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HISTORICAL CHANGES IN THE APPRAISAL OF PASTORAL LAND RESOURCES

With Special Reference to the Semi-arid Plains of Eastern Australia

R. L. HEATHCOTE*

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The determination of what is "good" land is not yet certain; while the present agricultural use of land may be a rough guide, the evidence was virtually unanimous that more knowledge . . . is much to be desired.

S. R. Dennison, minority report to *Report of the Commission on Land Utilisation in Rural Areas*, HMSO, London, 1942.

1. INTRODUCTION

Professor Dennison was concerned with agriculture in England, but the problem he posed is one which has faced the pastoral industry in Australia and this paper is an attempt to examine some of the changes which have taken place in the appraisal of pastoral resources over the last century. The study area referred to comprises the semi-arid plains of western New South Wales and southwestern Queensland, with particular reference to the Warrego Country (Fig. 1).

* University College, London.

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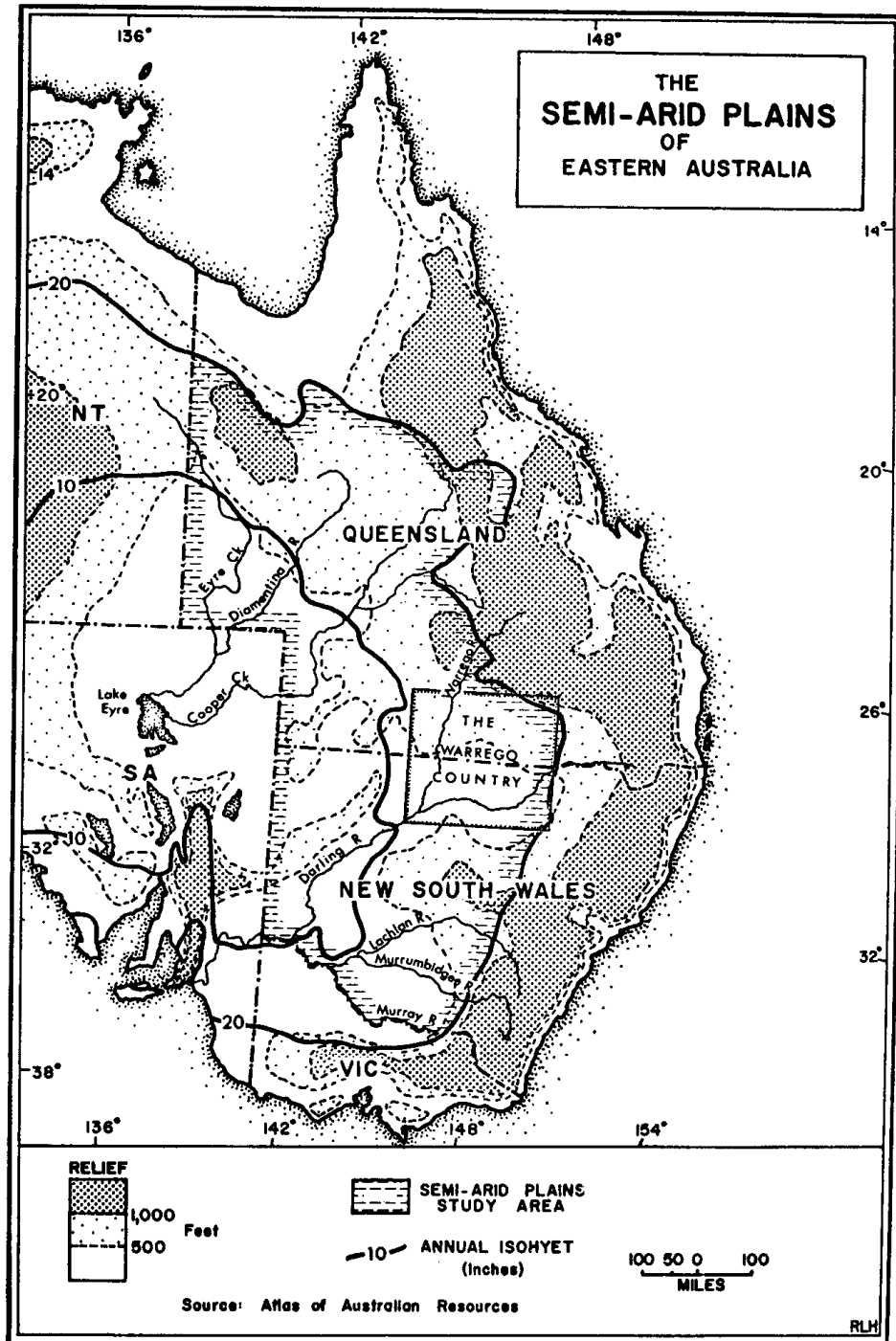


Fig. 1. Showing the Semi-Arid Plains Study Area.

Two techniques relevant to pastoral lands will be examined, the first being their evaluation for taxation purposes as rent and the second their classification for varying intensities of pastoral use. These are not the only criteria which might be used, but are two techniques which lend themselves to historical analysis.¹ Before we examine these techniques, however, some definitions are required.

“Appraisal” as used here is taken to mean the expression of opinion on quality. As such, the appraisal is a subjective process but its expression may take a relatively objective form, in terms of cash values or stock carrying capacities for example. The process of appraisal is the result of a complex interplay of factors, involving the experience and personal preferences of the appraiser and the “apparent” as opposed to the “true” nature of the resources. The extent of the contrast between the latter will depend upon the scope of contemporary knowledge and the extent to which latent resources have been recognized.

“Pastoral Resources” as used here are those objects of appraisal which affect, or are thought to affect, the capacity of a given area of land to support pastoral production and a population deriving its livelihood from that production. Because production at any one point in time is usually limited, the appraisal of resources for that production also tends to be limited. That is to say the appraisal is in finite terms of areas, rainfalls, and vegetation, etc., which appear to be relevant at the time. These finite terms are the available contemporary knowledge of the environment and we might expect improvements in that knowledge to be reflected in changing appraisals through time. Our examination of changing appraisals then becomes a review of knowledge of the environment as related to a particular activity within it.

“Pastoral production” as used here concerns the rearing of horses, cattle, and sheep (especially the latter) for both transit and terminal markets. These were not the only animals considered for domestication on the plains, but have been the most successful.²

The capacity of the plains to support a population deriving its livelihood from pastoral production involves not only the success of production but also more general questions of the attraction of the plains as a place to live as well as to work. We cannot hope to examine this broad canvas adequately but will try to raise some points for discussion.

Two main sources of evidence are relevant, one official and the other unofficial or, what we might call, independent. The difference between these two sources, in terms of pastoral appraisals, is less now than a century ago but is still important. The official sources are the more abundant of the two, and might be grouped into four categories. First, are the reports of the initial contact with plains' conditions, found in the journals of the official explorers and the reports of the land surveyors. The work of the explorers is of limited value to our inquiry because they were rarely concerned with the pastoral quality of the land, rather carrying out specific orders to trace river courses or establish overland routeways.³

¹ Modern techniques of resource appraisal would include methods of land inventory, currently being undertaken by the Division of Land Research and Regional Survey of the C.S.I.R.O.

