



**THE  
RIVERINA  
SEPARATION  
MOVEMENT  
1858—1867**

**J. S. CRAIG**

**Thesis submitted as a part  
requirement for The  
Honours Degree of  
Bachelor of Arts, University  
of Adelaide, 1963.**





C O N T E N T S

	Page
Preface	v
Chapter I The Roots of Conservatism	1
II The Politics of Fear	20
III The Riverine Association	34
IV The Achievement of Security	60
Conclusion                   ...                   ...	81
Bibliography               ...               ...	87
Appendices                 ...                 ...	91
Map of N S W. to accompany	
minute upon the petition for the	
Separation of Western Portion of the Colony	

ILLUSTRATIONS

Map showing Approximate Stationary Boundaries, about 1860.	Frontispiece Following page
Augustus Morris	4
Hopwood's Ferry, Echuca	8
The "Adelaide".	8
Cobb & Co. Coaches	13
The Highlander Inn	15
Taylor's Royal Hotel	15
Salt bush country, Nap Nap	32
Deniliquin in the 1860's	32
George P. Desailly, President of the Riverine Association	54
Thomas Robertson, Solicitor	54
Robert Landale, M.L.A. for Murray	63
Joseph J. Phelps, M.L.A. for Balranald	63
George Hall Peppin	70
William Lang, brother of G. S. Lang	70
Residence of one of Four Conditional Purchases on Mr. O'Shanassy's Moira Run	71

ABBREVIATIONS

Votes & Proceedings of the L.A. of N.S.W.	V. & P.
Votes & Proceedings of the L.A. of Vic.	Vic. V. & P.
N.S.W. Parliamentary Debates	P.D.
Sydney Morning Herald	S.M.H.
Pastoral Times	P.T.
Legislative Assembly	L.A.
Legislative Council.	L.C.
Mitchell Library	ML
Historical Studies of Australia and New Zealand	H.S.A.N.Z.
Royal Australian Historical Society	R.A.H.S.

PREFACE.

In the early 1860's there was a separation movement in the Riverina, centred on Deniliquin. Ostensibly its supporters were objecting to being poorly governed from Sydney, and to a capital with which they had almost no commercial or cultural connection. Ostensibly, too, it was a movement of the whole district, with one ultimate aim - Separation, whether by Independence or Annexation to Victoria, so long as certain specified grievances were redressed. On the surface, therefore the causes of the movement seemed simple, and very similar to the alleged causes of other separation movements.

In actual fact, though, it was primarily a movement of squatters concerned with the security of their political and economic position under the Electoral Reform Act of 1858. Separation of itself did not interest them, provided their interests were secure. Other classes in the Deniliquin district, who did want certain grievances redressed, gave their support until they realized theirs and the squatters' interests were not the same. From the beginning, then, the Riverina Association was not united in its aims, for it tried to combine the different interests of the classes; not only were there divisions between the classes, but even amongst the squatters.

The movement, founded on the aspirations of a class, died when that class achieved its aims. Contrary to expectations, under the Robertson Land Acts, passed by a democratically elected Parliament in 1861, the squatters achieved the security they had hoped to gain by separation. The movement was one of conservatism - a propertied class trying to retain

its economic, political and social position, and it was abandoned when that class found security.

I have attempted to show how the squatters' background in England, with its attendant feeling of insecurity, and their attitude to economic interests, ultimately determined their political actions. My chief sources of reference have been the Pastoral Times, established in Deniliquin in 1859, N.S.W. Parliamentary Votes and Proceedings of the period, and primary and secondary material, much of which was found in the Mitchell Library in Sydney.

I acknowledge the help of the librarians of the Mitchell Library; Mr. Bushby of the Pastoral Times for making the files available to me; and Mrs. Silk, librarian of the Deniliquin Historical Society, for helping with research.

CHAPTER I

THE ROOTS OF CONSERVATISM



THE ROOTS OF CONSERVATISM

The boundaries of the Riverina are indeterminate, but in the 1860s the district was generally regarded as covering the Western Third of New South Wales, an area of approximately 156,000 square miles.<sup>1</sup> The Riverina consists of vast plains intersected by meandering creeks and rivers, from whence it derives its name. John Dunmore Lang was the first to name "Riverina", when he wrote to the Melbourne press in 1856. He quoted the example of the State in South America, "Entre Rios", lying between the Panama and Paraguay Rivers.<sup>2</sup> In certain places there are low sand hills, usually covered with Murray Pine, and there are a few isolated hills like The Rock, in Eastern Riverina. There are patches of mallee and boree, and Box and Red Gums grow along the rivers and water courses. The red-gum forest to the south east of Bathurst yields Timber for the mills there.

"Pigface" covered most of the plains when settlers first took up land in the Riverina in the 1840s. A decade later their cattle had eaten most of it, and old man saltbush and cotton bush had spread over the land. It also seems that in the 1860s Bathurst burr was presenting much the same problem to squatters, and the same job for cutters, as it does now.

The Surveyor's District of Deniliquin extends over about four million acres, and includes the counties of Cadell, Townsend and Wakool,

---

<sup>1</sup> This figure was given in the proposal to separate the Riverina from Sydney; it is rather more than a third of the State, the remainder being approximately 167,430 square miles. "Minute of the Cabinet upon the petitions for erecting a portion of N.S.W. into a separate Colony." 14 July 1865. N.S.W. V. & P. Vol. I, 1865-1866. p. 666.

<sup>2</sup> U.R. Ellis, "New Australian States," (Sydney 1933) p. 71.

and part of Cairn. Most of it is good grazing country, suitable for fattening stock and for growing wool. Much of the soil, particularly in the county of Cadell, is suitable for wheat growing, but the variation in the rainfall makes pastoral activities more dependable.<sup>3</sup> The average annual rainfall for Deniliquin is 16.8 inches. It falls in Summer and Winter, but is very unreliable. Severe droughts are not uncommon, and in 1865 only 8.7 inches were recorded in the Town.<sup>4</sup> In other years, floods may cover the plains for miles, taking weeks to subside.

About 75% of the squatters had been involved in pastoral pursuits, including stock and station firms, in Victoria before they settled in Riverina. About three-quarters of these either originally settled in Van Dieman's Land, or came from families who had. Of the rest, some came straight to Riverina, and others from properties nearer Sydney.<sup>5</sup>

Nearly all the squatters came from families connected with the land in Britain. They emigrated because their interests and security were being threatened, and they hoped to restore them in a new country.<sup>6</sup> Agriculture prices had fallen and rents had risen after the

---

<sup>3</sup> "Report of Inquiry into the State of the Public Lands and the Operation of the Land Laws." 2 May 1883. N.S.W. V. & P. Vol. II, 1883. p. 118.

<sup>4</sup> The Pastoral Times, rainfall chart. January 1924.

<sup>5</sup> These figures were obtained mainly from lists I compiled from Deniliquin Historical Society papers. Alexander Henderson, "Early Pioneer Families of Victoria and Riverina," (Melb. 1936) and "Australian Families" (Melb. 1941); Margaret Kiddle, "Men of Yesterday", (Melb. 1962); and V.H. Heaton, "Australian Dictionary of Dates and Men of the Time", (Sydney, 1879).

<sup>6</sup> Margaret Kiddle, op.cit., p. 20.

Napoleonic Wars, and only the very wealthy could weather the depression. Rent for an acre of land in the more fertile districts of England was from £1 to £2, and "in similar districts of Scotland it reached or exceeded £4. This meant on a farm of 300 acres a rental of £450, or on a farm of 500 acres a rental of £750".<sup>7</sup> People could find employment in the expanding industry, find poorer farms with lower rentals, or emigrate to see if they could discover that lost "sense of security which had been generations old".<sup>8</sup>

Wealth and economic security were regarded highly by the Victorians. It was not so much wealth and its comforts that was important, but the respectability which accompanied its possession.<sup>9</sup> In spite of the increased social mobility brought about by the industrial revolution, the status of land ownership remained undiminished. A secure land Tenure meant a secure social position,<sup>10</sup> so that some of these whose Tenure was threatened emigrated to new countries where they hoped it would be secure.

The poor state of Agriculture in Scotland explains why about 52% of the Riverina squatters were Scots. Many of these were also affected not only by the Victorian attitude towards wealth and social position, but by the importance Calvinist teaching gives to money. About 28% were English, and 20% Irish.<sup>11</sup> Henry Ricketson, who at different

---

<sup>7</sup> Halevy, "England in 1815", pp. 230-1, quoting the Corn Laws Report, 1814, pp. 56, 106-7.

