



'The Old Elsey cattle station.'
Photograph, undated, of the setting for
Mrs Aeneas Gunn's We of the
Never-Never, 1908.

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CHAPTER 25

LAND SETTLEMENT

B. H. FLETCHER AND J. M. POWELL

WHEN IN 1770 Captain Cook took possession of eastern Australia the land within that region became the property of the crown by virtue of occupation. Subsequently, the area involved was defined in the commission that was issued to Governor Phillip. Later still, the rest of the continent was brought under the crown following the establishment of colonies in Western Australia and South Australia. Although, in a legal sense and from a British point of view, the whole of Australia belonged to the crown, decisions about what was to be done with it were made by the government. Before the mid-nineteenth century it was the Colonial Office in London which issued regulations determining how crown land was to be alienated and under what terms. These regulations were put into effect by the various colonial governors.

Many of the documents relating to land policy may be found in the *Historical records of Australia* (36 vols, Melbourne, Library Committee of the Commonwealth Parliament, 1914–25), the *Historical records of New South Wales* (8 vols, 1892–98; facs, Sydney, Lansdown Slattery, 1978–79) and the *Historical records of Victoria* (Melbourne, Public Records Office of Victoria, 1981–). R.G. Riddell's 'A study in the land policy of the Colonial Office, 1763–1855' (*Canadian historical review* ns, 18, 4, 1937, 385–405) offers a valuable insight into the principles underlying colonial expansion in the crucial early years of Australian development. The legal and constitutional aspects of land policy questions can be traced through A.C.V. Melbourne's *Early constitutional development in Australia* (UQP, 1972) and W.G. McMinn's *A constitutional history of Australia* (OUP, 1979).

After the introduction of responsible government, power over these matters was placed in the hands of colonial ministries which made decisions without reference to London. Whereas land policy had previously been decided with at least some reference to the broader objectives of imperial policy, after 1856 it was formulated in the context of colonial politics and in reference to local considerations. The exact practice varied from colony to colony, but developments followed a broadly similar pattern.

The evidence on which a history of land settlement must rely rests necessarily in the parliamentary papers and records of administrative decisions made by the government departments concerned. Fortunately there are indexes to Australian and British government documents and parliamentary papers which readers may consult to identify and locate the references cited in this essay. For Australia, there is D.H. Borchardt's *Checklist of royal commissions, select committees of parliament and boards of inquiry 1856–1980* and associated volumes by E. Zalums

(see chapter 8 of this volume). The consolidated index contains almost 35 references to inquiries into land settlement, as well as to relevant inquiries listed under headings such as crown lands, land grants and land laws and legislation. The most accessible index to British parliamentary papers is the two-volume Irish University Press's *Index to British parliamentary papers on Australia and New Zealand 1800-1899* (Dublin, IUP, 1974). For details see chapter 8 above.

Despite the fact that New South Wales began as a gaol, the plans prepared by the British government for the colony from the outset included provision for the alienation of crown land. Between 1788 and 1826 emancipists were eligible for small grants of thirty acres and above upon completion of their sentences. It would appear that the plan was aimed primarily at providing a livelihood for convicts whom the government hoped would stay in the colony after completing their sentences. An inquiry into the working of the system was conducted by Commissioner Bigge in 1819 and it was largely on his recommendation that it was modified in 1821 and abandoned five years later. He showed that most of the former convicts who had received grants had failed as farmers and concluded that climate, soil, as well as their background and own lack of capital, guaranteed that the odds were weighed too heavily against them. Nevertheless, some did prosper and the scheme was an interesting and in some respects a positive one.

The government extended a similar concession to the officers of the New South Wales Corps, whose activities have been the subject of disagreement among historians. While the officers did abuse their position and exploit other sections of the community, they contributed greatly to the expansion of settlement and to the foundations of the pastoral industry, a point more fully elaborated by B. Fletcher (1976) and treated as an important issue in two biographies of the period (G. Mackarness, *The life of Vice-Admiral Bligh*, A & R, 1951, and M.H. Ellis, *John Macarthur*, A & R, 1978).