² For evidence of other possibilities see *Australian Encyclopaedia* (Sydney: Angus & Robertson, 1958), articles on “Alpacas” and “Camels”.

Their views, in any case, tend to be distorted since they followed the better-watered country wherever possible and tried to avoid the drier sections. Few, indeed, were experienced in pastoral appraisal, being for the most part topographical surveyors and army officers.⁴

The work of the land surveyors is of greater value for our purposes. In 1847, surveyors were appointed for the pastoral districts beyond the Nineteen Counties and one of their duties was to report upon the "geographical and physical descriptions" of their districts and the "capabilities either for grazing or agricultural purposes".⁵ These men traversed not only the better-watered river frontages, but also the remote back country and were, as a result, able to give a more balanced view of the country. Some of these men became, if they were not already, pastoralists and developed a critical eye for grazing country. The quality of their work varied, however, and even here impressions were often based upon brief traverses during the winter months when travel on the plains was less arduous than in the summer.

The second category of official sources covers the periodic investigations made into conditions on the plains. These Select Committees, Royal Commissions, and special inquiries collected vast amounts of contemporary evidence from official and independent authorities and are a major source for any survey of opinions on pastoral resources. The third category covers the actual assessments of pastoral holdings for taxation, which are at their worst little more than a record of minimum legal rents bearing scant relation to appraisal of pastoral qualities, but at their best a sequence of informed evaluations of the capacity of country to carry stock and its quality as a unit of pastoral production. The final category is the record of legislation, within which can be found the political attitudes to the plains as a source of pastoral production and an area for settlement.⁶

RENTS AS RESOURCE APPRAISALS

The low pastoral productivity of the semi-arid plains has virtually dictated that the bulk of their occupation has been in the form of leases from the Crown at annual rents. The question whether this rent is a valid method of appraising land quality must be considered in two stages. The first is the examination of the general principles of rent assessment current in Europe and America at the time that the initial policies for Australian land appraisals were being formulated. As Garland has pointed out, there were considerable external influences upon early Australian concepts of land taxation and similar influences may be evident in appraisals for rents.⁷ With this general background, the specific development of rent assessments in Australia may be examined as stage two.

³ The Warrego Country was traversed by four major explorers, Sturt, Mitchell, Kennedy and Landsborough. Of these, the first three were attempting to trace the river systems thought to provide an overland route to the northwest, while Landsborough's party was one of several in the search for Burke and Wills.

⁴ Of the four men who explored the Warrego Country, only Landsborough could claim to be a pastoralist; Mitchell and Sturt had been British Army officers, and Kennedy a surveyor. None had been born in Australia.

⁵ Circular letters from Surveyor General, *Mitchell Library Collection* No. 4/5432, 1847/326 and 311.

⁶ For a list of the relevant investigations, see *Appendix I*. For the relevant legislation see *Appendix II*. For Abbreviations in the footnotes which follow relating to official documents see *Appendix III*.

⁷ See J. M. Garland, *Economic Aspects of Australian Land Taxation* (Melbourne: Melbourne University Press, 1934), Chapter 1.

2. THE THEORIES OF LAND APPRAISAL IN THE NINETEENTH AND TWENTIETH CENTURIES

The expansion of European colonization in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries brought immense areas of "new lands" in the Americas, Africa, and Australia into the ken of the European economy. Along with the "new lands" came a renewed interest in the evaluation of land quality not only in the "old lands" of Europe, where competition from colonial products was making an impact on land values, but in the "new lands" themselves, where European techniques and concepts were being introduced to novel situations.

In Europe, and Britain in particular, the high prices and increasing rents during the Napoleonic Wars had stimulated interest in the general questions of economic theory and a corollary, land evaluation.⁸ With the decline of agricultural prices after 1820, following the overproduction of wheat in Ireland in the good harvests of 1819-1820, and the relaxation of restrictions on foreign imports of foodstuffs after 1825,⁹ the distress of the British farming community stirred further discussion of the contemporary problems. The debate ranged over the whole field of political economy, but a large section, of relevance here, concerned the question of rents. Fundamentally the debate on rents was between two parties, one which maintained that land had a value in its "raw" or "virgin" state and that this value only should be taxed, and the other which held that the land itself had no value until labour and capital had been invested in it and any taxation would be on the investment rather than the land.

THE "NATURAL" VALUE

The idea of an inherent value in land was established early in the debate. Malthus, in 1815, suggested that while the rent itself was the surplus after a normal profit on investment, rents could be related to lands of certain quality. Yet he made no suggestion on the method by which such "qualities of the soil and its products . . . the gifts of nature to man" could be assessed.¹⁰ The quality of individual plots of land would vary but variety was seen as an advantage and in certain cases a varied whole was more valuable than the sum of its individual and uniform parts assessed separately.¹¹ In fact, appraisers in England by mid-nineteenth century were considering the physical character of the land in some detail but were beginning to recognize that other factors would have to be included

⁸ F. A. Fetter noted that the two decades after Malthus's treatise on population in 1798 showed an increasing interest in the twin problems of population and rent. See the article "Rent" in *Encyclopaedia of Social Sciences*, (New York: Macmillan, 1934), Vol. XIII, p. 290.

⁹ J. H. Clapham, *An Economic History of Modern Britain* (Cambridge: University Press, Vol. 1, 1926, Reprinted 1950), pp. 133-134.

¹⁰ T. R. Malthus, *The Nature and Progress of Rent* (London: John Murray, 1815), pp. 11, 22-23, and 30.

¹¹ Rent on land containing a variety of country would generally be higher than on land of uniform quality according to R. Baker, *The Art of Valuing Rents and Tillages* (7th Edition; London; 1856), pp. 16-17.

in their calculations.¹² The concept of a “natural” value died hard, however, in 1929 there were still authorities prepared to put a “natural” value before any value from investment of capital or labour,¹³ and the theory was still voiced at mid-twentieth century.¹⁴

THE ACQUIRED VALUE

Ranged against such concepts were the disciples of David Ricardo, in combination with the settlers in the “new lands”. Ricardian theory maintained that the land was a natural not artificial agent in production with originally no “psychic cost, in contrast with the psychic sacrifice involved in making, improving and modifying other things which were thought to be ruled by the labour theory of value”.¹⁵ In settling a new country where land was abundant and means to develop it scarce, “there will be no rent”, said Ricardo, “for no one would pay for the use of land, when there was an abundant quantity not yet appropriated”.¹⁶ Given, however, an investment of capital and labour, the land acquired value. Any tax on this value became a tax on the investment and indirectly on production. If production costs varied, such a tax would be unjust, but in the “new lands” where because of the lack of investment such costs more closely reflected the quality of the land alone, such a tax might be tolerated.¹⁷ In the United States the association of value only with investment ensured that while land remained abundant, the settlers would not be tempted to make any investment which would create a taxable income and as a result would rather exploit the natural qualities of the land until they were exhausted.¹⁸

¹² Baker gave two pages to the listing of factors to be considered and included climate, terrain, soils, and geology. His list also included marketing costs and the amount of investment. For the U.S.A. F. A. Walker, in 1891, noted that rent was more than the difference between the best and the poorest land and was being affected by the mechanisation of agriculture and continued investment of capital. See his *Land and its Rent* (Boston: Little, Brown & Co., 1891) p. 21.

