the country improved the further one went North, nor would Parliament admit that it had ever changed the terms of a lease. The other two requests, however, were gradually acceded to during the 1870's and 1880's. Greater notice of resumption was granted in 1877 at the almost unanimous wish of the House, three years' notice being granted before resumption could take place. In the following year compensation for loss in the value of a lease was granted when resumption occurred during the first half of the term. In 1884, due to re-

74. SAPD 11 Sept. 1878, col. 926.  
75. SAPD 18 Sept. 1877, cols. 981-983; 40 & 41 Vic. 86, clause 64.  
76. 41 & 42 Vic. 123, clause 29. Loss in value was determined by current market prices of leases, without stock and improvements. SAPD 1 Aug. 1878, col. 555.
presentations of the pastoralists, this was extended to include resumptions at any time. As well as these concessions, the tenure of new leases was gradually increased, first to 21 years in 1877, to 28 years in 1878 and then to 35 years in 1884. In addition, the drive and foresight of Goyder was bringing about the provision of water supplies along inland stock routes. Perhaps prompted by the Government's refusal to consider his recommendation that the pastoralists be given some protection from the advancing agriculturalist, Goyder suggested means by which the interior could be developed.

During 1876 he advocated the systematic provision of wells or dams every twenty or so miles along all the major routes to the interior. A sum of £8,500 was placed on the Estimates for 1876-7, and although only a quarter of it was spent during the year, further grants enabled the works to be executed, at least in part. Several years later Goyder was authorized to purchase machinery for the development of the water resources of the interior, a sum of more than £250,000 was placed on the Loan Estimates for the "conservation of water" and "development of the interior" and a survey was conducted of the water resources available on the stations and of the future.

77. 1892 Commission, Valuations of Pastoral Improvements, questions 3142-3147. Coles claimed that the legislation of 1884 gave the pastoralists all that they had sought.
78. CL0 197 of 14 Feb. 1876 contains lengthy correspondence and Goyder's plan of wells needed.
79. By 1883 a little more than £55,000 had been spent, "though in a desultory way "on lands beyond theHundreds. SAPP 1883-4 No. 52, Water conservation and development, p.1.
80. CL0 697 and 1746 of 1882. Goyder purchased the equipment in England and the United States during 1881. This purchase was probably prompted by the success of P. Waite in securing water at Paratoo through the use of imported machinery. The Mutooroo Pastoral Company: after fifty years, op. cit., pp.12-13 and SAPD 5 Oct. 1882, col. 1137.
needs of the pastoralists. Finding the task of prosecuting these works beyond the capacity of the already over-taxed Survey Department, Goyder recommended some more permanent arrangement. In 1883 the Water Conservation Department, under the control of the former Deputy Surveyor-General, J.W. Jones, was created. Although the requirements of the new agricultural districts took the greater share of the from £50,000 to £70,000 allotted each year to the Department, the pastoral districts benefited considerably from its work. During the financial year 1887-8, for instance, 45 reservoirs or tanks were constructed and 62 wells were sunk or repaired along the various stock routes to the Musgrave, Everard, Barrier and Warburton Ranges, to the Diamantina River, Innamincka, the Mount Browne diggings, Coondambo, Yardea and Oldea. Progress was sufficient for the pastoralist Newland, generally critical of the Government's inaction in the North, to praise the work in 1887. In addition to these construction works, preparatory surveys of the interior were undertaken both by the Conservator of Water and the Government

---

82. SAPD 3 Oct. 1882, col. 1074. The lessees claimed the need for a further 551 wells and 341 tanks or dams, at an estimated cost of about £500,000.
83. SAPP 1883-4 No. 52, Water conservation and Development, pp.1, 2 and 7. Goyder recommended the creation of local Boards who could raise money by rates, assisted by grants from the Government.
85. SAPP 1887 No.11, Loan Estimates 1887-8, p.8. In the same period 106 reservoirs and 85 wells were completed within the Hundreds.
Geologist in efforts to locate likely boring places and also to determine the extent of artesian water supplies. Although this work barely began what needed to be accomplished, the Government at least had realized that the pastoralists could not open up the interior unaided.

This awareness was shown also in the definite incentives offered for the construction of necessary improvements by lessees. We cannot pass over Goyder's opinion that Parliament's policy in this field was "most liberal", for in spite of the views of some of the lessees the evidence clearly shows that he was right. When the pastoral leases were issued originally in 1851, one of the conditions was that at the completion of the 14 years' term all improvements effected by the lessee were to become the property of the Crown. When renewal of these leases were granted for a five year term in 1865, Parliament agreed to pay, at the termination of the renewed leases, for "any wells, dams and reservoirs" constructed during those five years which increased the carrying capacity of the land. This expedient was given permanence in 1867 when Parliament was forced to review their approach to the settlement of the dry interior lands. Although the recommendation of the Pastoral Commission of 1867 that all permanent wells secured by the lessees should

87. See reports in SAPP 1884 Nos. 35 and 102; 1885 Nos. 40 and 45; 1887 No. 98 and 1889 No. 24. Artesian supplies were first obtained in 1878-9 and ten years later four wells in the North were providing 2,500,000 gallons of water a day. H.J. Scott, South Australia in 1887, p. 57.