Less controversial was the third group of colonists to whom land was granted, namely migrants who had come to the colony as free persons. At first few arrived, for New South Wales offered only limited opportunities and, besides being a penal colony, was much further from Britain than were most imperial possessions. Nevertheless, once the potential of the wool industry had been revealed and, following the crossing of the Blue Mountains, the existence of limitless areas of good land had been publicised, increasing numbers of migrants arrived. Up to 1821 settlement was confined to the Cumberland Plain, but later pastoralists poured into the interior thrusting even further afield in the search for land (Perry, 1963). This created serious administrative problems, for the short-staffed surveyor-general's department was unable to keep pace with demand and eventually led to Governor Darling, in 1829, proclaiming the Nineteen Counties as a region beyond which settlement was not to proceed.

The bulk of the land thus far alienated, whether to former convicts, military officers or migrants, had been in the form of grants which were issued free, but which were subject to a quit rent (that is, a small rent paid in lieu of services) at the end of a specified period. The early grants were only small but from the Macquarie period onwards the tendency was to issue larger holdings for pastoral purposes and allow only migrants with specified amounts of capital to acquire them. Regulations were laid down on all these matters and under Darling a Land Board was established to administer them.

The land grant system, which was applied in other colonies besides New South Wales, made an important contribution to the spread of settlement and to the establishment of primary industry. It made land readily available on easy terms, thus enabling migrants to use their capital for acquiring stock and effecting improvements on their holdings. Yet, from the point of view of the government it possessed many disadvantages. The quit rent, which was supposed to yield revenue, proved almost impossible to collect. Similarly it was not difficult for settlers to deceive the authorities as to how much capital they possessed. Large areas of land fell into the hands of people who were not able to use them productively and substantial holdings were tied up in private hands and lay waste.

Throughout the 1820s attempts were made to cope with these problems but to no avail. In 1831 Lord Goderich finally decided that a new scheme, based on the sale of land, was necessary

and regulations, known as the Ripon Regulations, were introduced. Henceforth land, instead of being given free, was to be put up for auction at a minimum price of five shillings an acre.

This change was once seen as a reflection of the influence over the Colonial Office of Edward Gibbon Wakefield and the systematic colonisers who advocated a similar reform. In fact earlier attempts had been made from the time of Commissioner Bigge onwards to introduce a system of land sales. It is now widely recognised that Wakefield, in this as in other changes he proposed, was less of an innovator than was once supposed. Policy was already moving in the direction he advocated and the changes that occurred in the 1830s owed more to other considerations than to his writings. Among the best books on Wakefield are P. Bloomfield's *Edward Gibbon Wakefield: builder of the British Commonwealth* (London, Longmans, 1961) and J. Phillip's *A great view of things: Edward Gibbon Wakefield* (Melbourne, Nelson, 1971). For an earlier analysis see R.C. Mills, *The colonisation of Australia, 1829–42: the Wakefield experiment in empire building* (1915; facs, SUP, 1974).

The system of land sales introduced in 1831 applied to all the Australian colonies and remained in operation for some decades, although the minimum price was increased. There had long been other means by which pastoralists obtained land, particularly in New South Wales, which until 1851 included the Port Phillip region and until 1859 the future Queensland. From the very beginnings of settlement farmers and graziers had made use of vacant crown land, at first adjacent to their own properties and then further afield. This practice, which later became known as squatting, was quite illegal but since there was plenty of land and few means of checking the abuse, governors turned a blind eye to it. During the 1820s, however, as settlement spread, attempts were made to regularise the situation and to ensure that the government derived some advantage from it. Governors Brisbane and Darling introduced schemes under which settlers could lease prescribed areas on payment of an annual fee. Governor Bourke, anxious to safeguard the interests of the crown, secured the passage of a bill in 1833 which provided for the appointment of commissioners of crown land whose duties were to maintain a close watch over the waste lands and ensure that they were not used improperly.