¹³ J. Laird in *The Idea of Value* (Cambridge: University Press, 1929) noted that the “natural value” may “fairly be said to be *logically* antecedent to both money prices and to many other sorts of prices” (p. 23).

¹⁴ “La rente . . . c’est l’avantage durable du degre de fertilite de chaque parcelle, avantage dont le proprietaire exige ou recoit le prix”. (M. Glansdorff: *Theorie Generale de la Valeur* (Brussels: S.P.R.L., 1954) p. 240.

¹⁵ Fetter, *loc. cit.*

¹⁶ D. Ricardo: *On the Principles of Political Economy, and Taxation* (London: John Murray, 1817) p. 52.

¹⁷ A rent on produce would only be justified “when farming was in so primitive a state, as to have become applicable to all descriptions of soil alike; and as the routine of management was similar, and the return depending upon the soil more than upon management, would render a proportion of the produce a tolerably fair criterion for fixing the rent”. (Baker, *op. cit.*, p. 61.)

¹⁸ Walker commented:

The American people, finding themselves on a continent containing an almost limitless breadth of arable land, of fair average fertility, having little accumulated capital and many urgent occasions for every unit of labour power they could exert, have elected . . . to regard the land as practically of no value, and labour as of high value; have . . . systematically cropped their fields on the principle of obtaining the largest crops with the least expenditure of labour . . . and caring little about returning to the soil an equivalent for the properties taken from it. (*Op. cit.*, pp. 45-46.)

EXPEDIENCY AND A NOMINAL VALUE

The governments of the "new lands" could not accept the Ricardian doctrine, pleading that expediency dictated the sale or lease of the land as a source of revenue to fill the new treasuries, to subsidize immigration, and promote settlement generally. Adopting, therefore, the theory of a "natural" value, the authorities set a nominal value on the land for purposes of taxation.¹⁹

When projected into the twentieth century, however, the divergence of opinion narrows and the issues become less clear-cut. The nature of rent is recognized as becoming increasingly complicated through the inclusion of additional variables. An Australian study by Gutman in 1955, adopted the four factors affecting the unimproved value of land which had been proposed by Garland in 1934. In order of importance these were "productive value", "position value", "prestige value", and "prospective value".²⁰ To cover such a range of factors the modern appraisers have come to rely more upon the market value of the land, i.e., that price which experienced and willing buyers would pay for the land, arguing that such buyers consider most of the intangibles in making their purchase. The distinction between the natural and acquired value of the land has been lost by the merger of these with other criteria.

RENTS AS APPRAISALS

The importance of the rents as *indicators of contemporary ideas on land values* remains whichever theory was applied and in spite of the complications of the twentieth century. If the rent was accepted as a tax on the natural value of the land, then it represents ideas on the natural potentials for development in contemporary terms. As Garland interpreted Ricardo, "the rent of the land . . . measures a differential superiority, or an advantage with respect to a margin".²¹ A nominal or token rent will suggest that the land had only a nominal and uniform value; a gradation of rents will suggest a gradation of values.

If, on the other hand, the rent was assumed merely to tax investment, then the natural potentials are still being assessed but in the terms to which the settlers are prepared to develop them by investment; the assumption being that the more valuable the land the greater the investment. This

¹⁹ In the United States, the "Land Ordinance" of 1785 instituted sales at a minimum of one dollar per acre; the 1820 Act authorized sales of up to 640 acres at \$1.25 per acre and the 1862 "Homestead Act" kept the same price for a maximum of 160 acres. In the same year the "Morrill Act" used land grants to the states to pay for agricultural colleges. There was considerable argument on the question in England, where the Colonial Land and Emigration Commissioners in 1840 opposed any form of land taxation unless the proceeds were allowed to encourage the introduction of capital to develop the "new lands", through the subsidy of an immigrant labour force, or individual capitalists (see "Report to the Secretary of State for the Colonies, 26 February 1840", quoted in *Colonial Magazine*, Fisher and Son, London, Vol. VII, 1842, pp. 474-475). In this attitude were reflected many of the premises put forward in evidence by E. G. Wakefield, who was following up the ideas first proposed in his *A Letter from Sydney* (London: J. Gross, 1829).

²⁰ G. O. Gutman, "Investment and Production in Australian Agriculture", this *Review*, Vol. 23, No. 4 (December, 1955), pp. 254-255.

²¹ Garland, *op. cit.*, p. 7.

argument is particularly relevant to the semi-arid plains whose settlement came after the better-watered lands to the east and south had been occupied and where, because of the low productivity, capital had to be judiciously invested to afford a reasonable return.²² The rent on such investment should reflect a careful analysis of the potentials by the investors.

No doubt the use of rents will produce some anomalies. The time lag between the translation of changing ideas on land quality into rents, where assessments are renewed at infrequent intervals, may be considerable. Thus nominal rents might continue long after contemporary ideas had begun to differentiate the quality of the land; but at the time when they were made, the rents may be assumed to be a reasonably accurate guide to ideas of land quality. With such qualifications in mind we can now carry our argument from the general to the specific, from the wider concepts of European colonization to their application in Australia.

3. PASTORAL LAND APPRAISALS IN EASTERN AUSTRALIA IN THE NINETEENTH AND TWENTIETH CENTURIES

APPRAISALS PRE-1856

By the time the first settlers had established their stock on the plains in the 1830's, the colonial authorities had given up the initial policy of free land grants and were considering the land as a source of revenue. In this they were paralleling foreign trends, yet in the practical problem of awarding a price to the land and assessing its different qualities, the solutions were more often empirical.

The minimum sale price of land in New South Wales, set at 5s. per acre in 1831, was raised to 12s. per acre in 1839 and to £1 per acre in 1842.²³ Unauthorized occupation of the plains by stockmen, who refused to purchase land, forced the authorities to compromise and a system of depasturing licences for stock "runs" beyond the area of the Nineteen Counties was established in 1836. In effect this licence gave the right to graze stock on the land in return for a nominal fee. Following the "Crown Land Occupation and Border Police Act" of 1839, the licensees had to pay an additional assessment on their stock, to provide funds for the Border Police, who were responsible for the protection of the settlers from attacks by aborigines as well as general law and order on the plains. In one sense this additional "rent" set a precedent to be followed on the plains. From a tax on the nominal natural value of the land, official policy had come to accept revenue from the productivity of the land in terms of stock carried. The development of this official policy, however, was in the face of opposition from the local pastoralists.

²² West recognized that the best lands would be taken up first and that relative to production, the inferior lands would require more capital investment for the same return. Investment on such inferior lands was therefore discouraged and as a result, rents bore a closer relation to natural productivity.

Sir Edward West, *The Application of Capital to Land, by a Fellow of University College, Oxford* (London: T. Underwood, 1815 (reprint by Johns Hopkins University, Baltimore, 1903)), pp. 7-8 and 28.

²³ W. Epps, *Land Systems of Australasia* (London: Swan Sonnenschein, 1894), p. 15.