<sup>8</sup> Margaret Kiddle, op.cit., p. 18.

<sup>9</sup> Walter E. Houghton, "The Victorian Frame of Mind", (Yale 1959), pp.185-186.

<sup>10</sup> H.J. Habbakuk, in A. Goodwin, ed., "European Nobility in the Eighteenth Century," (London, 1953), p. 2.

<sup>11</sup> See note 5.

times owned Baratta, Caroonboon, Cornalla, Bundyalumblah and Aratula, was a striking exception. He was born on his father's estate in Nova Scotia, British North America, and he arrived in Australia in 1852, the following year taking up Baratta Station.<sup>12</sup>

The first settlers in the county of Townsend were probably Thomas Broughton Carne of "Coonargo" and James Scott Hindmarsh, of "Wanganella", who came down the Billabong Creek in the late 1830s. Henry Sayer Lewes was probably the first in the County of Cadell, for he settled at Moira, on the Murray, in 1842.<sup>13</sup>

In about 1842, Benjamin Boyd, the Australian manager for the Royal Bank, sent his overseer, Augustus Morris, to explore the country lying between the Murray and Murrumbidgee Rivers, with a view towards leasing it. Morris was born in Hobart in 1820, the son of a Welshman who had settled in Cornwall. "In 1837 he joined his friend, Hugh Murray, at Lake Colac, and took up Ondit and Donadalock Stations,"<sup>14</sup> but in the early 1840s he had sold out to Boyd and entered his service.<sup>15</sup> The exact date that Morris settled at "Deniliquin", or "Company Station" is uncertain, but it is probable that it was late in 1843, which would have been long enough for him to report to Boyd, and return with provisions and equipment.

Of the squatters who settled in the district, perhaps the

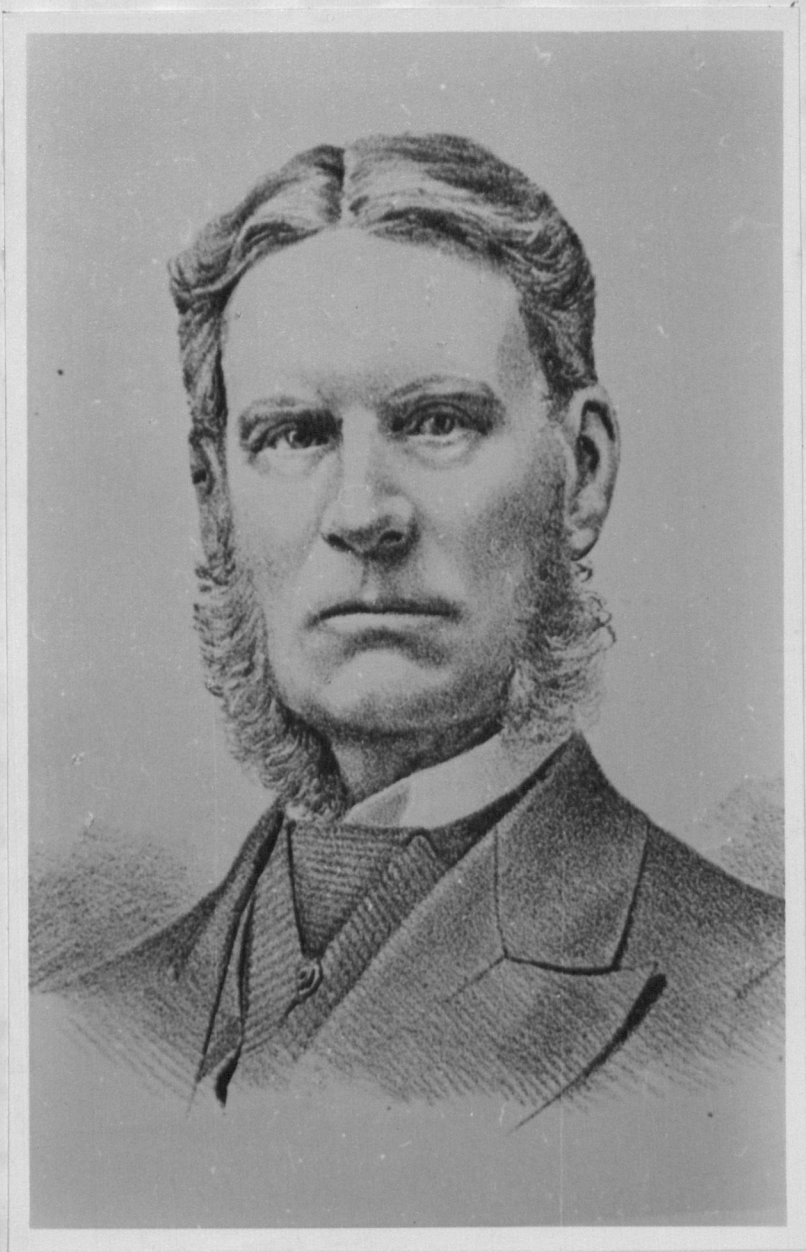
---

<sup>12</sup> Deniliquin Historical Society Papers.

<sup>13</sup> Robert B. Ronald, "The Riverina: People & Properties", (Melbourne 1960) pp. 15 and 17.

<sup>14</sup> Alexander Henderson, 1936, op.cit., p. 204.

<sup>15</sup> Robert B. Ronald, op.cit., p. 17.



Augustus morris.

most prominent was Gideon Scott Lang. He was born in January 1819 at Selkirkshire, Scotland. After leaving school he spent some years in a bank and later on a sheep farm.<sup>16</sup> In 1841 he followed his two elder brothers, Thomas and William, to Port Phillip, and they took up land on the present site of Flemington race course. Later they settled in the Riverina, between Deniliquin and Hay, originally "Lang's Crossing place". Pevensey, Mungadal, Eli Elwah, Nayingay, Wargam and Wanganella were all owned by the Langs at certain times. Alexander Henderson wrote of Gideon Lang that he was "a man possessed of tremendous energy." During the time he was managing stations, before he came to Riverina, he prospected for gold, was associated with exporting horses to India, and attempted sea-trading with the East for awhile.<sup>17</sup> Lang said the latter venture failed because his rivals conducted a campaign against him, but Nancy F. Sizer says it was due to his temper.

"Lang's character seems to have been grand-planning, proud, with little of the courteous humility which characterizes a good retail salesman."<sup>18</sup>

However he seems to have been far more idealistic in the separation movement than other squatters, and the townspeople of Deniliquin referred to him as "liberal". This is born out in his championship of Garibaldi,<sup>19</sup> and in his actions in the Riverina Association, of which

---

<sup>16</sup> Alexander Henderson, 1941, op.cit., p. 177.

<sup>17</sup> Ibid

<sup>18</sup> Nancy F. Sizer, "Gideon Scott Lang", R.A.H.S. Journal, July 1961, Vol. 47, Pt. 3. P. 174.

<sup>19</sup> Ibid.

he was the first President. A letter he wrote to Sir Henry Parkes in 1856, the year he was returned as a member of the first Elective Assembly of N.S.W., throws a significant light on his character:

"It is long since I ceased to think you dangerous to the squatters because I know that your ability and conscientiousness will lead you to just conclusions as to what is best for the colony and that is all I want in settling the land question."<sup>20</sup>

Gideon Lang was forced to resign the Presidency of the Riverina Council on 23 January, 1864, and G.P. Desailly, took his place.<sup>21</sup> At this time Desailly and his brother leased Coree and Bundure, having lived first in Tasmania and then the Western District of Victoria.<sup>22</sup> William Forlonge<sup>23</sup> and William Hay<sup>24</sup> were other squatters prominent in the separation movement who settled first in Tasmania, then Victoria, before coming to Riverina. Samuel, later Sir Samuel, Wilson, was born at Ballycloughan, Ireland, and was a linen manufacturer before going to the Victorian goldfields. He owned among other stations, Ercildeune and Longerenong in Victoria,<sup>25</sup> and Yanko and Windoman in N.S.W.

---

<sup>20</sup> G.S. Lang. Letter to Sir Henry Parkes, 20 May 1856. In Parkes' "Autographs". M.L.

<sup>21</sup> P.T. 30 January 1864.

<sup>22</sup> Margaret Kiddle, op.cit., p. 275.

<sup>23</sup> Deniliquin Historical Society Papers.

<sup>24</sup> Alexander Henderson, 1941 op.cit., p. 227.

<sup>25</sup> J.H. Heaton, op.cit., p. 224.