These measures applied only to the Nineteen Counties, beyond which no land could be alienated or leased. This restriction did not, however, deter squatters from moving further and further afield. During the 1830s and 1840s vast areas of crown land were occupied by such people whose exodus the government had no means of preventing. The history of squatting during this period was largely one in which graziers seized the initiative and progressively forced the government to accommodate itself to their interests. In this they were helped by their undoubted economic, social and political importance and by the fact that they had the support of powerful British interests who were involved in the wool trade. Between 1836 and 1847 pastoralists first secured recognition of the right, subject to payment of a licence fee, to occupy crown land outside the bounds of settlement. Then in 1847 they were given leases that varied inversely in duration according to how closely they were located to settled districts. In addition they were entitled to compensation for improvements effected to their runs and pre-emptive rights if they were put up for sale. These gains were achieved only after a lengthy struggle principally with Governor Gipps who was aware that the interests of government and other sections of the community were threatened.

The history of land settlement up to the middle of the nineteenth century was one that by and large favoured the large landholder at the expense of the small. Admittedly in some parts of each of the colonies, where natural and climatic conditions were suitable, operations on a more limited scale did develop. South Australia, which was less well suited to pastoralism, also saw mixed farming emerge. Nevertheless, particularly in the eastern colonies, the pastoralist was dominant. Not the least of the motives behind the struggle for self-government in those parts was the desire of such people to gain control over crown lands for purposes of self-interest. The British government appreciated this and the knowledge made successive administrations wary of surrendering the right to determine how land was to be alienated. Issues associated with land figured prominently among those that were hotly debated during the 1840s and early 1850s. The franchise introduced with representative government in New South Wales in 1842

favoured property owners and these men were not slow to capitalise on their influence in the legislature. This change is clearly reflected in the official inquiries commissioned in the 1830s and 1840s.

The coming of responsible government to all colonies except Western Australia, which had begun to receive convicts, was followed by locally introduced changes which shifted the balance of power from the land to the towns. Not only did colonial legislatures for the first time possess control over crown lands but these bodies were themselves subject to greater influence from the urban-based middle class. In eastern Australia the late 1840s and early 1850s saw new political groups emerge in opposition to the squatters. The action of landed interests in seeking a resumption of transportation, in working for control over the land and in seeking constitutions that would guarantee their own continued influence, was strongly resisted by less well established settlers, many of whom had been among the migrants of the 1840s. This group, liberal and sometimes radical in inclination, now found itself in power and sought to break the hold of the large landowners. This was reflected in the land legislation that was introduced in most colonies during the years after 1860.

Best known perhaps were the two crown lands acts introduced in New South Wales by John Robertson and named after him. They established the principle of selection before survey and made land available in small blocks of 40 to 320 acres within the settled or intermediate districts of the colony. The price was fixed at one pound per acre; payment was possible on terms over three years and the only conditions involved residence and the effecting of improvements within a stipulated period. Viewed once as an attempt to promote agricultural settlement, these acts are now more generally viewed in the context of moves by urban liberals to dispossess the squatters and to promote a bourgeois ethos.

Similar attempts to open up the land to the small property owner were made in Victoria where there existed the additional problem of finding employment for substantial numbers of former gold diggers. The Nicholson Act of 1860, while not sanctioning selection until after land had been surveyed, nevertheless made holdings available on relatively easy terms and granted pre-emptive rights to an area three times that purchased. Duffy's act of 1862 opened large areas of squatting land to selectors while Grant's act, introduced three years later, was designed to ensure that this land was not monopolised by a small handful of larger purchasers.