The opposition crystallized in the 1844 "Select Committee on Crown Land Grievances" which reviewed local opinions on land values and proposed modifications of official policy on the question of land prices. Instead of the £1 per acre asked for freehold land the Committee suggested that 5s. per acre was sufficient and even then, as Governor Gipps agreed, "in consideration only of the collateral advantages of water and back run" (i.e. if the sale gave control of a larger area than the mere area sold).²⁴ The nominal value, the Committee admitted, covered a variety of country, parts of which were more attractive than others, but of such a low general value that for purposes of taxation, "the only intelligible measure of the value of the (pastoral) station . . . is the quantity of stock which it is able to support in an average season".²⁵ The pastoralists were refusing to pay anything more than a nominal fee for the natural value but were prepared to be taxed on their investments in stock. In practice the theory broke down since, as was pointed out, the pastoralists claimed the right to pick out the best portions and by strategic location control the surrounding and inferior country—they were claiming uniformity but practising discrimination.²⁶

As a result of the Orders-in-Council of 1847 the rent of pastoral land combined both the concepts of natural and acquired value, since runs in the Unsettled and Intermediate Districts were leased at a minimum of £10 per year on an area sufficient to depasture at least 4,000 sheep. The minimum area sufficient for this purpose was set at 16,000 acres, so that in effect the rent was a tax on both carrying capacity and the land itself. This compromise was to be the basis for most of the later assessments of pastoral land for taxation.

A CENTURY OF CHANGE: APPRAISALS 1857-1956

The initiation of responsible government for the Colony in 1856 is a convenient starting point for the examination of what might be called "autonomous" appraisal of the plains. At first, however, there was little change in the approach and the second half of the nineteenth century witnessed the same dichotomy which had characterized the first fifty years. Popular ideas maintained that the land itself had little or no value and should not be taxed. The Crown Tenants of the Upper Darling petitioned against the proposed New South Wales "Land Acts Further Amendment Act" in 1879, complaining that the new minimum rent of £1 per square mile was unjust, "this being country which in its natural state is absolutely useless, and which is only brought into bearing by the expenditure of large sums of money".²⁷ In 1887 the failure of closer pastoral settlement by

²⁴ Gipps's note on the "Report" in *N.S.W. G.D.*, 1844, XLVI, 444, *M.L.* A/1235.

²⁵ The Committee suggested:

Some parts of the Colony are mere deserts, no numbers of acres of which will feed a sheep; in others this may be done with little more than a single acre; in others the stations cannot be occupied more than a few months at a time, from want of water. (*N.S.W. G.D.*, 1844, XLVI, p. 445).

²⁶ "Paper delivered to the Executive Council by the Lord Bishop of Australia on the Squatting Question", *N.S.W. G.D.*, 1844, XLVI, p. 738-739.

²⁷ *N.S.W. V.P.*, 1878-1879, IV, p. 531.

Homestead Leases in the Western Division was claimed by Wilcannia pastoralists "to confirm the assertion . . . that, apart from the improvements, the land has no value".²⁸

Increasing "natural" value?

In contrast, official policy maintained that the natural or unimproved value of the land was increasing over the years. In Queensland the 1860 Act (No. 11) placed a minimum rent of 10s. per square mile on the "available" pastoral land.²⁹ Originally, this minimum was to be doubled after the first four years of occupation but no increases were in fact made until 1868, and even then they were repealed a year later. Legislation in 1884 kept the minimum value at 10s. per square mile, but on land resumed for closer settlement, the minimum was raised to £2 per square mile. Provision was made for the reassessment of all rents after fixed periods, the subsequent assessments to be based upon stock-carrying capacities.

In New South Wales the Act of 1861 (No. 2) had continued the 1847 rent of £10 and the minimum stock assessment of 1858 at £20, giving a "rent" of £30 per 16,000 acres, or £1 5s. 0d. per square mile. Actual appraisals had tended to reduce the proportion paid on stock until, in 1879, Sir John Robertson claimed that many of the runs in the interior were being leased at only the nominal fee of 8s. per square mile.³⁰ He, therefore, supported the Act of 1880 (No. 27) which increased the minimum rent to £1 per square mile, although new leases were valued at half this rent. Obviously, a period of occupation was considered to increase the nominal value, and the 1884 Act (No. 18) for example increased the minimum to £2 13s. 4d. per square mile in the Western Division and £4 per square mile in the Central Division, with, as in Queensland, future rents to be based on the assessment of carrying capacities.

These were the trends in the minimum land values accepted by the Crown—trends towards an increasing unimproved value of the land. How was this trend justified? The answer appears to rest on two hypotheses, the first that the value no longer represented merely the unimproved quality of the land but something more complex, and the second that perhaps new natural potentials had come to be recognized. Before considering these hypotheses, however, we need to look more closely at the basis for the rent assessments in general.

The basis of rent assessment

The assessment of an unimproved land value involved the recognition of the natural pastoral potentials of the land, i.e. its ability to support stock. Thus the Queensland rents in 1860 were to tax only the natural grazing capacity and the New South Wales rents after 1875 were only to take into account the natural capacities and not the improved carrying capacities resulting from the investment of capital. Such a policy gave

²⁸ Wilcannia Pastoral Protection Association: *The Land Act and the Rabbits* (2nd edition; Sydney, 1887), p. 20.

²⁹ "Available" land was useful grazing land; "unavailable" land was thought to be useless for pastoral purposes. The basis for the distinction changed over the years and the details are examined in section 4 below.

³⁰ *N.S.W. P.D.*, 1879-1880, p. 423.

rise to several logical assumptions in assessments. For any pastoral property, the value of the whole was recognized to be greater than the sum of the parts; variety of country was superior to uniformity. The 1884 Act (No. 28) in Queensland maintained that, "in case of a portion of a holding being resumed, a reduction is to be allowed in the rent, not only proportionately to the extent resumed, but also to make good any depreciation in the value of the remainder caused by such resumption."³¹ The natural value, however, could be further depreciated by natural catastrophes such as drought or flood, and rent relief at such times represented a renewed appraisal of the reduced natural value.³² Such reductions could be a financial embarrassment to succeeding administrations anxious to share in pastoral prosperity and attempts were made to restore the original assessments as soon as possible.³³ Not content with the restoration of the *status quo*, however, attempts were made to rationalize an increase in the natural value of the land.

The rationalization of increasing "natural" value

The support for a theory of increasing "natural" value came from the recognition of new potential resources and a practical, if not theoretical, shift of official policy towards the assessment of essentially the improved value of the land. The two factors are closely entwined and must be considered jointly.

Technological advances in the late nineteenth century brought lands previously remote and of little value into a new significance. The discovery of artesian water on the plains in 1879, together with the boom in river transport of the 1870s and the arrival of the railways from the east in the 1880s, saw a fresh appraisal of the pastoral potential. To the authorities the new appraisal was of an enhanced natural value. The New South Wales Minister for Lands circulated his appraisers in 1874, suggesting that the contemporary rents were only nominal and:

as all station property has considerably advanced in value since the date on which the leases falling in this year were last appraised, I think that, without in any way fettering the discretion of the Government Appraisers . . . it may be well to advise them that the Government fully contemplate a considerable increase of revenue from this source.³⁴

The increased minimum rent of 1880 was to meet the improved conditions for pastoral industry on the plains, particularly the public transport facilities

³¹ Queensland 1884 Act (No. 28). Section 9.