89. CLO 2907 of 1 Nov. 1864; Advertiser 17 Nov. 1864, p.3 (debates) 27 & 28 Vic. 22, clause 2.
be paid for was limited by the Legislature to the last seven years of the lease, the legislation of 1867 inaugurated a system which was liberalized gradually as the community became more and more aware of the absolute necessity for lessees to spend large sums on water improvements. The Consolidation Act of 1877 extended the benefits to reservoirs, tanks and dams in addition to wells, and abolished the limitations in time. Henceforth the lessee became entitled to payment for all substantial water improvements when the lease expired.

In this context, the complaints of some of the pastoralists about the Interpretation Act of 1887 were not justified, for, as Goyder pointed out,

"lands leased in 1851, with the condition that all improvements should be given up to the State at the end of the term, fourteen years, when the lands were to be relest by auction, were, until the end of 1888, when they expired by effluxion of time (as above stated), still in the hands of the same lessees or their assigns, ...when the lessees received...payment in full for water improvements and pro rata according to the date of resumption for other improvements, comprising a sum equal to about a third of the entire rentals paid to the Government during the period specified."

Leases more recently taken up contained even more favourable conditions as not only water improvements but all improvements which bona fide improved the carrying capacity of the lease were to be paid for at expiration. At first the Legislature had refused to consider payment for fencing or other improvements chiefly because

90. 1867 Commission on Runs suffering from drought, Report, paragraph 16 (f)
91. SAPD 1867, cols. 349-359; 31 Vic. 21, clause 17.
92. SAPP 1890 No. 60, Report on disposal of Crown Lands in South Australia, p.17.
they were of little use to the agriculturalist when the land was sold. However, in 1869 lessees in the interior were granted a rebate on rent for all blocks of not less than 25 sq. miles which were completely fenced. Despite Goyder's later opposition to this policy (which he claimed was unnecessary as lessees reaped the benefit of fencing in lower costs and higher yields) the rebate was continued. Then, in 1884, when it was obvious that the interior lands would remain for a long time in the hands of stock-owners, the argument about doubtful resale value of pastoral improvements became outmoded, and almost without debate Parliament agreed that fences, buildings and other bona fide improvements should be paid for by the Government at the expiration of the lease. This was a real victory for the pastoralists.

The position of the State then became somewhat artificial, for it acted merely as an intermediary between outgoing and incoming lessee, who were sometimes the same personage. As the incoming lessee did not pay for the improvements in a lump sum, paying for them in the form of rent over a period of up to 35 years, the State became involved in large payments which would not be recouped for years. In 1890 it was stated that existing improvements would involve a liability of about £2,500,000. Forced to use loan money to

---

93. The Boucaut ministry introduced a Fencing Bill in 1866, designed to encourage the fencing of pastoral runs, but it suffered defeat. Their successors thought it wise not to press the measure. CLO 2048 of 8 Aug. 1866 and 2210 of 1 Sept. 1866; SAPD 10 Jan. 1867, cols. 1486-1493; CLO 613 of 17 June 1867. 94. CLO 1289 of 8 Oct. 1875 and 1313 of 11 Sept. 1876. 95. 1892 Commission, Valuation of Pastoral Improvements, questions 1235, 3150-1. 96. SAPP 1890 No. 61, Statement re compensation for improvements on pastoral leases.
pay its current commitments, the Government asked lessees whether they would surrender their claims for compensation in return for longer leases. The 42 years' term offered did not prove to be sufficient incentive for the pastoralists to accept the offer. Gradually both Parliament and pastoralists saw the wisdom of abolishing State payment for improvements in favour of the incoming paying the out-going lessee. It was widely recognized that such a system would place the existing occupier in a more secure position, but the majority in Parliament had come to see that there was no advantage in "the removal of one individual merely to put another in his place, under circumstances perhaps less advantageous to all concerned." In 1893 the necessary legislation was passed.

In the same year a permanent Pastoral Board was established to decide upon rentals for pastoral lands. Auction was abolished. Although adequate powers were not granted to the Board until the turn of the century, another break in the traditional method of handling pastoral affairs had been made.