The legislation introduced in these colonies and in Queensland tended to produce effects that in general were different to those anticipated. The pastoralists possessed enough financial resources and business acumen to enable most to retain possession of their land. Moreover, through devices known as peacocking and dummying they were able to turn loopholes in the acts to their own advantage. The bulk of land alienated in the decades immediately following the passage of the acts remained in their hands. Nevertheless although climate, the quality of the land, distance from markets and the advantages enjoyed by the graziers operated to the disadvantage of the small landholders, the acts were not as much a failure as contemporaries made out. Inquiries like that by Morris and Rankin in New South Wales in 1883 ('Inquiry into the state of the public lands and operation of land laws'), purporting to show that the Robertson acts had failed, have themselves been shown to have presented a misleading picture. Districts that were better suited than most to dairying, or agriculture, witnessed an increase in such activities. Thriving farming communities emerged in some parts although in general the lot of the selector was poor. Conflict between squatter and selector was an important feature of the rural scene during the second half of the nineteenth century.

The failure of attempts to unlock the land to the desired extent produced further legislation, particularly during the closing decade of the nineteenth century when Labor parties emerged. Even before then colonial governments, influenced by the theories of Henry George, had endeavoured to break up the large estates by imposing a tax on the unimproved capital value of land. Here were indications that a new variety of ideological influence was being brought to bear on the land issue. Further evidence of a new approach can be seen in the use of financial assistance to promote settlement. Influenced partly by the depression, partly by the ideas of William Lane,

a measure was introduced in New South Wales in May 1893 with the object of placing small communities on the land. Similar acts were passed in Victoria and Queensland and all contained provision for loans to assist those who obtained land.

Implicit in this was a recognition that a higher degree of state intervention was necessary if existing inequities were to be overcome. This was also apparent in the numerous acts introduced in eastern Australia during the 1890s with the object of opening large areas of pastoral leases to the small farmer. For the first time financial assistance was offered and governments themselves purchased land for lease to settlers. There is a good outline of the ensuing legislation in T.A. Coghlan's *Labour and industry in Australia* (1981; repr, Melbourne, Macmillan, 1969, vol 4) and the parliamentary papers cited among the references below illustrate the changing official view. By the close of the century only limited success had been achieved; much remained to be done.



Advertisement for the Australian Estates Company in the *Courier-Mail Annual*, Brisbane 1954. The juxtaposition of exploration and real estate is fundamental to the history of land settlement in Australia.

ALEXANDER, G. AND WILLIAMS, O.B. eds, *The pastoral industries of Australia: practice and technology of sheep and cattle production*. SUP, 1973. 567 p, illus, maps.

A treatment of the grazing industry with emphasis on the twentieth century and references to land policy and settlement.

AUSTRALIA. Department of Home Affairs and Environment. *National conservation strategy for Australia: living resource conservation for substantial development. Towards a national conservation strategy: a discussion paper*. AGPS, 1982. 71 p.

The conference indicates trends towards a new view of development based on principles of participatory democracy and the impact of modern environmentalism.

BAUER, F.H. *Historical geographic survey of part of northern Australia*. Canberra, CSIRO. Division of Land Research and Regional Survey, 1959, 1964. 2 vols, maps. (CSIRO Division of Land Research and Regional Survey. Divisional report nos 59/2, 64/1).

Early interpretations of European settlement in the tropics. See also Bolton (1970), Courteney (1982) and A. Powell (1982).

BOLTON, G.C. *A fine country to starve in*. UWAP, 1972. 278 p, illus, maps.

Examines the impact of the 1930s depression on farming belts in WA. Good information on the fate of pioneer settlers and on the naive images of vast open spaces.

BOLTON, G.C. *Spoils and spoilers: Australians make their environment 1788–1980*. Sydney, Allen & Unwin, 1981. 197 p, illus, maps.

An introduction to mistakes and successes in the management of our built and natural environments with material for an appreciation of land settlement.

BOLTON, G.C. *A thousand miles away: a history of north Queensland to 1920*. ANUP, 1970. 366 p, illus, maps.

Valuable guide to the sequence of pioneering settlement in a distinctive under-researched region. First published in 1963.

BOWES, K.R. *Land settlement in South Australia 1857–1890*. Adelaide, LBSA, 1968. 387 p.