³² One example of many is the New South Wales 1895 Act (No. 18), Section 9, which allowed the reduction of rents if the environment had deteriorated as a result of "rabbits, depreciation of values or deterioration of grazing capacities."

³³ In the *Annual Report* of the Queensland Department of Public Lands for 1909, the claim was made that the state was not obtaining its fair share of the prosperity of the pastoral industry because of the low rents in force since the assessments in the droughts of 1884 and 1901. *QLD. P.P.*, 1910, III. p. 11.

³⁴ *N.S.W. V.P.*, 1873-1874, III, pp. 883-884.

offered by the railways.³⁵ Similar thinking prevailed in Queensland³⁶ and until the droughts at the turn of the century both states were demonstrating that the natural potentials were considered to be neither static nor exhausted.

The problem of development and "realized" value

Yet the further the appraisals became removed in time from the initial contact, the more difficult it was to appreciate the original character of the country. Following the investment of capital in the improvement of watering facilities, the provision of fenced paddocks and the partial removal or destruction of useless vegetation, the assessment of original carrying capacities became more difficult.

As a result, the official appraisals tended to consider the extent to which the natural potentials had been realized rather than the extent to which those potentials had existed. This concept was evident as early as 1865, when the New South Wales Chief Commissioner for Crown Lands circulated his appraisers to the effect that not only were the natural grazing capacities of the country to be considered, but also the susceptibility of the country to increased capacities through improvements. "It is considered just", he wrote, "that country offering, in its natural state, facilities for improvement, should be rated at a higher estimate than country of the same character not possessing the same advantage, whether it be availed of by the holder or not".³⁷ Later in the century this trend had developed, and an examination of the forms used by the New South Wales appraisers from 1886 to 1896 shows several interesting themes.³⁸ Consideration of stock-water supplies was common to all forms, together with notes on the character of the terrain and its soils, the nature of the vegetation and its value for stock, and the carrying capacities of the area in both unimproved, current, and as ultimately improved states. The situation of the land with regard to communications and accessibility of transport were not listed until 1891, while in 1896 two further variables were considered; first the damage from rabbits and second management. The rabbit problem which reached serious proportions after the 1880s explains the first, but the second is an interesting illustration of the way in which the authorities were beginning to consider more than the mere natural potentials: here, for the first time, was a consideration of the past land use as an influence on present value.

³⁵ The opinion of the Chief Officer of the New South Wales Department of Lands in Schedule 2 of a "Return of Appraisement of Runs", *N.S.W. V.P.*, 1880-1881, II, pp. 445-446. In his second "Annual Report" for 1881, he commented:

Under the old Regulations the "natural advantages and sources of profit" incident to a run could alone be taken cognizance of when determining an award. This restriction was removed by the omission of the term "natural" in the Regulations of 1880, and the increment named therefore contains the additional value considered to be due on account of progress of events and increased facilities afforded for the transit of stores and produce. (*N.S.W. V.P.*, III, 1881, p. 442).

³⁶ Section 30 (5) of the Queensland 1884 Act (No. 28) expressed the hope that revenue would be increased as a result of technological improvements affecting the pastoral industry.

³⁷ *N.S.W. V.P.*, 1865, II, p. 415.

³⁸ The forms are "Report for Appraisement of Rent or Licence Fee, LLB 82", used in 1886; "Report for Appraisement, LLB 141, 91" used in 1891; and "Report for Appraisement, LLB 141, 95-6", used in 1896. These forms are held at the Western Lands Office, Sydney, in the files of the appraised properties.

During the twentieth century, in the legislation of New South Wales, the "natural" value was swamped under the developing concepts of value after improvements. The Act of 1934 (No. 12) set a maximum rent of seven pence per sheep "on the fair average carrying capacity of the land when reasonably improved", and this was still in force at mid-century, although the maximum had been raised to between six pence and one shilling and sixpence per sheep. All pretence at the evaluation of land on purely natural merits had been abandoned, and the ultimate test of evaluation was recognized to be the sale price of the land.³⁹

In Queensland, the trend towards the appraisal of the improved value appeared in the late nineteenth century. The 1884 Act (No. 28) based rents on stock-carrying capacities in average seasons "after a proper and reasonable expenditure of money on improvements". The proviso was omitted from the 1897 Act (No. 25) as being an unfair taxation on investments,⁴⁰ but the same Act established the principle that the rent should be related to "such a sum as a tenant might reasonably be expected to give for the holding, having regard to the length of tenure and all the circumstances of the case".⁴¹ The definition of rent was being enlarged. The trend continued in the 1910 Act (No. 15) where although the rent was not to reflect any "increase in the value of the holding attributable to improvements", the fifth factor to be considered by appraisers was "the amount which experienced persons would be willing to pay for land of similar quality in the same neighbourhood". This amount would certainly include their assessment of the value added by any improvements on the property. By 1927, the potential for increased carrying capacities after investment was under consideration by the authorities; the Land Settlement Advisory Board commented:

The words [unimproved value] are sometimes wrongly interpreted by Crown tenants to mean that rents should be fixed as if the lands are, and must always remain, in a state of nature without any improvements whatever. Such an interpretation is clearly wrong. The unimproved value of the grazing land includes its potentialities and especially its power to increase its carrying capacity to a greater or less extent in proportion to expenditure.⁴²

The Wool Advisory Commissioner repeated the interpretation in 1939 and it was still in force at mid-twentieth century.⁴³

By 1956, the dichotomy in the attitudes to land valuation, which opened the period, had disappeared. In its place was a marriage of ideas which had accepted that valuation for rent should consider the improved character of land; a marriage, however, only registered in New South Wales although consummated in both states. The classification of pastoral land reflected this trend but forms a separate story.

³⁹ "The test of values is the amount which experienced graziers, with a full knowledge of all present difficulties, and with a mind free from any element of compulsion, would be willing to give for the subject land." C. M. Collins: *The Valuation of Property Compensation and Land Tax* (3rd Edition; Law Book of Australia, Sydney, 1949), p. 41.

⁴⁰ See the debate in the Legislative Assembly, November 16, 1897, especially the speech of A. C. Gregory, *Qld. P.D.*, 1897, p. 1582.

⁴¹ A footnote to the Act in W. F. Wilson (ed.): *The Land Acts, 1897 to 1905*, Brisbane, 1907, p. 35.

⁴² *QLD PP*, 1928, II, p. 154.

⁴³ See the judgement of the President of the Land Court of May 1, 1951, quoted in *QLD. P.P.*, 1951-1952, II, p. 192-193.

4. CLASSIFICATION OF PASTORAL LAND

ADMINISTRATIVE DIVISIONS

The first classification of pastoral land came with the territorial divisions of 1847 Orders-in-Council. This division into settled, intermediate, and unsettled districts was merely for administrative convenience, but in so far as legislation differed between the districts and affected actual occupation of the land, the division deserves mention. More detailed classification of the land was established first in the new colony of Queensland, where the 1868 Land Act (No. 46) provided for three categories of agricultural and first or second class pastoral land. There were problems in classification, but the policy was far ahead of thinking in other colonies.