When first settled the Riverina was stocked with cattle. As a response to the rising wool prices with the new mass consumer market for textiles and the preference for medium wools in the late fifties, most runs began carrying sheep.<sup>26</sup> The squatters were also apprehensive of the possible introduction of pleuro-pneumonia to the southern Riverina from the North, which might have resulted in the total prohibition on the importation of cattle into Victoria.<sup>27</sup> By 1866 there were 1,301,807 sheep in the Deniliquin district, and 40,419 horned cattle, and over the next ten years the numbers of sheep gradually increased to 1,623,510 in 1875. The number of cattle declined to 34,559 in the same year.<sup>28</sup>

The 1860s also saw the founding of many of the Riverina's merino studs. The Peppins established their flock at Wanganella in 1858, and by careful breeding and the use of only the best blood, it has come to form the foundation of most great studs in Australia.<sup>29</sup> The importance with which squatters regarded breeding led to a meeting being held at Echuca to establish the North Western Pastoral Association, to hold an exhibition of live stock.<sup>30</sup> A few years later Deniliquin and Jerilderie had established live stock "shows" of their own, and these were to become an important part of station life. Many of the political

---

<sup>26</sup> A. Barnard, "The Simple Fleece", (Melbourne, 1962), p. 430.

<sup>27</sup> IBID. P. 416.

<sup>28</sup> Statistical Register of N.S.W. 1866 and 1875.

<sup>29</sup> E.W. Cox, "The Evolution of the Australian Merino", (1936). p.10.

<sup>30</sup> P.T. 20 September 1862.



attitudes of the squatters can be explained by the difficulties they had to contend with on their stations. Security depended for them on the continued profitable use of a hostile environment.

The main lambing period started in July, but some flocks were lambed down as early as March, and others as late as September. Shearing was done with hand shears from September to November, when warm water in the creeks was available for washing the wool on the sheep's back. A few flocks were shorn without being washed, and the greasy wool sold.<sup>31</sup> Before the Deniliquin-Moama railway was opened in 1876, the wool was taken by bullock wagon to the nearest port on the river. From thence it was shipped on a barge behind a paddle steamer to Goolwa.<sup>32</sup> A letter to the Sydney Morning Herald in 1864 from Moama said that the river boats took freight to Encounter Bay for £5 a ton.<sup>33</sup> The Insurance throughout was paid by the skippers.<sup>34</sup>

Throughout the fifties and sixties scab in sheep was a worry to pastoralists. It was not very prevalent in Riverina, but there was always the fear that it would spread from Victoria. The Pastoral Times devoted much space to possible cures and preventive measures, and the Government passed Acts, especially concerning travelling stock, to prevent its spread.

<sup>31</sup> A. Barnard, op.cit., p. 415.

<sup>32</sup> A.H. Morris, "Echuca and The Murray River Trade". H.S.A.N.Z., May 1951, vol. 4. no. 16, p. 340.

<sup>33</sup> Quoted P.T. 2 July 1864.

<sup>34</sup> Letter from the Secretary, G.W. Young, of the River Murray Navigation Co., per "Burra Burra", to Captain Johnstone, of "Gundagai", Adelaide, 3rd June 1856. In possession of the National Trust of S.A. Inc.



Hopwood's Ferry, Echuca.



The "Adelaide".

It was often assumed in justification for closer settlement, that whatever the difficulties with which early squatters had to contend, wool cheques remained inordinately large.

Nevertheless at the end of the 1860s the fall in wool prices and stock, added to the drought, forced numbers of squatters to sell their stations. The Desailly's had amassed £80,000 in the Billa-bong country by improving hitherto unsettled country, then selling it. Hoping to make more money in the same way, they settled on poor country on the north of the upper Lachlan and Darling. They spent all their money in damming the Lachlan, sinking wells and making other improvements, then opened their land for sale. The price of meat fell in 1863, and "squatting property had then began to feel some depression". The Desaillys also had several seasons of low rainfall before they were properly established, and the price of wool, their principle reliance, fell 30%. They lost all their £80,000, whilst those who took over Bundure and Coree were successful.<sup>35</sup> Had either the seasons been good, or the price of wool and meat not fallen they would probably not have failed, but the combination proved too much for them.

Not many squatters failed, judging by the publicity received by those who did. The Pastoral Times said that the first big failure, that of Costella and Anderson on part of Moira, caused a stir in Melbourne, and they devoted an editorial to it themselves. Too much capital seems to have been invested in Moira, which was heavily overstocked at a time when fat cattle were reaching only eight or twelve pounds in Melbourne. The company had also unsuccessfully invested in the manufacture of paper pipes and vineyards, and when forced to sell Moira, they lost heavily

---

<sup>35</sup> P.T. 26 June 1869.

because of a depreciation in the value of stations.<sup>36</sup>

Some squatters took up land in partnership with one or two others, often members of their family, and formed small companies. More often than not, it seems, dissolution of partnerships at this time was an indication of economic success rather than ruin. Several partnerships dissolved when the partners had made enough money to venture on their own. The Langs divided their runs when they had made sufficient money in partnership. The Landale brothers, who bought Deniliquin Station from James and John Tyson in 1861,<sup>37</sup> dissolved their partnership in 1891, Robert taking what is known as "Mundiwa", and Alexander, "Wandook".<sup>38</sup>

Some formed companies, similar to this one, whose advertisement appeared in October, 1864:

"The Victorian and Riverina Pastoral Association has been projected for the purpose of enabling the smaller capitalists by a mutual cooperation to participate in the profits and advantages derivable from pastoral pursuits ...

(It) is established to purchase certain runs, containing about 1,400 square miles of country, or about 896,000 acres, and having a frontage to the River Paroo of ninety miles ...

The payments have been made to suit the calls to be made by the Association which are not to exceed 10/- each share per month".<sup>39</sup>

<sup>36</sup> P.T. 7 March 1862.

<sup>37</sup> The For Sale Notice appears in P.T. 6 December 1861.

<sup>38</sup> Robert B. Ronald, op.cit., p. 31.

<sup>39</sup> P.T. 8 October, 1864.

A different type of company ownership was that of large firms, or stock and station agencies. The Trust and Agency Co. was the second largest landowner in the Riverina, with 28 runs comprising 1,440,000 acres.<sup>40</sup> In the Deniliquin district, it acquired Baratta, Nyingay, Poon Boon, Billybong, Wanganella North, and Quiamong among others.<sup>41</sup> The Australian Mortgage Land and Finance Company, Goldsbrough, Mort & Co., and Dalgety & Co. (who owned Zara in 1865)<sup>42</sup> were stock and station agents who held land in Riverina. They and the banks lent money to the squatters, and so could sometimes take over a run that was mortgaged.<sup>43</sup>

The men who emigrated to become squatters did so because the security of their social and economic position was vitally important to them. Most became wealthy, and in Australia they were the leading class. But the country and their position was still comparatively new to them by the early 1860s, and when an insecure land tenure, droughts, diseases in stock and the difficulty of finding labourers threatened their interests, they grew alarmed and became very conservative. Such was the effect of the economic and physical environment; to this, in

---

<sup>40</sup> Return Showing Approximate Area held under lease by certain Crown Tenants in the Western Pastoral Districts (Riverina). N.S.W. V. & P. Vol. I, 1865-66. p. 671. See Appendix B.

<sup>41</sup> Returns of Runs appraised. N.S.W. V. & F. Vol. III, 1865-66, and Vol. II, 1871-72.

<sup>42</sup> Return of Runs appraised. V. & P. Vol. III, 1865-66.

<sup>43</sup> N.G. Butlin, "Company Ownership of N.S.W. Pastoral Stations, 1865-1900", H.S.A.N.Z., May 1950, Vol. 4, No. 14, p. 89.

the decade under consideration was added the growth of urban democracy.

With the introduction of a new Electoral Bill in 1858, the Riverina squatters hastily convened a meeting, where they declared their sentiments against it. They threatened to separate from N.S.W. if the Bill were passed, fearing that democratic elements in Sydney might take their land Tenure from them, and consequently threaten their social position.<sup>44</sup>

The movement for separation gained impetus from the passing of the Assessment Act, which seemed to the squatters an encroachment on their rights under the Order in Council of 1847.<sup>45</sup> The Robertson Land Acts of 1861 provided a further reason for separation. The squatters, to gain support from the local townspeople, emphasised the difficulty of communication with Sydney and the poor government and lack of public works in Riverina.<sup>46</sup> These were merely excuses for gaining support and sympathy, the real motive for separation being a fear of democracy, as will be shown in the following chapters.