These decisions of the early 'nineties have been included to indicate the contrast between the political and administrative temper of the mid-1880's and mid-1890's. There is no one convenient

97. 53 & 54 Vic. 502 of 1890, clause 7; 1892 Commission, Valuations of Pastoral Improvements, questions 2933-4 and 2617.
98. 1891 Pastoral Lands Commission, Report, paragraphs 16 and 17; 1892 Commission, Valuations of Pastoral Improvements, Report, paragraphs 2-5 and questions 2461-4, 2616, 2863 and 3095. For a summary of this issue see SAPD (H.A.) 1896, col. 490 et seq.
100. For a brief account of the events of 1890 to 1920 see Roberts, Australian Land Settlement, op. cit., pp. 310-3, and for a more detailed analysis the yearly reports of the Surveyor-General can be consulted.
turning point at which we might stop. From 1888 onwards the search for a new basis for pastoral legislation was intensified, although the evidence of the 1891 Pastoral Lands Commission clearly indicated the confused nature of thinking and the lack of agreement upon any solution. The halting efforts of the subsequent years were not always successful, but this much can be said - the Legislature had reached a stage where its deliberations were more devoid of prejudice, less handicapped by ignorance and more fitted institutionally to develop the pastoral lands than at any other time in its previous history. As with the field of agriculture, the birth of specialized Boards heralded a new era in the settlement of South Australia's land.
Appendices.
### Wool Production and Prices

1857-1890

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Sheep numbers</th>
<th>Wool Production (lbs)</th>
<th>Av. wool prices (pence)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1857</td>
<td>2,075,805</td>
<td>9,695,000</td>
<td>11½</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1858</td>
<td>2,486,881</td>
<td>7,775,000</td>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1859</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>9,497,000</td>
<td>11½</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1860</td>
<td>2,824,881</td>
<td>11,731,000</td>
<td>12½</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1861</td>
<td>3,038,356</td>
<td>13,164,000</td>
<td>10½</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1862</td>
<td>3,431,000</td>
<td>13,229,000</td>
<td>10½</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1863</td>
<td>5,891,642</td>
<td>15,567,000</td>
<td>10½</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1864</td>
<td>4,106,230</td>
<td>16,092,000</td>
<td>11½</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1865</td>
<td>3,779,308</td>
<td>16,270,000</td>
<td>11½</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1866</td>
<td>3,911,610</td>
<td>19,740,000</td>
<td>12½</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1867</td>
<td>4,477,445</td>
<td>19,350,000</td>
<td>10½</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1868</td>
<td>4,997,024</td>
<td>28,899,000</td>
<td>9½</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1869</td>
<td>4,436,955</td>
<td>27,023,000</td>
<td>7½</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1870</td>
<td>4,400,655</td>
<td>31,252,000</td>
<td>7½</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1871</td>
<td>4,412,055</td>
<td>25,005,000</td>
<td>10½</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1872</td>
<td>4,900,687</td>
<td>33,710,000</td>
<td>12½</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1873</td>
<td>5,617,419</td>
<td>32,968,000</td>
<td>11½</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1874</td>
<td>6,120,211</td>
<td>35,594,000</td>
<td>11½</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1875</td>
<td>6,179,395</td>
<td>39,723,000</td>
<td>10½</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1876</td>
<td>6,133,291</td>
<td>42,445,000</td>
<td>9½</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1877</td>
<td>6,098,359</td>
<td>53,252,000</td>
<td>9½</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1878</td>
<td>6,377,812</td>
<td>62,031,000</td>
<td>9½</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1879</td>
<td>6,140,396</td>
<td>41,726,000</td>
<td>8½</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1880</td>
<td>6,454,579</td>
<td>49,102,000</td>
<td>10½</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1881</td>
<td>6,804,377</td>
<td>48,762,000</td>
<td>9½</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
### Appendix: A (cont.)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Sheep Numbers</th>
<th>Wool Production (lbs)</th>
<th>Av. Wool Prices (pence)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1882</td>
<td>6,382,102</td>
<td>51,906,000</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1883</td>
<td>6,670,463</td>
<td>47,141,000</td>
<td>8 1/2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1884</td>
<td>6,645,406</td>
<td>52,809,000</td>
<td>8 1/2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1885</td>
<td>6,593,648</td>
<td>51,426,000</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1886</td>
<td>6,541,890</td>
<td>50,561,000</td>
<td>6 1/2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1887</td>
<td>6,490,132</td>
<td>47,897,000</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1888</td>
<td>6,436,375</td>
<td>47,927,000</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1889</td>
<td>6,386,617</td>
<td>49,072,000</td>
<td>8 1/2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1890</td>
<td>7,004,642</td>
<td>43,588,000</td>
<td>7 1/2</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Sources:**

Sheep numbers and wool production: for 1857 to 1859, South Australian Statistical Registers, for 1860 to 1890, Commonwealth of Australia, Bureau of Agricultural Economics, Statistical Handbook of the sheep and wool industry (Canberra 1949), pp3,4.