As a result of the 1883 "Report . . . into the State of Public Lands" in New South Wales, the 1884 Act (No. 18) set up the Eastern, Central and Western Divisions of the State. Land legislation was to differ in each division and basically they were developments of the 1847 districts, although founded more directly upon the physique of the country, especially the climate and vegetation. This trend towards a regionalization of land legislation was maintained in 1901 by the creation of a separate administration for the Western Division within the New South Wales Department of Lands: the special conditions of the semi-arid plains were recognized to require special treatment. In Queensland, however, after the early start there seems to have been no equivalent sub-division of land administration on a broad regional basis: the plains remained under the general State administration.

Classification was implicit, however, in more than the organization of administration. The uneven quality of the plains was recognized soon after their occupation and their resources were classed either as "available" or "unavailable" for pastoral purposes. Although these terms gradually disappeared, classification of land was maintained in the policies on "living areas". Both these terms need explanation.

THE "AVAILABILITY" OF PASTORAL LAND

To understand the development and use of this term, the basic requirements of the pastoralist need to be established. At the time of initial occupation they were simple—water and feed for the stock. Implicit was sufficient area on which stock could be depastured and a sufficiently short distance to market to enable the produce to be shipped economically either on the hoof or by dray. In the absence of either water or feed, successful occupation was impossible, but given the widespread distribution of one, then even a limited distribution of the other had significance. Thus, while there were areas on the plains possessing neither water nor feed for stock, there were small areas having abundant water but limited supplies of feed, and larger areas where feed was abundant but water scarce. In the first case the pastoralists could find no country available for their purposes, but in the second and third cases, country was available although in terms of the scarcer commodity.

The chronological development of the concepts of "available" country illustrate this. The earliest evidence shows a concern for water supplies in country where grasses and saltbushes were abundant. For the Bligh Pastoral District (between the Castlereagh and Macquarie rivers) the

Commissioner for Crown Lands wrote to the Colonial Secretary in 1846 that although "the natural available land in this district has long been occupied, the unoccupied is still great and can be made available by artificial means such as sinking for water and making reservoirs or dams to retain the water".⁴⁴

Stock feed was not always available on the plains and when water also was absent the country was useless for pastoral purposes.⁴⁵ If, on the other hand, water was present, the quality of the feed was the deciding factor. Landsborough, returning from the Gulf of Carpentaria in 1862, found that the middle course of the Warrego River "has fine reaches of water, but the banks are too thickly wooded with mulgah scrub to be of much value for pastoral purposes".⁴⁶ The value of mulga (*Acacia aneura*) as a fodder was not then apparent and land which could have been stocked, using the water from the river, was thought useless from the lack of feed.

Legal recognition of the fact that parts of the plains might be useless or of limited value for pastoral purposes, was given first in Queensland, where, in keeping with the sympathetic attitude to settlement of the 1860s, "unavailable" land was not assessed for rent. The exploitation of this proviso by the pastoralists⁴⁷ led, in 1863, to a more restricted definition of "unavailable" country; no land was to be excluded from rent "except absolutely barren country or dense scrubs. All grasslands, whether within accessible distance from permanent water or otherwise, shall be deemed available country".⁴⁸ Apparently, official policy was unwilling to accept that lack of water made country useless, the guiding factor was the type of vegetation. In 1884 the definition was further amended to include only country "which consists of inaccessible ranges or for the time being consists of dense scrub."⁴⁹ Not only was the presence of water no longer considered, but the importance of vegetation was recognized to be only temporary. The explanation lies in the development of surface water storage facilities and the discovery of the artesian basin, together with the possibility of pasture improvement by the ring-barking of useless scrubs. By 1897 all land was considered to be legally available for pastoral purposes in Queensland.

Although the New South Wales authorities never wrote into the land laws any definition of "unavailable" country and made fewer concessions to the pastoralists on this point, there is some evidence of similar thinking. Prior to the 1880 Act (No. 27) the appraisers of pastoral lands appear to have been allowed to deduct value (for assessment purposes) where part of the area was unavailable through lack of water or feed, but the

⁴⁴ CCL-CS, January 1, 1846, 47/615, ML 4/2719.

⁴⁵ The explorer Kennedy considered the area between the lower Warrego and Culgoa rivers to be useless for this reason. *N.S.W. G.G.*, January, 24, 1848, p. 101.

⁴⁶ W. Landsborough: *Journal of Landsborough's Expedition* (Melbourne: F. F. Bailliere, 1862), p. 111.

⁴⁷ See James Nisbet: "Pioneering Days in Queensland, 1857-78", 96-97, MSS 1912, ML A/1533, for evidence of illegal classification of land as "unavailable".

⁴⁸ Queensland 1863 Act (No. 17), Regulation 14.

⁴⁹ Queensland 1884 Act (No. 28), Section 30 (2).

uniform application of the minimum rent set by the 1880 Act brought complaints from appraisers that the actual rent paid on the available country was much more than the theoretical minimum.⁵⁰ Nothing was done, however, and the further increase of 1884 merely emphasized that from the official point of view all land was held to be of use to the pastoralist.

Thus had the ideas of the plains changed. Recognized at first contact as a patchwork of land of variable utility, by the end of the nineteenth century, the plains were officially considered to be generally useful to the pastoral industry. The change, as suggested above, appears to have resulted from a recognition of new potentials and an improvement of the condition of the plains through investment of labour and capital. From such developments and improvements the land gained new value over the years. This gain, however, is less obvious when we turn to the second feature of land classification on the plains—"living areas".

PASTORAL LIVING AREAS

The question of "living areas" or "maintenance areas" arose from the closer settlement policies of the late nineteenth century, when for the first time the authorities attempted to restrict the maximum, and ensure a minimum, area for individual pastoral occupation. Prior to such policies any failure of settlement from lack of sufficient area for successful occupation was a personal affair of the pastoralist. If he lost his capital investments because they were too small to meet the vicissitudes of pastoral operations, he had only himself to blame for not allowing a safety margin. If, however, his "investment" (in terms of land controlled) had been limited or reduced by the authorities, he had a weighty grievance should that "investment", through no fault of his own, be found insufficient to meet a time of stress in the industry. By their attempts to intensify the pastoral occupation of the plains through subdivision of properties into areas thought sufficient for successful operations, the authorities had accepted the responsibility for that success. In view of the uncertain character of the plains environment, therefore, considerable thought had to be given to the minimum areas on which operations could be expected to be successful.⁵¹

⁵⁰ An appraisal of a run near the Queensland border, north of Bourke in 1880, illustrated the problem. "About half the run is fair grazing land," reported the surveyor, "the remainder consisting of spinifex, sand hills, and scrub, is quite unavailable for stock under any circumstances." As a result, the rent on the useful country was in effect, £2 per square mile or twice what it would have been, if the whole area had been useful. (*N.S.W. V.P.*, 1880-1881, II, p. 451).