The proposed capital of the new state of Riverina was to be Deniliquin. It was a relatively more important town then than now, though the population in 1861 was only 632.<sup>47</sup> The name Deniliquin was derived from that of the aboriginal chief in the district, "Deniligen". He died in the beginning of 1860, the Pastoral Times giving an obituary notice:

---

<sup>44</sup> S.M.H. 14 May 1858. p. 2.

<sup>45</sup> P.T. 16 September, 1865.

<sup>46</sup> Petition to Legislative Assembly from Riverina, 2 September 1863. N.S.W. V. & P. Vol. V, 1863-64, p. 694.

<sup>47</sup> N.S.W. Census, 1861. V. & P. Vol. III, 1862. p. 45.

"Died. At Deniliquin a few days since, 'Big Fellow', the original Black King of the place. He was a man of immense strength and had been instrumental in destroying a number of blacks and not a few whites."<sup>48</sup>

Deniliquin was the Government headquarters of the district.

There was a ford over the Edward River, and in 1848 a ferry was established.<sup>49</sup> By 1865 it was

"a central depot for the supply of station stores, and (was) selected by Melbourne stock-agents as their northern outpost."<sup>50</sup>

Just as 'big fellow' had dominated the surrounding countryside by his physical powers, so the new-comers to Deniliquin were able to dominate it by judicious use of the motive power of their own culture — capital. Placed as it was on a stock-route and river crossing, travellers' needs provided the first additional field of investment and the nucleus of the town.

The importance of Deniliquin as a crossing place was evident in the huge number of hotels which were established, and which frequently advertised in the Pastoral Times.

The "Wanderer Inn" was the first public house in north Deniliquin, and the "Highlander Inn" in South Deniliquin.<sup>51</sup> Cobb & Co. ran a coaching service through the town to the north. From 1865 their headquarters were in Hay, and a factory there employed over thirty

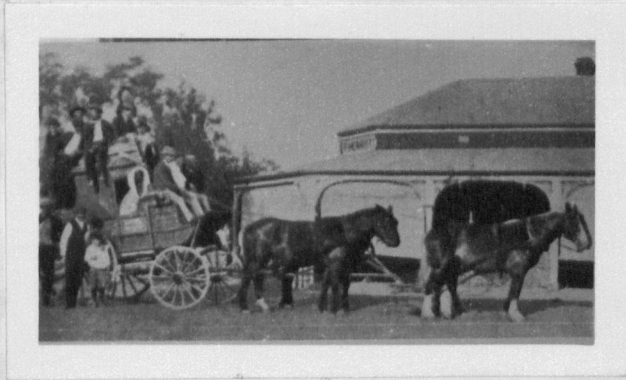
<sup>48</sup> P.T. 20 January 1860.

<sup>49</sup> N.S.W. Government Gazette, 30 October, 1848 quoted in Robert B. Ronald op.cit. p. 30.

<sup>50</sup> P.T. 11 February 1865.

<sup>51</sup> Robert B. Ronald, op.cit., p. 30.

COBB & Co. COACHES.



Outside the Faugh a Ballagh inn.



Crossing the Old man Flain.



skilled tradesmen.<sup>52</sup> Drovers brought stock along the route which ran through Deniliquin to Melbourne and Adelaide, and the main street still follows the old stock route. In 1866 the petitioners for a railway from Echuca to Deniliquin estimated that 50,000 head of horned cattle, 100,000 sheep and 750 horses annually passed through Deniliquin for Victorian markets.<sup>53</sup> Deniliquin was also an important market for the area, for "a large proportion of the store stock is sold at Deniliquin, and much of the fat stock is also sold here."<sup>54</sup>

The first newspaper in southwest N.S.W. was published at Deniliquin. Dr. D.G. Jones began publishing the "Pastoral Times & Deniliquin Telegraph" in the middle of 1859, but the name was later changed to the "Pastoral Times". Its policy was to support the squatters, and consequently it was important in publicising their separation movement. It would also have been an important factor in causing the movement to be centred on Deniliquin.

The town is situated less than four miles from the old Deniliquin homestead. It grew up as two district units, North Deniliquin, and South Deniliquin in a bend of the Edwards. For awhile each had their own post office and hospital, but gradually they amalgamated and South Deniliquin progressed more rapidly.

In the urban environment thus created there was room for a variety of activities and the growth of a class distinct from that of

<sup>52</sup> IBID. p. 47.

<sup>53</sup> Petition for railway from Echuca to Deniliquin. 2 August 1866. V. & P. Vol. II, p. 393.

<sup>54</sup> IBID.

the pastoralists themselves. John Taylor, one of the town's most noteworthy citizens, opened the "Royal Hotel" next to Cobb & Co's. Offices. In the sixties Taylor was mentioned in most issues of the Pastoral Times. At different times, he tried almost every business in the town, including sawmilling, grazing and baking. It is suspected he was the "headless horseman" who rode forth from the Black Swamp and "duffed" the cattle of drovers camped at night on the Old Man Plain. Nothing was ever proved, but it was in keeping with his character, for he was in and out of gaol many times during his career.

James Maiden established the Junction Inn about 1845 where Moama now stands. He also ran a punt over the Murray.<sup>55</sup> Echuca was established later than Moama, and Hopwood owned a ferry there, two miles downstream from Maiden's ferry. It was to prove a formidable rival, particularly as Echuca expanded and Moama declined. In 1868 the Pastoral Times wrote:

"Moama has for years been under a cloud. Echuca, on the southern side of the Murray, has so completely eclipsed it, that the latter is scarcely known beyond its immediate neighbourhood. ... Some 12 years ago it was well known as the greatest cattle-dealing depot in the provinces ... but its progress was prevented principally by two causes - the first was the monopoly of all the allotments by one man, and the second was the neglect of our own government".<sup>56</sup>

The 1861 Census figures gave the total population of the "so called Riverina" as 32,095, but these figures included Wagga Wagga

---

<sup>55</sup> Robert B. Ronald. op.cit. pp. 25-26.

<sup>56</sup> P.T. 8 August 1868.

and Albany. Benlilquin and the southern position of the Riverina  
 bridge pastoral districts  
 pioneering districts, the  
 The Census figures show  
 industry. There were 67  
 employed 100 stockmen and  
 of runs in the Riverina  
 the keepers. In the coun



The Highlander Inn.

63 who were not directly concerned with pastoral or agricultural activi-  
 vities. Most of these would have been engaged in other occupa-  
 tions every fourteen miles or so along the main roads and stock routes.  
 Benlilquin was dependent for its commerce on the squatters,  
 but even more so upon the travellers who passed through. Many of the  
 squatters bought their provisions from Melbourne and did not deal with  
 local stores, and the squatters regarded themselves as a class apart from the  
 townsmen. There



Taylor's Royal Hotel.

In the town, but the  
 local services, like  
 and exception the 27-  
 have been the keepers  
 57

Benlilquin	13,450		
Belconnen	1,262		
Albury	3,771	Dubbo	2,759
Moama	256	Sea Sea	362
Wentworth	1,533	Wentworth	2,118
Yagoona	2,047	TOTAL	32,095

and Albury.<sup>57</sup> Deniliquin and the southern position of the Murrumbidgee pastoral district had a total population of 1,705. Typical of pioneering districts, the male population dominated there being 1,202. The Census figures show how the district was dependent on the pastoral industry. There were 67 lessees and licensees, "squatters", and they employed 100 stockmen and grooms. There must have been little fencing of runs in the Riverina at this stage, for there were 198 shepherds and hut keepers. In the country there were three government servants and 63 who were not directly concerned with pastoral or agricultural activities. Most of these would have been publicans, catering for travellers every fourteen miles or so along the main roads and stock routes.

Deniliquin was dependent for its commerce on the squatters, but even more so upon the travellers who passed through. Many of the squatters bought their provisions from Melbourne and did not deal with local stores, and they regarded themselves as a class apart from the townspeople. There were as many as 96 skilled workers and artificers in the town, but their activities would probably have been confined to local services, like smithing, hostling and carpentering. Almost without exception the 27 suppliers of food, drink and accommodation, would have been inn keepers. There were also 36 in trade and commerce probably

57

N.S.W. Census of 1861. loc.cit.

Population of the following Police Districts of N.S.W. parts of which comprise the so-called Riverina:

Deniliquin	1674	Binalong	13,450
Balranald	2003	Molong	1,862
Albury	3771	Dubbo	2,959
Moama	256	Wea Waa	862
Monlamein	463	Warialda	2,148
Wagga Wagga	2647	TOTAL	32,095

selling stores to other town residents, drovers, bullockies and travellers, and some squatters. There were at this stage 4 agricultural farmers, who possibly could have kept the town supplied with vegetables for most of the year. The remainder of the working population consisted of eleven government servants, and nine professional men.<sup>58</sup> These would have included Dr. Wren, Thomas Robertson and G.A. Jeffrey, solicitors, George Miller of the Bank of N.S.W., and D.G. Jones of The Pastoral Times. These professional men, aware of their best source of income, supported the squatters, and all five were members of the Riverine Council.