## Appendix: B

### WHEAT PRODUCTION AND PRICES

#### 1860-1890

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Acreage</th>
<th>Yield per acre</th>
<th>Production</th>
<th>Av. prices</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(bushels)</td>
<td>(bushels)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1860</td>
<td>273,672</td>
<td>13 4</td>
<td>3,576,593</td>
<td>7/2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1861</td>
<td>310,636</td>
<td>10 59</td>
<td>3,410,756</td>
<td>6/8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1862</td>
<td>320,180</td>
<td>12 0</td>
<td>3,841,824</td>
<td>4/8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1863</td>
<td>335,758</td>
<td>14 0</td>
<td>4,641,919</td>
<td>4/10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1864</td>
<td>390,836</td>
<td>11 0</td>
<td>4,252,949</td>
<td>8/6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1865</td>
<td>410,608</td>
<td>8 44</td>
<td>3,587,800</td>
<td>8/7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1866</td>
<td>457,628</td>
<td>14 20</td>
<td>6,561,451</td>
<td>6/2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1867</td>
<td>550,456</td>
<td>4 20</td>
<td>2,572,694</td>
<td>4/5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1868</td>
<td>533,035</td>
<td>9 42</td>
<td>5,173,970</td>
<td>7/1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1869</td>
<td>532,135</td>
<td>5 45</td>
<td>3,052,320</td>
<td>5/-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1870</td>
<td>604,761</td>
<td>11 30</td>
<td>6,961,164</td>
<td>5/3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1871</td>
<td>692,508</td>
<td>5 44</td>
<td>5,967,079</td>
<td>5/1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1872</td>
<td>759,811</td>
<td>11 30</td>
<td>8,755,912</td>
<td>5/6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1873</td>
<td>784,784</td>
<td>7 52</td>
<td>6,178,816</td>
<td>5/5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1874</td>
<td>839,638</td>
<td>11 45</td>
<td>9,862,693</td>
<td>5/6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1875</td>
<td>898,820</td>
<td>11 57</td>
<td>10,739,634</td>
<td>4/5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1876</td>
<td>1,035,732</td>
<td>5 24</td>
<td>5,857,569</td>
<td>5/-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1877</td>
<td>1,163,646</td>
<td>7 46</td>
<td>9,058,692</td>
<td>6/11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1878</td>
<td>1,305,881</td>
<td>7 9</td>
<td>9,332,049</td>
<td>5/5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1879</td>
<td>1,458,096</td>
<td>9 47</td>
<td>14,260,964</td>
<td>5/2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1880</td>
<td>1,733,542</td>
<td>4 58</td>
<td>8,608,510</td>
<td>4/5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1881</td>
<td>1,765,781</td>
<td>4 54</td>
<td>8,857,032</td>
<td>4/11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1882</td>
<td>1,746,531</td>
<td>4 13</td>
<td>7,356,117</td>
<td>5/10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1883</td>
<td>1,846,151</td>
<td>7 56</td>
<td>14,649,250</td>
<td>5/0½</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1884</td>
<td>1,942,453</td>
<td>7 32</td>
<td>14,621,755</td>
<td>3/9</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Appendix: B (cont.)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Acreage</th>
<th>Yield per acre (bushels)</th>
<th>Production (bushels)</th>
<th>Av. prices</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1885</td>
<td>1,650,000</td>
<td>3 12</td>
<td>5,161,000</td>
<td>3/8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1886</td>
<td>1,970,000</td>
<td>5 30</td>
<td>10,835,000</td>
<td>4/7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1887</td>
<td>1,950,000</td>
<td>9 48</td>
<td>19,012,000</td>
<td>3/9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1888</td>
<td>1,605,000</td>
<td>3 54</td>
<td>6,817,000</td>
<td>4/-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1889</td>
<td>1,842,961</td>
<td>7 55</td>
<td>14,577,358</td>
<td>4/1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1890</td>
<td>1,673,573</td>
<td>5 37</td>
<td>9,399,389</td>
<td>3/7½</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

SOURCE:

Statistical Register of South Australia
(no statistics were collected 1885-8, the figures for those years being estimates only).
Appendix: C