⁵¹ The basis of a "living area" or "home maintenance area" as it was generally accepted in the twentieth century, was established in two court cases in 1901 and 1903:

the word "home", in our opinion, denotes the maintenance, not of a bark hut or shanty with sordid surroundings to match, but a reasonably comfortable place of residence, with the means and resources derived from the holding on which it is situated, sufficient to maintain a wife, and to bring up and educate the members of an average family so as to take their place as respectable members of the community. (Quoted in Collins, *op. cit.*, p. 225).

The definition of the area required to support a family unit from pastoral operations was considered first in the 1880s when both New South Wales and Queensland began in earnest the policy of subdividing the large pastoral properties. The New South Wales "Report of Inquiry into the State of the Public Lands" in 1883 asserted that in the Western Division at least nine square miles (5,760 acres) was necessary for a pastoral homestead. In 1897, 10,000 acres was thought insufficient in the Bourke district of New South Wales and 20,000 acres was thought to be necessary in the waterless country of western Queensland.⁵² The New South Wales "Royal Commission into the Condition of Crown Tenants" of 1901 accepted that 10,240 acres was an insufficient area and suggested that, instead of a fixed area, a fixed minimum number of stock should be used, the area to be calculated from this figure using the average local carrying capacities. A normal figure of 4,000 sheep was proposed, although increases to between 6,000 and 8,000 would be necessary in the more arid west. Queensland had accepted the 1897 figure of 20,000 acres for Grazing Selections but by 1902 had enlarged the area to a possible 60,000 acres in the western interior.⁵³ The steady increases in the minimum areas are a significant commentary on the official policy. More and more area was thought necessary for successful occupation; was this a reflection of improving knowledge, of deteriorating conditions, of increasing demands or what? For a possible answer we must look to the twentieth century.

In Queensland, after 1915, the living areas had been defined in New South Wales terms, i.e. the number of stock required.⁵⁴ In 1923 the Royal Commission on the prickly pear problem had increased the sheep minimum to 5,000 and in 1927 the question was again under consideration. Some opinions held that the areas were too small: others that they were too large. The first originated with the pastoral lessees and, according to the Under-Secretary for Lands, was associated with the imminent fall-out of their leases and their hopes of retaining as large an area as possible; the other appeared to represent the interests of prospective pastoralists who had no property of their own.⁵⁵ The Wool Commissioner commented in 1939, that:

The general prosperity and the keen land hunger experienced in the years following the Great War, forced the undue subdivision of Crown Lands . . . The current idea was that great incomes could be made from small areas of land, and the Government was pressed and badgered to take land away from those who were using it to advantage and open it in small areas . . . Subsequently the bubble burst . . . due to the 1926-28 drought.⁵⁶

⁵² Evidence of M. R. Dwyer of the Bourke Land Board, Q-243 of Evidence to Queensland "Royal Commission on Land Settlement," *QLD. V.P.*, 1897, III, pp. 869-1242, and paragraph 32 of the "Report".

⁵³ The Surat, Roma and Goondiwindi districts were to have selections of 20,000 acres, the St. George district 40,000 acres and areas to the west, 60,000 acres. Queensland 1902 Act (No. 18), Section 30.

⁵⁴ The minimum was 4,000 sheep or 1,000 cattle (*LSAB*, 4-5, *QSA* 30/66).

⁵⁵ In the course of its investigations into the pastoral industry an Interdepartmental Committee of the Queensland Government in 1927 took a large body of evidence, but as none was taken on oath the validity of the facts were disputed (*Ibid.*, p. 2). The Land Settlement Advisory Board, which reviewed the discussion in its report for 1928, cautioned against undue regard for the public outcry. "Whatever mistakes we make in the future in land administration", the Board warned, "let us, at least, not be influenced by public ignorance or prejudice" (*QLD. P.P.*, 1928, II, p. 150).

⁵⁶ "Report of the Wool Advisory Commission", *QLD. P.P.*, 1939, II, p. 645.

As a result of the current drought and the investigations of a Queensland Government Committee, the 1927 Act (No. 17) enlarged the definition of a living area until it represented not merely a "sound economic proposition", but enabled "a reasonable reserve" to be established "to assist such selector over drought or dry periods without the necessity of seeking assistance from the Government".⁵⁷ Successful occupation required an area which would provide a surplus for emergencies.

The definition of living area was changing even in its basic provisions. The Queensland "Royal Commission on Pastoral Lands Settlement" of 1951 suggested that while the basis for the subdivision of cattle holdings in the interior should be the traditional minimum number of stock (from 750 to 10,000 according to local conditions), more than the maximum of three such living areas could continue under single ownership if the holdings formed part of a chain of properties where "cattle are bred in the remote regions, staged at intermediate properties and brought finally to the coast for fattening prior to killing". The authorities were beginning to think in terms of more than a family unit.

The family unit, however, continued to dominate thinking in New South Wales, and was affirmed in the Acts of 1908 (No. 30, Section 2), 1934 (No. 12, Section 18E) and 1949 (No. 45, Section 17ccc). There was, moreover, no parallel to the "reasonable reserve" thought necessary in Queensland, the area was to be sufficient only for "average seasons",⁵⁸ and although in 1938 it was claimed that "not only the *living standard* but also the preservation of the natural environment (soil and vegetation)" was being considered,⁵⁹ there was no evidence to substantiate this in the later definitions of the "home maintenance areas".

The increasing size of the living areas in both states during the twentieth century appears to be the result of several factors, among which in Queensland, was the recognition of the need for a safety margin of production and the fact that other than family interests were at stake on the plains. Yet neither of these factors appeared in New South Wales. How then can the increase in size here be explained? Part of the answer may lie in the growing experience of drought conditions which appear to have been worse in New South Wales than Queensland, but part also seems to be connected with the political controversy over the "basic wage" in industry. The living area concept appears to have preceded the "basic wage" question in the nineteenth century, but the two concepts were parallel in the first half of the twentieth century.⁶⁰ I can find no proof of the influence of one

⁵⁷ Queensland 1927 Act (No. 17), Section 8.

⁵⁸ In practice, however, there appears to have been some consideration of the fluctuating condition of the industry. A judgment in 1923 suggested:

In estimating a home maintenance area, the Court should not act in a cheese-paring manner, but give a reasonable and fair amount of land, so that there shall be some allowance for the give and take that is absolutely necessary owing to the climatic conditions of New South Wales. (Collins, *op. cit.*, p. 228).

⁵⁹ J. Macdonald Holmes *The Erosional-Pastoral Problem of the Western Division of New South Wales* (Sydney: University of Sydney, Geography Department, Publication No. 2, 1938) p. 10.

⁶⁰ A succinct account of the basic wage movement is noted in B. Fitzpatrick's *The Australian Commonwealth* (Melbourne: Chesire, 1956) pp. 222-224.

upon the other, but the coincidence in time and theory is remarkable. The "basic wage" was an attempt to provide a minimum income sufficient to support a family in essentially an urban environment, while the living area attempted the same for the rural scene. The increases associated with rising "living standards" in the one, may have been reflected in the other.