The Deniliquin district was expanding rapidly in the 1860s, and the decade saw an increased awareness of their importance as a community. The townspeople, because of their contact with one another, demanded certain privileges as a group. They attempted to act as a group to put pressure on the Government for a bridge over the Edward, a national school, railway, resident judge, money for clearing the rivers for navigation and abolition of border customs duties. Many of them thought that by annexation to Victoria their demands would be granted.<sup>59</sup>

The squatters, alarmed at the townspeople's and farmers' suggestions of annexation, held a meeting in Melbourne in 1863, where they formed the Riverine Association. They resolved that the meeting

<sup>58</sup> IBID

<sup>59</sup> P.T. 14 May 1864.

"views with extreme alarm the proposal to annex the Riverine portion of N.S.W. to Victoria ... (and that) ... it is desirable for this meeting to affirm the principle of self-government for the Riverine provinces of N.S.W., and that a committee be appointed for the purpose of ascertaining its practicability".

The committee appointed consisted of G.S. Lang, G. Fairbain, W. Forlonge, W. Lang, Godfrey, and S. Wilson.<sup>60</sup>

The squatters did gain support for their movement at first, but soon the townspeople began to be suspicious that the squatters' motives were for securing their land tenure, and not for the redress of certain grievances. They grew more suspicious as a split developed amongst the squatters, and many withdrew their support. Lang, who had the confidence of the other classes in the district, thought that the Riverina, if allowed a local administration and separate debt, should remain attached to Sydney.<sup>61</sup> On 23 January 1864 he was called upon to resign the presidency of the Riverine Council<sup>62</sup> which he did a few weeks later. The new president, G.P. Desilly, claimed dictatorial power in July 1864, and Council meetings were conducted behind closed doors.<sup>63</sup>

By the time the Council appointed delegates, W.A. Brodribb, P. Brougham and F.A. Gwynne, to present the petition for separation to the Imperial Government,<sup>64</sup> enthusiasm had waned. The movement failed because it was based on a class, not on the whole region, and its own lack of unity defeated it. Had the squatters been united in their aims

<sup>60</sup> P.T. 17 January 1863.

<sup>61</sup> P.T. 26 December 1863 and Argus, 7 January 1864.

<sup>62</sup> P.T. 30 January 1864.

<sup>63</sup> P.T. 16 September 1865.

<sup>64</sup> P.T. 9 September 1865.

they may have achieved something, or at least not lost as much support as they did from others who were with them in the beginning.

The movement also failed, or rather petered out, as the squatters lost enthusiasm. This was partly because the association achieved so little over a long period of time, and partly because the squatters achieved security of tenure during the decade. They felt safer attached to N.C.W., for they feared a possible alliance with the more democratic government in Victoria.

CHAPTER II

THE POLITICS OF FEAR.



THE POLITICS OF FEAR

The new state movement centred on Deniliquin in the 1860s stemmed from the insecurity which the Riverina squatters felt. When it appeared to them that their interests were being threatened, their first reaction was to blame the Government in Sydney. From here, the logical step was separation from Sydney. At this time, too, there was much discussion on the formation of new states. Victoria and Queensland had recently broken away from Sydney, and the Clarence River and other districts were agitating for separation.

The squatters' desire for security was closely linked with a desire for a safe land tenure. They achieved this for the time being under the Order in Council of 1847, as shown by the fact that it provoked and made articulate the townspeople's "rising fears of the pastoralists' monopolistic pretensions".<sup>1</sup> The squatters were given a fourteen year lease of the runs, with a fixed rental:

"The rent to be paid for each several run of land shall be proportioned to the number of sheep or the equivalent number of cattle which the run shall be estimated as capable of carrying, according to a scale to be established for the purpose, by authority of the Governor."<sup>2</sup>

They were also granted a right of pre-emption over the whole run at a price not less than a pound per acre. This pre-emptive right was intended at the time to tempt the squatter into purchasing his run,

---

<sup>1</sup> R. Gollan, "Radical and Working Class Politics: A Study of Eastern Australia, 1850-1910." (Melb. 1960). p. 5.

<sup>2</sup> The Order in Council, 1847. Quoted in C.M.H. Clark, "Select Documents in Australian History", vol. I, 1788-1850. (Sydney 1950). pp. 252-6.

but comparatively few made use of it, except for buying an area round the homestead.<sup>3</sup> They felt they held their runs securely enough, and used their capital for improvements. Margaret Kiddle, speaking of Western District squatters' security under the Order in Council, said that

"Too much weight cannot be placed on the returns of housing in the early censuses, but they tend to support the conclusion that the building of substantial home stations in stone was rare before the Order in Council was published, and more common afterwards."<sup>4</sup>

There being no building stone in the Riverina, the census reports cannot tell us much, but this seems to illustrate the general feeling amongst squatters at this time.

Their security, however, was short-lived, too short-lived to have become part of their natural outlook. In 1851 the Australian gold rushes began. Their first effect on the pastoral industry was to produce a shortage of labour, for men left their jobs to dig for gold. In the long run this was advantageous to the squatters, for they were forced to relinquish shepherding their flocks, and to let them manage for themselves. This led to runs being fenced, and the sheep improved in carcase and wool. Without shepherds, the station's running costs fell.<sup>5</sup>

A few squatters even profited directly from the gold rushes by supplying the fields with meat. James Tyson, the cattle millionaire,

---

<sup>3</sup> S.M.H., 14 February, 1861, p. 15.

<sup>4</sup> Margaret Kiddle, op.cit., p. 171.

<sup>5</sup> S.H. Roberts, "The Squatting Age in Australia, 1835-1847", (Melbourne, 1935), pp. 434-7.

and his brothers made a large part of their fortune by droving cattle from the north to the Bendigo fields, where they slaughtered them and sold the carcasses.<sup>6</sup> Their stations near Deniliquin included North and South Deniliquin, Zara, Quiamong, and Fuckawidgee.

The more important effects of the gold rushes, which were adverse to squatting interests, are most difficult to assess. The Goldrushes "reduced on all fields, whatever their social origins, to the common level of moleskins,"<sup>7</sup> They acted as a spur towards establishing a more democratic form of government,<sup>8</sup> and by the end of the fifties four Australian colonies had achieved manhood suffrage and four the secret ballot. From 1851 to 1861 the population of Australia nearly trebled, growing from 405,356 to 1,145,585. Large numbers of diggers who returned to the cities from the fields pressed for political rights, part of their aim being to pass laws to break the land monopoly of the squatters.

With the granting of responsible government in 1856, the colonial Parliaments took control of the Crown Lands. The 1858 Electoral Reform Bill made it "possible for the majority of N.S. Welshman to elect a Government to carry out their wishes in regard to the land

---

<sup>6</sup> Robert B. Ronald, *op.cit.*, p. 42.

<sup>7</sup> R.M. Crawford, "An Australian Perspective," (Melb. 1960) p. 5.

<sup>8</sup> *IBID.* p. 4.

<sup>9</sup> Russel Ward, "The Australian Legend," (Melbourne, 1962) p. 104. Table VIII. Increase of Total Population in Mainland E. Aust.

	1841	1851	% Increase	1861	% Increase
N.S.W.	116,988	187,243	60	380,919 (350,860)	103 (87)
Vic.	11,738	87,345	645	540,322	520

FOOTNOTE: "Figures taken from official Census Returns of the Colonies of N.S.W. (1841, 1851 and 1861), Vic. (1851 and 1861) and Queens. (1861) ... For the sake of formal consistency the N.S.W. figures for 1861 include those of the newly separated colony of Qunslnd., but the 1861 figures for N.S.W. proper are placed for comparison in brackets."

laws.<sup>10</sup> The squatters' fear of an unsympathetic government made them conservative, and opposed to the Electoral Bill. They voiced their objections in traditional conservative terms. The Hobart Town Courier expressed their feelings so well that it was quoted in the Sydney Morning Herald:

"A true democracy consists in the liberty, not of population, but of interests. To give an absolute power to the majority of a population is to make an inroad upon the freedom of the minority - a minority usually superior in point of education, property, and morals, to the mob or million ... If the Australian communities are to pass felicitously through an existing political crisis too little realized - they will provide, by amended enactments, for the representation of interests."<sup>11</sup>

In their opposition to the Electoral Reform Bill the squatters were fighting for the security they thought and hoped they had achieved under the Order in Council. As opposed to the radicals' demands for democratic political institutions and economic equality, the squatters wanted limited democratic institutions, the guarantee of vested interests, and the evolution of a privileged class.<sup>12</sup>

Early in May, 1858, Mr. Hodgson, who had been one of the chief movers in the demands for the separation of Moreton Bay, spoke in the Legislative Assembly on the proposed Electoral Reform Bill. He warned that if the Bill became law, the pastoral districts would separate from Sydney.