**EXPORT OF WHEAT AND FLOUR**

**1860-1890**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Wheat (quarters)</th>
<th>Flour (tons)</th>
<th>Value of breadstuffs (£')</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1860</td>
<td>29,873</td>
<td>21,166</td>
<td>499,102</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1861</td>
<td>84,270</td>
<td>33,011</td>
<td>712,789</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1862</td>
<td>87,120</td>
<td>35,604</td>
<td>633,241</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1863</td>
<td>116,534</td>
<td>39,722</td>
<td>747,116</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1864</td>
<td>195,385</td>
<td>41,817</td>
<td>1,464,593</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1865</td>
<td>125,221</td>
<td>38,251</td>
<td>1,228,480</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1866</td>
<td>46,756</td>
<td>30,496</td>
<td>645,401</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1867</td>
<td>301,543</td>
<td>45,703</td>
<td>1,037,085</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1868</td>
<td>55,876</td>
<td>23,591</td>
<td>568,491</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1869</td>
<td>195,551</td>
<td>38,655</td>
<td>890,343</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1870</td>
<td>47,079</td>
<td>27,371</td>
<td>470,828</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1871</td>
<td>315,054</td>
<td>46,802</td>
<td>1,253,429</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1872</td>
<td>157,678</td>
<td>38,319</td>
<td>860,202</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1873</td>
<td>479,702</td>
<td>57,170</td>
<td>1,711,746</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1874</td>
<td>192,308</td>
<td>58,635</td>
<td>1,230,331</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1875</td>
<td>479,390</td>
<td>76,209</td>
<td>1,660,996</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1876</td>
<td>738,718</td>
<td>71,189</td>
<td>1,988,716</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1877</td>
<td>119,092</td>
<td>50,060</td>
<td>1,184,368</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1878</td>
<td>389,229</td>
<td>62,281</td>
<td>1,672,628</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1879</td>
<td>422,114</td>
<td>70,518</td>
<td>1,648,112</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1880</td>
<td>891,387</td>
<td>78,527</td>
<td>2,469,720</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1881</td>
<td>305,576</td>
<td>72,375</td>
<td>1,336,761</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1882</td>
<td>321,673</td>
<td>70,705</td>
<td>1,551,106</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1883</td>
<td>132,193</td>
<td>63,768</td>
<td>1,030,496</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Appendix: C (cont.)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Wheat (quarters)</th>
<th>Flour (tons)</th>
<th>Value of breadstuffs (£'s)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1884</td>
<td>1,046,387</td>
<td>84,961</td>
<td>2,491,896</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1885</td>
<td>1,123,748</td>
<td>68,546</td>
<td>2,185,057</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1886</td>
<td>48,700</td>
<td>51,417</td>
<td>633,426</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1887</td>
<td>234,808</td>
<td>71,893</td>
<td>1,090,631</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1888</td>
<td>1,075,091</td>
<td>74,091</td>
<td>1,197,735</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1889</td>
<td>131,196</td>
<td>60,206</td>
<td>957,585</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1890</td>
<td>971,975</td>
<td>66,633</td>
<td>2,018,719</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

SOURCE:

Statistical Register of South Australia.
### Appendix: D

**OCCUPATIONS OF THE MEMBERS OF THE S.A. HOUSE OF ASSEMBLY

1857-1890.**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Occupation</th>
<th>1857</th>
<th>1860</th>
<th>1863</th>
<th>1865</th>
<th>1868</th>
<th>1870</th>
<th>1872</th>
<th>1875</th>
<th>1878</th>
<th>1881</th>
<th>1884</th>
<th>1887</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Parliament</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Year of election</strong></td>
<td>1857</td>
<td>1860</td>
<td>1863</td>
<td>1865</td>
<td>1868</td>
<td>1870</td>
<td>1872</td>
<td>1875</td>
<td>1878</td>
<td>1881</td>
<td>1884</td>
<td>1887</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Pastoral</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pastoralist</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Grazer</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wool broker, stockdealer</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Agricultural</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Farmer</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Miller, wheat dealer</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Market gardener</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Mining</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mine owner, manager</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Commercial</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wholesale and retail trader</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Land and commission agents</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Auctioneers</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Country storekeepers</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Appendix: D (cont.)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Parliament</th>
<th>2</th>
<th>3</th>
<th>4</th>
<th>5</th>
<th>6</th>
<th>7</th>
<th>8</th>
<th>9</th>
<th>10</th>
<th>11</th>
<th>12</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Year of election</td>
<td>1857</td>
<td>1860</td>
<td>1863</td>
<td>1866</td>
<td>1870</td>
<td>1872</td>
<td>1875</td>
<td>1878</td>
<td>1881</td>
<td>1884</td>
<td>1887</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Service</th>
<th>2</th>
<th>3</th>
<th>4</th>
<th>5</th>
<th>6</th>
<th>7</th>
<th>8</th>
<th>9</th>
<th>10</th>
<th>11</th>
<th>12</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Newspaper proprietor, editor</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Banking, insurance</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Transport</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Manufacturing</th>
<th>2</th>
<th>3</th>
<th>4</th>
<th>5</th>
<th>6</th>
<th>7</th>
<th>8</th>
<th>9</th>
<th>10</th>
<th>11</th>
<th>12</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Manufacturer &amp; processor</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Builder &amp; contractor</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Professional</th>
<th>4</th>
<th>5</th>
<th>6</th>
<th>7</th>
<th>8</th>
<th>9</th>
<th>10</th>
<th>11</th>
<th>12</th>
<th>13</th>
<th>14</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Barrister and solicitor</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Semi-professional</th>
<th>2</th>
<th>3</th>
<th>4</th>
<th>5</th>
<th>6</th>
<th>7</th>
<th>8</th>
<th>9</th>
<th>10</th>
<th>11</th>
<th>12</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Architect &amp; surveyor</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Civil servant</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Others</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

| Private Means                  | 4 | 4 | 4 | 4 | 2 | 2 | 2 | 2 | 2 | 3 | 3 | 4 |

| Total                          | 36 | 36 | 36 | 36 | 36 | 36 | 36 | 36 | 46 | 46 | 46 | 52 | 52 |
Bibliography.
BIBLIOGRAPHY.