5. SUMMARY

The evidence from the two techniques of resource appraisal supports the general theory that the process of appraisal of resources reflects the contemporary appreciation of the environment. Thus for rent assessments, actions which reduced the inherent disadvantages of the plains (e.g. improvements of transport facilities and provision of stock-water supplies), together with investment of capital to enable more intensive exploitation of the existing advantages, tended to improve the evaluation of the environment. Such improvements, however, were dependent upon the inherent conditions remaining relatively unaltered; the new evaluation was the result of the recognition of new possibilities rather than the improvement of the original advantages.⁶¹ Any deterioration of the inherent conditions was immediately reflected in a demand for a reduction of the rental assessment—a demand usually met. Such deteriorations were held to be temporary, however, and were but minor setbacks to the general upward trend of rent assessments. The implication of the evidence from rents is that occupation has improved the value of the land for pastoral purposes, mainly by the development of latent resources.

The data on land classification generally supports this contention, for while the semi-arid areas have been recognized to be sufficiently lacking in resources (compared with the humid regions to the east) to justify independent administration, in New South Wales at least, on the question of land "availability" the trend has been towards the elimination of areas once considered unsuitable or "unavailable" for pastoral purposes. As a result, all land not otherwise used is considered to be of some value for pastoral purposes.

The trend is not so obvious, however, when the legislation on "living areas" is examined. Here, the increases in the size of the minimum area suggests either a deterioration of the ability of the land to support pastoral operations to the same intensity as previously, or an increase in the requirements for the minimum standard of living. In the one case the area must be increased because it no longer provides the income once derived from it; in the other the area must be enlarged to increase the income to a new level of subsistence. There is little doubt that the standard of living has been rising, but there is also little doubt that the semi-arid plains in New South Wales do not carry as many stock now as they did for a brief period prior to 1900.

⁶¹ There have been many attempts to intensify the grazing capacities of the indigenous vegetation, usually attempts to extend the useful at the expense of the useless plants, but attempts to introduce exotic forage species have been generally unsuccessful. Experiments, however, are still under way, see R. B. Whalley "Integrated part-farm irrigation in the Upper Darling Area of New South Wales", this *Review*, Vol. 30, No. 3 (September, 1962), pp. 155-168, and W. G. Bryant; "Studies on Buffel Grass . . .", *Journal of the Soil Conservation Service of New South Wales*, Vol. 18, No. 3 (July, 1962), pp. 134-142.

The appraisal of resources implies many more factors than have been listed here, but even the generalizations evident from these two limited techniques have illustrated some of the changes which appear to have affected the appraisal of pastoral resources over the last century. For the definitive survey of the changing appreciation of the semi-arid plains, however, we must await detailed surveys for more limited areas. In such surveys, the changing rental assessments and evidence of land classification deserve consideration.

APPENDIX I

Official Investigations into Settlement on the Plains

1. "Report from the Select Committee on the Navigation of the Murray, etc.." *N.S.W. V.P.*, 1858, III, pp. 703-777.
2. "Progress Report from the Select Committee on the Administration of the Land Law", *N.S.W. V.P.*, 1872, II, pp. 145-199. "Further Progress Report . . .", *N.S.W. V.P.*, 1872-73, II, pp. 911-943. "Third Progress Report . . .", *N.S.W. V.P.*, 1873-74, III, pp. 891-1002.
3. "Report of the Board appointed to inquire into the causes of disease affecting Live Stock and Plants," *QLD. V.P.*, 1876, III, pp. 1011-1038.
4. "Report of Inquiry into the State of the Public Lands," *N.S.W. V.P.*, 1883, II, pp. 71-248.
5. "Royal Commission on Conservation of Water," "First Report", *N.S.W. V.P.*, 1885, VI, pp. 387-530. "Second Report", *N.S.W. V.P.*, 1885, VI, pp. 949-982. "Third and Final Report", *N.S.W. V.P.*, 1887 (2nd), V, pp. 715-745.
6. "Report of the Royal Commission on Land Settlement," *QLD. V.P.*, 1897, III, pp. 869-1242.
7. "Report . . . Royal Commission to Inquire into the Condition of the Crown Tenants," *N.S.W. V.P.*, 1901, IV, pp. 131-1184.
8. "Royal Commission of Inquiry on Rural, Pastoral, Agricultural and Dairying Interests (with particular reference to share farming)." *N.S.W. P.P.*, 1917-18, I, pp. 157-998.
9. "Progress Report from the Select Committee on the Land Development under the Western Lands Commission," *N.S.W. P.P.*, 1919, I, pp. 899-936.
10. "Report of the Royal Commission appointed to Inquire into Certain Matters relating to the Prickly Pear Problem," *QLD. P.P.*, 1923, I, pp. 1281-1332.
11. "Report of the Land Settlement Advisory Board . . . into certain matters relating to Land Settlement", *QLD. P.P.*, 1927, II, pp. 121-200.
12. "Report of the Wool Advisory Commission appointed to inquire into the economic condition of the wool industry in Queensland," *QLD. P.P.*, 1939, II, pp. 629-745.
13. "Report of the Royal Commission on Pastoral Lands Settlement (Queensland)", *QLD. P.P.*, 1951-52, II, pp. 167-248.
14. "Report on Progressive Land Settlement in Queensland by the Land Settlement Advisory Commission", *QLD. P.P.*, 1958-59, II, pp. 549-697.

APPENDIX II

Relevant Land Legislation, 1850-1950

Date	No.	New South Wales	No.	Queensland
1858	17	An Act to impose an assessment on runs in the Unsettled and Intermediate Districts.		
1860			11	Unoccupied Crown Lands Occupation Act.
			12	Tenders for Crown Lands Act.
1861	1	Crown Lands Alienation Act.		
	2	Crown Lands Occupation Act.		
1863			8	Pastoral Leases Act.
1868			46	Crown Lands Alienation Act.
1869			10	Pastoral Leases Act.
1875	13	Crown Lands Amendment Act.		
1884	18	Crown Lands Act.	28	Crown Lands Act.
1886			33	Crown Lands Amendment Act.
1897			25	Land Act.
1901	70	Western Lands Act.		
1902			18	Land Act.
1908	30	Crown Lands (Amendment) Act.		
1910			15	Land Act.
1927			17	Land Acts Amendment Act.
1934	12	Western Lands (Amendment) Act.		
1949	45	Western Lands (Amendment) Act.		

APPENDIX III

Abbreviations

- C.C.L.-C.S.* Letters from the Commissioners of Crown Lands to the Colonial Secretary, with date and reference.
- L.S.A.B.* Papers of the Land Settlement Advisory Board, Queensland State Archives.
- M.L.* Mitchell Library reference number.
- N.S.W. G.D.* New South Wales Governor's Despatches.
- N.S.W. G.G.* New South Wales Government Gazettes.
- N.S.W. P.D.* New South Wales Parliamentary Debates.
- N.S.W. P.P.* New South Wales Parliamentary Papers.
- N.S.W. V.P.* New South Wales Legislative Assembly, Votes and Proceedings.
- QLD. P.P.* Queensland Parliamentary Papers.
- QLD. V.P.* Queensland Legislative Assembly, Votes and Proceedings.