Summary of major legislation with commentaries. Considers both pastoral and agricultural settlement.

BURROUGHS, P. *Britain and Australia, 1831–1855: a study of imperial relations and crown land administration*. Oxford, Clarendon Press, 1967. 419 p, maps.

A comprehensive survey that breaks new ground, offers some reinterpretations and adds to our understanding of imperial policy.

BURVILL, G.H. ed, *Agriculture in Western Australia: 150 years of development and achievement, 1829–1979*. UWAP, 1979. 397 p, illus, maps.

A survey of farming and grazing which provides background to the spread of settlement.

BUTLIN, N.G. *Our original aggression: Aboriginal populations of southeastern Australia, 1788–1850*. Sydney, Allen & Unwin, 1983. 186 p, illus, maps.

Argues against standard notions of the small numbers of Aborigines at the time of first contact and suggests that we should revise our traditional perceptions of the Aborigines.

BUXTON, G.L. *The Riverina 1861–1891: an Australian regional study*. MUP, 1967. 338 p, illus, maps.

Clarifies the distinctiveness of a pioneer settlement.

CAMERON, J.M.R. *Ambition's fire: the agricultural colonization of pre-convict Western Australia*. UWAP, 1981. 238 p, illus, maps.

An analysis of early speculations and failures in the Swan River district. 'Environmental appraisal' given emphasis.

CAMPBELL, K.O. *Australian agriculture: reconciling change and tradition*. Melbourne, Longman Cheshire, 1980. 274 p.

A perceptive study of the rural economy and society with a discussion of the way land legislation has influenced the pattern of settlement.

COURTNEY, P.P. *Northern Australia: patterns and problems of*

tropical development in an advanced country. Melbourne, Longman Cheshire, 1982. 335 p, maps.

Includes a historical chapter on the development of settlement and changing interpretations of the region. The other chapters contain commentaries on more recent developments.

CHRISTIE, M.F. *Aborigines in colonial Victoria, 1835–86.* SUP, 1979. 227 p, illus, maps.

An analysis of land management policies influencing the dislocation of Aborigines with information on perceptions of land, racial attitudes of pioneers and protectorate system.

DAVIDSON, B.R. *Australia wet or dry? The physical and economic limits to the expansion of irrigation.* MUP, 1969. 264 p, maps.

DAVIDSON, B.R. *European farming in Australia: an economic history of Australian farming.* Amsterdam, Elsevier Scientific Publishing Co, 1981. 437 p.

DAVIDSON, B.R. *The northern myth: a study of the physical and economic limits to agricultural and pastoral development in tropical Australia.* MUP, 1965. 283 p, maps.

Three books that offer controversial economic arguments against some favoured solutions for our 'empty spaces'. Davidson's points now attract less emotional opposition.

DAVIES, J.L. ed, *Atlas of Tasmania.* Hobart, Lands and Survey Dept, 1965. 128 p, illus, maps.

Several of the map-essays are related to interpretations of rural settlement expansion. Scott's 'Land settlement' is important with a map of the major pattern of land alienation over 150 years.

DUNCAN, J.S. ed, *Atlas of Victoria.* Melbourne, Victorian Government Printing Office on behalf of the Government of Vic, 1982. 239 p, illus, maps.

Map-essays include background environment, agricultural and demographic data relevant to land settlement with map of population distribution in 1891, and of squatting expansion, closer settlement and soldier settlement.

DUNSDORFS, E. *The Australian wheat growing industry, 1788–1948.* MUP, 1956. 547 p, maps.

An analysis of the development of wheat farming from the earliest days. It provides background to small and large-scale land settlement.

EPPS, W. *Land systems of Australasia.* London, Sonnenschein, 1894. 184 p.

Outlines the methods which governed the use and alienation of public lands. It appeared when schemes for land nationalisation and a single land tax were under discussion.

FLETCHER, B.H. *Landed enterprise and penal society: a history of farming and grazing in New South Wales before 1821.* SUP, 1976. 265 p, maps.