Note:- This list includes only those works which proved of considerable value. Many others were consulted - especially on British and Australian conditions and attitudes - but in general this bibliography has been confined to works of specifically South Australian interest.

For convenience, the list has been divided topically, but it should be noted that many works could be included in more than one division. The footnotes throughout the thesis will here give some guide.

A. GENERAL.

1. Australia.

i. Books.


Butlin, N. G. *Private capital formation in Australia: estimates 1861-1900.* (Australian National University 1955)

Callaghan A.R. and Millington A.J. *The wheat industry in Australia.* (Angas and Robertson, Sydney 1956)

Coghlan T.A. *Labour and industry in Australia.* 4 vols. (Oxford University Press 1918)


ii. Articles.

Borrie W.D. 'Some notes on the Australian population structure of the nineteenth century'. (Paper read to Australian history seminar, Australian National University 1958).

Borrie, W.D. 'Immigration to the Australian colonies 1861-1901'. (Paper read to Australian history seminar, Australian National University 1958).

Butlin, N.G. 'The pattern of Australian investment 1860-1900'. (Paper read to Australian history seminar, Australian National University 1958).

2. South Australia.


Fenner, Charles. *South Australia: a geographical study*. (Whitcombe & Tombs Ltd. 1931)

Harcus, William. *South Australia*. (Sampson Low, Marston, Searle & Rivington, London 1876)


Stow, J.P. *South Australia: its history, productions and natural resources*. (Government Printer, Adelaide 1884)

B. THE LAND.

i. Books.

Fenner, Charles. *South Australia: a geographical study*. (Whitcombe & Tombs Ltd. 1931)


Madley, Lewis G. *Geography of South Australia*. (William Collins, Sims & Co., London 1878)

Newland, Simpson. *The Far North country*. (Burden & Bonython, Adelaide 1887)

Ward, Ebenezer. *The South-Eastern district of South Australia: its resources and requirements*. (South Australian Advertiser, Adelaide 1869)

Wood J.G. *The vegetation of South Australia*. (Government Printer, Adelaide 1937)

ii. Articles.

Blackburn G. and Baker R.M. 'Survey of soils, land use and soil erosion in the northern marginal lands, S.A.' *C.S.I.R.O. Soil and land use series*, no. 6 (Melbourne 1952)

Blackburn G. and Baker R.M. 'The soils of part of the South Flinders Ranges, South Australia'.
Crocker R.L. 'Soil and vegetation relationships in the lower South-East of South Australia - a study in ecology.' (Royal Society of South Australia, Vol. 68, 1944)


Hossfeld, Paul S. 'The late Cainozoic history of the South-East of South Australia.' Royal Society of South Australia, Vol. 74, 1950.

Moore R.M. 'The effects of wool growing on the Australian vegetation'. (Paper read to Wool seminar, Australian National University 1957)


Piper C.S. 'The red-brown earths of South Australia'. Royal Society of South Australia Vol. 62, 1938.


Stephens C.G. et al. 'A soil, land-use and erosion survey of part of County Victoria, South Australia'. C.S.I.R. Bulletin no. 188, 1945.


Trumble H.C. 'The climatic control of agriculture in South Australia'. Royal Society of South Australia, Vol. 61, 1937.


Wark, D.C. 'The variability of the length of the rainfall season and the amount of influential rainfall in South Australia.' Royal Society of South


C. THE PASTORAL INDUSTRY.

i. Books.

Brown, George A. Sheepbreeding in Australia. (Walker, May & Co., Melbourne 1880)

Cockburn, Rodney (ed.) Pastoral Pioneers. 2 vols. (The Garden and Field, Adelaide 1929)


Morphett, Geo C. (comp.) The life and letters of Sir John Morphett. (Hassell Press, Adelaide 1936)


Richardson, Norman A. The pioneers of the north-west of South Australia 1856 to 1914. (W.K. Thomas & Co., Adelaide, 1925)

----- The Mutooroo Pastoral Company Limited: after fifty years. (For private circulation, Adelaide 1951, and seen by permission Mr. T.E. Barr Smith)

ii. Articles

Ashwin A.C. 'From South Australia to Darwin with sheep and horses 1870-1871'. Royal Geographical Society of South Australia, Vol. 32, 1930-1.

Bauer F.H. 'Sheep-raising in northern Australia' (Paper read to Wool seminar, Australian National University, 1958)

Butlin N.G. 'Australian pastoral investment 1860-1900'. (Paper read to Wool seminar, Australian National University, 1957)

Butlin N.G. 'The distribution of sheep population; preliminary statistical picture, 1860-1956'. (Paper read to Wool seminar, Australian National

Duncan R. 'The annexation of the Northern Territory to South Australia'. Historical Studies, Australia and New Zealand, Vol. 6, May 1954.