---

<sup>10</sup> D.W.A. Baker, "The Robertson Land Acts," an address delivered to the Canberra District Historical Society, 2 May, 1961. Printed 17 January, 1962. In Parliamentary Library, N.S.W. p. 3.

<sup>11</sup> S.M.H., 11 May 1858, p. 5.

<sup>12</sup> R. Gollan, op.cit., p. 6.

"He maintained this was not a bill for electoral reform, but he agreed with the honourable member for S. Riding that it would lead to general revolution in every sense of the word, and was intended to destroy the agricultural and pastoral property within the colony."<sup>13</sup>

A meeting at North Deniliquin had already been hastily convened on 4 May, 1858, at Whipples', Wanderer Inn. Although notice concerning the meeting was short, the attendance was "very good indeed." Some of the oldest settlers in the district were there, for the purpose of declaring their opposition to the Electoral Bill. Patrick Brougham, J.P., of Hartwood and Coree, was in the Chair.<sup>14</sup>

This was the first meeting held in Deniliquin which discussed the possibility of separating from Sydney. It drew up a Petition to the Legislative Assembly stating their objections to the Bill and their intention of agitating for separation on the event of it being passed. The petition was similar in the main points to petitions from other N.S.W. pastoral towns, including Richmond<sup>15</sup> and Tenterfield.<sup>16</sup> It stated

"That your Petitioners humbly observe to your Honourable House, in the event of the said Bill being passed, that the disaffection towards the Government of N.S.Wales, the seeds of which have so long been sown in these parts of the interior, would here take

<sup>13</sup> S.M.H., 12 May, 1858, p. 2.

<sup>14</sup> S.M.H., 14 May, 1858, p. 2.

<sup>15</sup> Electoral Law Amendment Bill: Petition from Richmond, 10 May 1858, V. & P. Vol. I, 1858, p. 1021.

<sup>16</sup> Electoral Law Amendment Bill: Petition from Tenterfield, 30 April, 1858, loc.cit., p. 1053.

root deeper and wider, so much indeed, as your Petitioners truthfully believe, as to concentrate the energies of the pastoral population on the question of severing the great interests now imperilled by the said Bill from the domination of a few active and noisy demagogues, who have contributed but little, physical or mentally, to the wealth of the Colony."<sup>17</sup>

The Petition asserted that the Bill, if passed, would "prove most ruinous to the great producing and exporting interests of the Colony," that is, the pastoral industry. Also, "that manhood suffrage, as it relates to the interior of the Colony, is thoroughly impolitic and inapplicable," because the shepherds and others could not neglect their work to vote, it "takes from the individual that self-reliance which all should possess," and, of most concern to the squatters, "it would place the idle and profligate in town and country upon a level footing with the industrious and frugal." An important point made by the Deniliquin Petition in common with those from other pastoral districts, concerned the distribution of members. The Petitions asked the Assembly to consider that the area of N.S.W. designated as "Unsettled", stretching from Fort Bourke to the Middle Murray, 400 miles direct, and from the vicinity of Bathurst across to the Darling, (380 miles direct), was given only four members.<sup>18</sup>

A few days earlier H.S. Lewes had sent a similar petition to the Assembly. He was Chairman at a meeting at Moama which objected that, in an Assembly of 68, the purely pastoral districts were to be represented by only 12.

---

<sup>17</sup> Electoral Reform Bill: Petition from Deniliquin, 14 May, 1858.  
loc.cit. p. 1083.

<sup>18</sup> IBID.

"At the same time, as your Petitioners firmly believe and confidently assert, the population of these districts contributes to the wealth and prosperity of the Colony many times more than all the other classes combined, inasmuch as they are producers of nearly half, if not more, of the food of the inhabitants of the Colony, and of exports of wool, tallow and hides, sheep, cattle and horses, to the annual value of nearly, if not quite, three millions of pounds sterling."

The petitioners feared that the Sydney voters, who were to be given

14 members, would "entertain feelings of blind hostility to the inland classes of the community, ... (that) the whole governing power of the Colony would be centred in the population of Sydney, and that the far off pastoral districts would possess no other share in the representation than the mockery of its name."<sup>19</sup>

A month after the meeting at Deniliquin, the Sydney Morning Herald's Correspondent for the Edward River District wrote that thinking men in the District "have long seen that our ultimate destiny is — separation."<sup>20</sup> A fortnight later he wrote that

"The movement for separation gains ground daily — men of all classes unite; it appears to be a general movement, and we believe that up to this moment there has not been one single refusal" of support.<sup>21</sup>

Although the separation movement originated among the squatters, it seems they did have the support of other classes to begin with.

Once the Electoral Law Amendment Act was passed, the squatters' fear for their security under the "domineering influence of the people"<sup>22</sup> was increased by the passing of the Assessment Act. The Pastoral Times later described the effects of this Act in the squatters' minds:

---

<sup>19</sup> Electoral Reform Bill: Petition from H.S. Lewes, Chairman of meeting at Moama, 1 May, 1858, loc.cit., p. 1081.

<sup>20</sup> S.M.H., 4 June 1858, p. 3.

<sup>21</sup> S.M.H., 18 June, 1858, p. 2.

<sup>22</sup> P.T. 29 December, 1859.

"It was not the amount of assessment that the Crown lessees appeared so much to object to as the principle involved in the invasion of their rights under the Orders in Council. They held their lands at a fixed rental, and once the power of Taxing them by Act of Parliament became law, they virtually abrogated their rights under these famous "Orders", and would be at the mercy of every ministry who chanced to have a majority."<sup>23</sup>

Added to the fear of an "invasion of their rights" was the fear of a new and liberal land law. A new law was necessary to accommodate the increasing numbers of unemployed who had left the gold diggings for the city. At this time too, most of the pastoral leases in the Settled Districts were expiring. They were not due to expire until January 1866 in the Unsettled Districts, as most were issued later than those nearer Sydney, commencing in 1852.<sup>24</sup> Because the government was elected on manhood suffrage, and because of the problem of the unemployed it was almost certain that a new land law unfavourable to squatting interests would be passed. The squatters felt all the more insecure under the Sydney Government, and The Pastoral Times warned at the end of 1859, that

"very much will depend upon the manner in which the Sydney Government rules in these distant quarters, as to the future of the Murrumbidgee."<sup>25</sup>

The new land Bill was introduced into the Legislative Assembly by John Robertson, Minister for Lands in Cowper's Cabinet, and the Acts became known as the "Robertson Land Acts." From issues of The Pastoral Times in 1860 and 1861 did not criticize him or mention the

<sup>23</sup> P.T. 16 September, 1865.

<sup>24</sup> Progress Report into the working of the Land Laws, evidence of P.A. Jennings - (squatter of "Belubula"). 4 December 1873. V. & P. Vol. III, 1873-74. p. 970.

<sup>25</sup> P.T. 29 December 1859.



possibility of severance from N.S.W. to avoid sinking "downwards to the very lowest depths of democracy."<sup>26</sup> The squatters felt it was unfair that "the man who has toiled hard for years, who has spent his life in suffering the desert" should receive no material reward.<sup>27</sup>

They thought

"The whole democratic power of the House, directed against the squatting class, was centred in the Land Minister of the day,"<sup>28</sup>

and the pastoral interests were at the mercy of two politicians, Cowper and Robertson, who were "prepared to go to any lengths to remain in office."<sup>29</sup>

The Robertson Land Acts were the result of the efforts of three main groups of land reformers. There were wealthy landowners like Robertson himself, who were a mixture of liberal ideas and selfish aims, and who owned land in the older settled districts. They feared the squatters, who held their land by lease, would reduce the value of their own stations. The other two groups, the middle class townspeople and the colonial working classes were against the squatters' monopoly on principle. Besides this, they also wanted to own land.<sup>30</sup> The squatters were not without reasons for fearing the Government elected under manhood suffrage:

---

<sup>26</sup> P.T. 28 December 1860.

<sup>27</sup> IBID.