A detailed discussion of land policy and the penal character of the colony.

GLYNN, S. *Government policy and agricultural development: a study of the role of government in the development of the Western Australian wheat belt, 1900–1930.* UWAP, 1975. 173 p, maps.

Information on the environmental, political and social context of rural settlement in new and established areas in good and bad times. Credit facilities and railway expansion.

HEATHCOTE, R.L. *Australia.* London, Longman, 1975. 246 p, illus, maps.

Interprets transformations in built and natural environments through an emphasis on ecological factors and environmental perceptions and misperceptions.

HEATHCOTE, R.L. *Back of Bourke: a study of land appraisal and settlement in semi-arid Australia.* MUP, 1965. 244 p, maps.

This work laid the foundations for modern analytical approaches to Australian historical geography. Unusual in its emphasis on pastoral pioneering and novel use of contemporary records for evaluations of difficult environments.

JEANS, D.N. ed, *Australia: a geography.* SUP, 1977. 571 p, illus, maps.

Systematic text containing 24 specialist essays incorporating information for land settlement themes.

JEANS, D.N. ed, *An historical geography of New South Wales to 1901.* Sydney, Reed Education, 1972. 328 p, illus, maps.

Brings the insights of the geographer to bear on facets of the development of NSW including land settlement.

KIDDLE, M.L. *Men of yesterday: a social history of the western district of Victoria, 1834–1890.* MUP, 1961. 573 p, illus, maps.

A regional history, concentrating on a small number of squatting families and contemporary attitudes to landed property with examples of squatter-selector conflict. First published in 1961.

KING, C.J. *An outline of closer settlement in New South Wales.* Sydney, NSW Dept of Agriculture, Division of Marketing and Agricultural Economics, 1957. 290 p, illus, maps.

This work provides a review of land policy from 1788 to 1955. McQUILTON, F.J. *The Kelly outbreak, 1878–1880: the geographical dimension of social banditry.* MUP, 1979. 250 p, illus, map.

Relates these events to the milieu of selector communities of northeastern Vic. Good documentary searches in the land records.

MEINIG, D.W. *On the margins of the good earth: the South Australian wheat frontier, 1869–84.* Chicago, Rand McNally for the Association of American Geographers, 1962. 231 p, illus, map.

This exemplar in Australian historical geography is vital to an understanding of government-initiated pioneer settlement, not only in this classical 'Wakefieldian' colony.

PEEL, L.J. *Rural industry in the Port Phillip region, 1835–1880.* MUP, 1974. 196 p, illus.

A study which illuminates the growth of the Port Phillip area and throws light on the process of rural settlement.

PERRY, T.M. *Australia's first frontier: the spread of settlement in New South Wales, 1788–1829.* MUP in association with the Australian National University, 1963. 163 p, illus, maps.

Emphasises the significance of regional environmental factors as well as the more familiar 'shortage of land'.

POWELL, A. *Far country: a short history of the Northern Territory.* MUP, 1982. 301 p, illus, maps.

Text on our last 'frontier' region. Settlement themes form only part of the story, but they are vital elements.

POWELL, J.M. *Environmental management in Australia, 1788–1914, guardians, improvers and profit: an introductory survey.* OUP, 1976. 191 p, illus, maps.

First history of environmental management in Australia. The interpretation favours international comparisons and emphasises changing attitudes. Land settlement dominates throughout the period under review.

POWELL, J.M. *The public lands of Australia Felix: settlement and land appraisal in Victoria 1834–91 with special reference to the western plains.* OUP, 1970. 328 p, illus, maps.

A monograph on land legislation and associated settlement in Vic, using a range of official and private records. The emphasis on changing environmental appraisals and the dichotomy of official and popular viewpoints is similar to that of Heathcote (1965).

POWELL, J.M. ed, *The making of rural Australia, environment, society and economy: geographical readings*. Melbourne, Sorrett, 1974. 179 p, illus, maps.