Ferguson K.A. 'The efficiency of conversion of feed into wool'. (Paper read to Wool seminar, Australian National University, 1958)

Hayward, Frederick. 'Reminiscences'. Royal Geographical Society of South Australia, Vol. 29, 1927-8.


Turner H.N. 'Average fleece weight'. (Paper read to Wool seminar, Australian National University, 1957)

Willoughby W.M. 'Reduction of acres per bale'. (Paper read to Wool seminar, Australian National University, 1957)

iii. Manuscripts.

a. Available at the South Australian Archives.

Anstey and Giles. 'Shearing book, Penton Vale, Yorke Peninsular, 1859-1862'.

Beltana station. 'Diary 1867-1876'.

Bull J.B. 'Reminiscences'.

Bull J.B. 'Diary of a journey in 1864 to north of Streaky Bay'.

Child, Edward I. 'Letter to John Sutcliffe, 1856'.

Davies Dr. 'Diary 1839-1876'.

Dewdney, Richard. 'Yardea 1866'.

Dewdney, Richard. 'Reminiscences past and present'.

Elder Smith & Co. 'Letter to James Sinclair, 1868'.

Giles, Alfred. 'Diary 1869'.


Hensley, John. 'An autobiographical sketch'.

Hunter, James Alfred Carr. 'Diaries 1872-74'.

Sabine, Clement. 'Diary 1875-1899'.

Stuckey, Samuel Joseph. 'Reminiscences'.

Vickery, George Henry. 'Journal of Netley station, 1870-71'.
b. Other sources.

Mutooroo Pastoral Company. 'Plan Books nos. 1-3' (seen by permission of Mr. T.E. Barr Smith)

D. THE AGRICULTURAL INDUSTRY.

i. Books.

Boothby, Josiah. Statistical sketch of South Australia. (Sampson Low, Marston, Searle and Rivington, London 1876)
Borthwick, Thomas. A contribution to the demography of South Australia. (Bailliere, Tindall and Cox, London 1891)
Bull, John Wrathall. Early experiences of life in South Australia. (E.S. Wigg & Son, Adelaide 1884)
Cossins, G.H. Science in agriculture. (Government Printer, Adelaide, 1875)
Morphett G.C. (ed.) Mrs. David Randall's reminiscences. (Pioneers' Association of South Australia, Adelaide, n.d.)
Morphett Geo. C. The Herberts: a pioneer family of the Yankalilla district. (Pioneers' Association of South Australia, Adelaide 1941)
Sutherland, George. The South Australian Company. (Longmans, Green & Co., London, 1898)

--- South Australian industries and manufactures. (Government Printer, Adelaide 1875)

ii. Pamphlets

Hewett C.T. To the farmers of South Australia, an answer to a pamphlet by Dr. Hawker on the practical workings of Agricultural Societies. (Adelaide 1858)

--- Kiddle's practical farmers' guide for growing wheat for the miller. (Adelaide 1861)

--- Memorandum and articles of association of the South Australian Agricultural Insurance Company Limited. (Adelaide 1867)

--- Rules and Regulations of the Northern Agricultural Society. (Adelaide 1858)

--- Rules of the Greenoch Land, Building and Investment Society. (Adelaide 1866)
--- Rules and regulations of the Permanent Land and Building Association. (Adelaide 1858)
--- Rules and regulations of the Stanley County Land and Building Society. (Adelaide 1851)
--- Second annual report of the Northern Agricultural Society. (Adelaide 1859)
--- South Australian Agricultural and Horticultural Society: Report. (Adelaide 1867)

iii. Articles.


Skipper, Octavius. 'Reminiscences of fifty-two years'. Royal Geographical Society of South Australia, Vol. 7, 1903-04.


iv. Manuscripts

a. Available at the South Australian Archives.

Anderson, Peter. 'Journal 1844-1880'.
Austin, Edward. 'Reminiscences of long, long ago'.
Bull J.B. 'Reminiscences'.
Day, Richard. 'Reminiscences'.
Dunn, John. 'Reminiscences'.
March, Alfred. 'Pioneering experiences of Joseph March and his descendants 1846-1880'.
Pitcher, Henry. 'Journal 1869-1886'.
Ridley, John. 'Papers'.
Sanders, George. 'Letter-book 1857-1864'.

--- 'History of drainage in the South-East'.
--- 'From the merchants of Adelaide to their constituents in the country, 1884'.
--- 'Reports on freehold land of 5,000 acres or more, belonging to one person or a company,'
with plans, 1889'.