<sup>28</sup> PT. 16 September 1865.

<sup>29</sup> PT. 28 December 1860.

<sup>30</sup> D.W.A. Baker, 2 May 1961, op.cit., p. 4.

"The avowed purpose of the Act was to substitute large numbers of yeomen farmers for the squatter."<sup>31</sup>

Just as the squatters tried to recreate the society of the Old World with themselves as the rural gentry, so the land reformers wanted Australia to cast off

"her un-British fashion of lonely sheep-walks (and) become, as far as human wisdom can order it, with green fields, and neighbourly, contented, country life like the England of Shakespeare and Milton."<sup>32</sup>

The ideal society was an agricultural one, where every man could

"... reside

in a home of (his) own by some clear waterside."<sup>33</sup>

W. Wilkins partly explains the importance agriculture held, saying

"It was a maxim of ancient State craft that the food supply of a people should be raised within their own boundaries. To be dependent, in time of war, upon the fidelity of allies, the disinterestedness of neutrals, or the forbearance of enemies, for the means of subsistences, was to put to hazard the honour and possibly the very existence of the nation. For this, among other reasons, agriculture came to be esteemed as the most important of productive industries and the support of all the rest."<sup>34</sup>

There were thus the two main purposes the Robertson Land Acts hoped to fulfil, one being the establishment of the immigrants who had arrived in Australia during the gold rushes, as small agricultural

<sup>31</sup> Morris - Ranken Report: Report of Inquiry into the state of the Public Lands and the operation of the land laws, 2 May 1883. V. & P. Vol. II, 1883, p. 89.

<sup>32</sup> L.F. Heydon, "The Morris - Ranken Land Report," (Sydney 1883), concludes. M.L.

<sup>33</sup> Selector's Song, by W.F. Wannan, "The Australian." Quoted in R.M. Crawford, op.cit., p. 5.

<sup>34</sup> W. Wilkins, "Agriculture in N.S.W.", (1893), p. 1. M.L.

proprietors, the other being a form of revenge on the squatters for their land monopoly.<sup>35</sup> The Sydney Morning Herald supports this view in a statement made in the beginning of 1861:

"Those whose interests are so bound up with the pastoral interior that they cannot detach themselves, will be put under the strongest possible temptation to agitate for separation, in order to reverse that blighting legislation which has had its origin partly in ignorance and partly in a jealousy of squatting prosperity."<sup>36</sup>

These Acts, which were in the form of the Crown Lands Alienation Act and the Crown Lands Occupation Act, were passed in November 1861, and remained, with a few minor amendments, in force more than twenty years. The Sydney Morning Herald later criticized them on the grounds that there was

"one principle for a newly created class, the free selectors, and one for the squatters. The interests of these persons are different, and instead of endeavouring to bring them nearer together, they are placed in antagonism by public enactment."<sup>37</sup>

Under the Crown Lands Occupation Act, clause 15, the squatters were ensured that

"Unexpired leases granted or promised under Her Majesty's Orders in Council, previously to the 22nd day of February, 1858, will, unless where the lands have been or may hereafter be legally withdrawn from lease, remain in force for the full terms, and subject to the conditions prescribed by former Regulations, and by the Act ... On the expiration of such leases, new leases

---

<sup>35</sup> H. Heaton, "The Story of Australian Land Settlement," review article in *Economic Record*, November 1925, Vol. I, No. 1, p. 96.

<sup>36</sup> S.M.H. 14 February, 1861, p. 5.

<sup>37</sup> S.M.H., quoted in P.T. 8 November 1873.

will be granted for the term of five years, under the provisions of the Crown Lands Occupation Act of 1861."<sup>38</sup>

However, this seemed small compensation to the squatters for the clause which gave the selectors the right of unrestricted free selection before and after survey, with deferred payments. Selectors could take up land close to the squatters' improvements, making use of them, and at times cutting the squatters' stock off from the water supply. It was possible that a squattage

"though ~~not~~ a holding recognized by law, could be obliterated at any time, in accordance with the new law, if a sufficient number of selectors wanted the land."<sup>39</sup>

The Pastoral Times, in a leading article in 1861 on "Mr. Robertson and Separation" said that had there been talk of free selection before survey earlier, "the clamour of Separation would have been wonderfully quickened." It advised that the Riverina make its escape before the Acts had "any time to do serious mischief", in order to "ensure to us not only our rights, but our prosperity."<sup>40</sup>

The Crown Lands Alienation Act also restricted the squatters' pre-emptive right of purchase of their runs:

<sup>38</sup> Crown Lands Occupation Act - Regulations, 7 November 1861. V. & P. Vol. II, 1861-62, p. 1,181. The conditions of the Act: "(1) Leases of runs of the Unsettled Class held under license, or granted by Tender prior to the 1 January, 1852, for 14 years from that date. (2) Leases of runs in the Unsettled Districts, or in the Second Class Settled Districts, (formerly Intermediate), taken up by Tender between the 1st January, 1852, and 22nd February, 1858, for 14 or 8 years respectively, from the date of the first payment of rent under the accepted tender."

<sup>39</sup> Morris - Ranken Report. Report of Inquiry into the State of the Public Lands & The Operation of the Land Laws, 2 May 1883. loc. cit., p. 89.

<sup>40</sup> P.T. 21 June 1861.

"The purchase must be limited to one portion of not less than 160 acres nor more than 640 acres, out of each block of 25 square miles of the leasehold, or a proportionate quantity out of each leasehold or portion of leasehold of less than that area; but any land previously purchased by pre-emptive rights under the Orders of Council shall be estimated in the area which may be purchased."<sup>41</sup>

Actually, the squatters had never used their pre-emptive right, much preferring to lease their runs and invest their capital in improvements, and they continued to do so unless forced by the invasion of selectors to purchase.<sup>42</sup>

The same act restricted the amount of land the selectors could apply for. Applications had to be for not less than 40 nor more than 320 acres, and be accompanied by a deposit of 5/- per acre.<sup>43</sup> 320 acres were insufficient for the conditions of most pastoral areas, and this was to be a vital factor causing the failure of the Acts. The Pastoral Times in 1867 pointed out that

"We must look these matters boldly in the face ere we invite people to settle down upon the soil of Riverina for the purpose of sheep-farming on a small scale as a money making process ... Poets of all countries and all times have sung of the 'whistling' plough boy and the 'gentle' shepherd, but colonial life in all its phases is brought face to face with stern realities."<sup>44</sup>

Unfortunately the land reformers ignored the vast difference existing between the capabilities of the Australian and English country for agriculture. The Riverina Petitioners for a new state claimed

"That to throw these (salt-bush plains) open for conditional purchase would be no benefit whatever to the bona fide agricultural settler."<sup>45</sup>

---

<sup>41</sup> Crown Lands Alienation Act - Regulations. 7 November 1861. V. & P. Vol. II, 1861-62, p. 1171. Clause 2.

<sup>42</sup> Chapter 4.

<sup>43</sup> Crown Lands Alienation Act - Regulations. loc.cit. p. 1173, Clause 23.

<sup>44</sup> P.T. 13 July 1867

<sup>45</sup> Petition to the Legislative Assembly from Riverina, 2 September 1863, V. & P. Vol. V, 1863-64.

Even though they could anticipate the results of the Acts in regard to small agriculturists, they nevertheless still fought for their own security under them, with grounds for their Riverine "legislation".



Salt-bush country, "map map".

The Robertson Land Acts which had brought about the separation of the Riverine from the rest of the colony, but had not said a word as to the political position, to ensure that those who had originally migrated, the response of the Riverine settlers to the Electoral Reform, and finally the Robertson Land Acts was to agitate for separation from a government which appeared to threaten their position. Whether it was for a new and independent state of Riverina, for their own Provincial Government or for annexation to Victoria was their own district, the security of their "independence" which was so



Deniliquin in the 1860's.

Vol. 21 June 1861.

Even though they could anticipate the results of the Acts in regard to small agriculturists, they nevertheless still feared for their own security under them, In any case, the Acts did provide the squatters with grounds for breaking away from a Government which would give the Riverina "no legislation suited to its special requirements."<sup>46</sup>

The Robertson Land Acts were the last of a series of factors which had commenced with the gold rushes, and had undermined the security of the squatters. They had achieved security after a long struggle, but had not held it for long enough to feel really sure of their economic and political position. Least of all were they sure of their social position, to ensure which most of them had originally emigrated. The response of the Riverina squatters to the Electoral Reform, and finally the Robertson Land Acts was to agitate for separation from a government which appeared to threaten their position. Whether it was for a new and independent state of Riverina, for their own Provincial Government or for annexation to Victoria, their ultimate aim was to be rulers in their own district. Only in this way, they felt, could they ensure the security of their interests, and so attain, or retain, that "respectability" which was so important to them.