Readings from geographical journals ranging from the early squatting age to twentieth-century themes, including the Little Desert dispute in the 1960s and 1970s.

POWELL, J.M. ed, *Yeomen and bureaucrats: the Victorian Crown Lands Commission, 1878–79*. OUP, 1973. 464 p, illus, maps.

An abridged version of the minutes and reports of the royal commission investigating progress under the 1869 Land Act. The only accessible source of a range of contemporary views on land settlement.

POWELL, J.M. AND WILLIAMS, M. eds, *Australian space, Australian time: geographical perspectives*. OUP, 1975. 256 p, illus, maps.

Essays including land administration, conservation history, Williams' overview of rural settlement 1788–1914 claiming 'More and smaller is better'.

ROBERTS, S.H. *History of Australian land settlement, 1788–1920*. Melbourne, Macmillan, 1924. 460 p, maps.

A standard work on its subject. It provides a broad overview that is valuable for introductory purposes. New edition published in 1968.

ROBERTS, S.H. *The squatting age in Australia, 1835–1847*. MUP, 1935. 378 p, maps.

A colourful and readable treatment first published in 1935. Some of its conclusions have been modified by later research. New edition published in 1978.

ROBINSON, M.E. *The New South Wales wheat frontier 1851 to 1911*. Canberra, Dept of Human Geography, Australian National University, 1976. 247 p, illus, maps.

Valuable for the mapping of frontier expansions, discussing legislation, the railway network, the connections between the early selection story and closer settlement efforts and the rise of share-farming.

SOUTH GIPPSLAND PIONEERS' ASSOCIATION. *The land of the lyrebird: a story of early settlement in the great forest of south Gippsland . . .* Melbourne, Gordon & Gotch, 1920, 427 p, illus, maps.

Evocative reconstruction drawn from the reminiscences of early settlers. However the region is not representative of the Victorian experience in general. Revised edition published in 1966.

WADHAM, S.M. *Australian farming, 1788–1965*. Melbourne, Cheshire, 1967. 156 p, maps.

The focus of this book is on the twentieth century, but it provides some insight into land settlement at an earlier period.

WADHAM, S.M. et al, *Land utilization in Australia*. MUP, 1939, 295 p, illus, map

A survey, castigating official and popular views on land settlement and emphasising economic and environmental constraints in a bold critique. New edition published in 1964.

WALKER, R.B. *Old New England: a history of the northern tablelands of New South Wales, 1818–1900*. SUP, 1966. 187 p, illus, maps.

A regional account offering historical perspective for land settlement and other specific inquiries.

WATERSON, D.B. *Squatter, selector and storekeeper: a history of the Darling Downs, 1859–93*. SUP, 1968. 310 p, illus, maps.

Analysis of community establishments on the impact of land legislation and reconstruction in newly settled areas.

WESTERN AUSTRALIA. Education Dept. *Western Australia: an atlas of human endeavour, 1829–1979*. Perth, Government Printer, 1979. 144 p, illus, maps.

Map-essays on the 'Frontiers of settlement', 'Spread of towns' and 'Taking up of the land' are highly relevant.

WILLIAMS, M. *The making of the South Australian landscape: a study in the historical geography of Australia*. London, Academic Press, 1974. 518 p, illus, maps.

Emphasises landscape modification—rural and urban settlement expansion, clearing of woodlands, draining of vast areas—in the context of social, political and technological change.



F.M. Rothery, Bundaleer Plains. Watercolour in his Atlas of Bundaleer Plains and Tatala, 1878.

Bundaleer Plains was a huge pastoral holding in southeast Queensland, where the artist of this work spent ten years as manager from 1863 to 1873. The property had been acquired in the late 1850s, when Queensland was being carved up by explorers and squatters.

VII POLITICS



HRH Duke of York at the opening of the federal parliament in May 1927—a reminder of Australia's close ties with the 'mother country'. Youth annual, December 1930.

BOOROWA PRODUCTIONS