"Wheat prices at Port Adelaide 1874-1881'.

b. Other sources

Meinig, Donald W. 'The South Australian wheat frontier, 1869-1887' (unpublished thesis in the possession of the Geography Department of the Adelaide University)

Penny, David. 'The living area: the origin of the concept and its importance' (unpublished paper seen by courtesy of the author)

Telfer E. 'A history of Hawker' (unpublished article seen by courtesy of the author)


E. PARLIAMENT AND THE ADMINISTRATION.

i. Books.

Burgess H.T. The cyclopedia of South Australia, 2 vols. (Hussey & Gillingham, Adelaide 1907)


Heaton J.H. Australian dictionary of dates and men of the time. (George Robertson, Sydney 1879)

Johns, Fred. A journalist's jottings. (The Hassell Press, Adelaide 1922)

Loyau, George E. The representative men of South Australia. (George Howell, Adelaide 1883)

Mennell, Philip. The dictionary of Australasian biography. (Hutchinson & Co., London 1892)


Pascoe J.J. History of Adelaide and vicinity. (Hussey & Gillingham, Adelaide 1901)


ii. Manuscripts. (South Australian Archives)

Jessup G.A. 'Torrens of the Torrens system'.

'Biographical index' (This is of immense value, and by it details of most of the members of Parliament have been traced)
b. Governors.

Despatches of the Governors to the Colonial Office, 1857-1885. (South Australian Archives)

c. Administration.

Credit Lands Office. Correspondence 1872-1888.
Department of Crown Lands and Immigration.
  Incoming correspondence 1857-1890.
  Outgoing letter books 1857-1890.
  Credit Books 1869-1890.
Surveyor-General's Office. Incoming correspondence 1857-1890.
Yorke Peninsula Land Board. Minutes 1889-1890.

(Some of these sources are held in the Archives building, others at Agriculture House, Gawler Place, Adelaide)

2. Non-official.

i. Books.

Burgess H.T. John Howard Angas. (Vardon & Pritchard, Adelaide 1905)
Combe, Gordon B. Responsible government in South Australia. (Government Printer, Adelaide, 1957)
Finniss, Boyle Travers. The constitutional history of South Australia. (C. Rigby, Adelaide 1886)
Freeling A.H. Instructions for the interior survey of South Australia. (Government Printer, Adelaide 1857)
Harrison, Robert. Colonial sketches; or five years in South Australia. (Hall, Virtue & Co., London, 1862)
Hay, Alexander (Mrs.) Footprints: a memoir of the late Alexander Hay. (Elliot Stock, London, 1899)
Spence C.H. The laws we live under. (Government Printer, Adelaide, 1880)
Tolmer, Alexander. Reminiscences of an adventurous and chequered career at home and at the Antipodes. 2 vols. (Sampson Low, Marston, Searle & Rivington, London, 1882)

ii. Periodicals.

iii. Manuscripts.

a. Available at the South Australian Archives.

Ayers, Henry 'Letters received from South Australian Governors'.

Boucaut, James. 'Papers'.

Boucaut, James. 'Miscellaneous papers, 1864-1889'.

Clark, Francis and Caroline. 'Extracts from letters written their relatives in England, 1851-1871'.

Davenport, Sir Samuel. 'Private memoranda book - affecting posts of Minister of Public Works and a member of Cabinet, 1857-1861'.

Gee, C.E. 'The South-East fifty years ago: the early pioneers'.

Hart, John. 'Diary 1865-1872'.

Hawker, Edward William. 'Abridged diaries, 1867-1900'.

Hawker, Geo. C. 'Letters to his son, E.W. Hawker, 1867-1893'.

Smith, Sir E.T. 'Reminiscences'.

Torrens, Sir. R.R. 'Letters from England to his South Australian agents, 1862-75'.

b. Available at the Mitchell Library, Sydney.

Bonney, Charles. 'Papers' 2 vols.

c. Other sources.

Brown, Henry. 'The life and work of Sir Richard Davies Hanson' (unpublished thesis, Adelaide University, 1953)


O'Donaghue, Kenneth Kilian. 'The constitutional and administrative development of South Australia from responsible government to Strangways' Act of 1868'. (unpublished thesis, Adelaide University)

Pike, Douglas. 'The introduction of the Real Property Act in South Australia'. (unpublished paper seen by permission of the author)

Stephenson, John Becket. 'The electoral districts of South Australia and population as the basis of representation, 1851-1892'. (unpublished thesis, Adelaide University, 1952)

d. Newspapers.

Adelaide Advertiser (metropolitan daily)

Border Watch (Mt. Gambier, twice weekly)
South Australian Chronicle. (metropolitan weekly, designed for distribution in the country)
Farm and Garden. (metropolitan monthly)
Garden and Field. (metropolitan monthly)
The Northern Argus. (Clare, twice weekly)
Adelaide Observer. (metropolitan weekly, for country circulation)
Port Augusta Dispatch. (Port Augusta, three times weekly)
South Australian Register. (metropolitan daily)
Yorke Peninsula Advertiser and Miners' News. (Moonta, twice weekly).