CHAPTER III

THE RIVERINE ASSOCIATION



THE RIVERINE ASSOCIATION

The Riverine Association was based on a class, not a whole region, and this resulted in its failure. As the movement progressed this, and the division amongst the squatting class, became more apparent. To gain the support of the other classes in the district, the squatters attempted to rationalize their aims, but the rest of the population increasingly came to realize their interests were little regarded by the leaders, with the possible exception of Gideon Lang, in the movement.

There appear to be three stages in the movement for separation. In the beginning the squatters were attempting to gain regional support by claiming to champion local interests. The crisis in the movement occurred with a split in the Riverina Council, which occurred when the fact that the squatters' motives were purely selfish became apparent. The last stage was distinguished by the movement's transition from that of a party seeking public support to a faction seeking private influence.

The period which the separation movement covered was a period when the people living in and around Deniliquin were becoming conscious of themselves as a group. By the late 1850s the town was established as the centre of an expanding and to them at least, important district.<sup>1</sup> Most of the difficulties of pioneering were at an end, and both townspeople and squatters had time to think of themselves as titled to certain

---

<sup>1</sup> "From the small Township of Deniliquin and its suburbs alone, £10,000 have been paid during the last few years, for the land sold." P.T. 6 December 1862.

privileges and recognition. This was due both to a certain amount of parochialism and local pride, and the realisation that "for years ... in regard to public works, (they) existed on the promises of the Government." Cowper was "notorious for his liberal promises," and equally well known for not performing them.<sup>2</sup>

The squatters drew support for their movement from the inhabitants of the Town by including demands for greater local expenditure in the Riverina Petition, which thus embodied the aims of two distinct groups from the first. Most squatters thought independence or some form of provincial government, so that they could formulate their own laws and control their own revenue, would give them security. On the other hand, many of the townspeople were not particular who governed them, so long as they were not neglected. Annexation to Victoria seemed to them a possible solution to their problems.<sup>3</sup>

The Riverina's association with Victoria in fact reached as far back as the establishment of the Port Phillip district, which originally was to extend north to the Murrumbidgee. Lord John Russell made this clear in a despatch to Sir George Gipps in 1840. The Port Phillip district was to be bounded by the two southern most counties of N.S.W. as proclaimed by the Governor in 1829, and from thence, "by the whole course of the River Murrumbidgee and the Murray until it meets the eastern boundary of S.A."<sup>4</sup> The Constitution Act of 1842 decreed that

<sup>2</sup> P.T. 13 June 1863.

<sup>3</sup> "In a word, should we not in all public matters be a thousand times better off in an alliance positive with Victoria than in the bastard relation which we now bear to N.S.W.?" P.T. 6 December, 1862.

<sup>4</sup> Despatch from Lord John Russell to Sir George Gipps, 31 May 1840, Vic. V. & P. Vol. II, 1840, pp. 53-54.

the Port Phillip boundary should be "a straight line drawn from Cape Howe to the nearest source of the River Murray, and thence the course of that river to the eastern boundary to the province of S.A."<sup>5</sup> The Murrumbidgee is the "nearest source" of the Murray, but the Hume became the boundary. No records are available revealing what occurred in the N.S.W. executive - but somehow the older colony retained the country between the Murray and Murrumbidgee.<sup>6</sup>

Dunmore Lang pointed out in 1851 that the natural boundary was the Murrumbidgee, whilst the official boundary was the Murray. He advocated that they should examine the place "where the hoofs of the horses and bullocks begin to turn southward, and there draw the line of Victoria's boundary."<sup>7</sup> Had this principle been adopted, there would have been far less legitimate grounds for the people of Riverina to agitate for separation. Dr. Lang also pointed out that the territory between the Murray and Murrumbidgee Rivers "has all its relations with Port Phillip. Its roads lead to Pt. Phillip, its improvements are required for Port Phillip purposes, its traffic and its social intercourse all turn Port Phillip-wards."<sup>8</sup>

However, if Sydney did receive assessments on stock and license fees from the Riverina, he believed she had her duties to perform towards the district.

---

<sup>5</sup> Constitution Act, 10 July 1842. Quoted in U.R. Ellis New Australian States, (Sydney 1933), p. 23.

<sup>6</sup> IBID. p. 39.

<sup>7</sup> J.D. Lang, "Our Boundaries", in Illustrated Australia Magazine, March, 1851. p. 165. M.L. Dr. Lang claimed to be the first to have raised the question of Riverina separation, in a letter he wrote to the Melbourne press in 1856. U.R. Ellis, op.cit., p. 71.

<sup>8</sup> IBID. pp. 165-7.

At the end of 1862 even The Pastoral Times was in favour of annexation. (Later it changed its policy, probably to co-incide with that of the squatters.) In November it reported that

"There is a growing conviction in the public mind here that we belong geographically to Victoria."

Annexation to Victoria was attractive because the government there was "extending telegraphs, railways, and all great public works to her extreme confines."<sup>9</sup> The general feeling in the town was that, as far as Sydney was concerned, they were "stowed away in the bush," and must be "content with the political crumbs that fall from the overloaded Government tables, even though (they supplied) no small proportion of the expenses of the feast."<sup>10</sup> Political connection with Melbourne seemed infinitely better all round than with Sydney.

The Riverine Council was elected at a "meeting of squatters and others interested in the proposal to annex the riverine portion of N.S.W. to Victoria." The meeting viewed "with extreme alarm" the proposal for annexation and resolved to "affirm the principle of self-government for the riverine provinces of N.S.W."<sup>11</sup>

Gideon Lang was the first president of the Riverine Council. He violently opposed annexation, and wrote to Dunmore Lang in March 1863 that the stronghold of the annexationists was Deniliquin, but he thought he had "settled" them in a lecture he gave there. He predicted that "before our next meeting at the end of next month we will be pretty high unanimous for independence."<sup>12</sup> In view of later developments, a

---

<sup>9</sup> P.T. 15 November 1862.

<sup>10</sup> P.T. 6 December 1862.

<sup>11</sup> P.T. 17 January 1863.

<sup>12</sup> J.D. Lang's Papers, Vol. 7, 1855-77. 13 March 1863. M.L.

letter he wrote to the Pastoral Times at the end of 1862 is significant:

"A Separate Government is necessary for such a district if only because of its special nature requiring special management for the development of its resources."

The chief objection was the absence of a seabord for the proposed new state, but he considered Melbourne could be the port.<sup>13</sup>

The Riverina Council drew up a petition to the Legislative Assembly, which was presented in September 1863.<sup>14</sup> Another copy was presented in July, 1865.<sup>15</sup> In order to attract a wide section of the population, it catered for a diversity of interests and aims. Annexationists and those only interested in the redress of grievances joined in the hope that the Association would become merely a vehicle towards achieving their own ends. The wide support obtained at first was largely due to the fact that the Association was the first one in the district organized to benefit Riverina by putting pressure on the Sydney Government. Thus from the beginning its aims were not united, and its failure was largely a result of the different groups conflicting with one another. Most of the important clauses in the petition, however, primarily concerned with squatters, and "The boundaries of the proposed new colony were so chosen as to embrace as much pastoral country as possible."<sup>16</sup>

An important clause concerned the Electoral Act, which had

<sup>13</sup> Letter from G.S. Lang, Mungadal, to P.T., 27 December, 1862.

<sup>14</sup> 2 September 1863. V. & P. Vol. V, 1863-64.

<sup>15</sup> 14 July 1865, V. & P. Vol. I, 1865-66.

<sup>16</sup> P.T. 11 October 1861.

caused the squatters to hold their first meeting on separation. They thought that they were practically disfranchised, their representation being in the ratio of 20,000 people to 350,000, and that it would only be fair to allow them more representatives per head than the towns. In view of their extensive property, "their annual produce being more than one million sterling," and the distant seat of Government, they considered "ten members would not be more than a fair amount of representation." They also objected to the Act giving every male subject over the age of 21, and who has been resident in the district six months, the right to vote, for by representing members, it ignored "the rights of property."<sup>17</sup>

The clauses in the petition relating to the Land Acts were also to benefit the squatters. They rationalized their objections on the grounds that "the pastoral interest will be so materially damaged, that the prosperity of the district will be destroyed, and all classes of the community will be involved in the common ruin." They went on to say how they "would wish every opportunity be given to the cultivators" but that "there are thousands of miles of salt-bush plains which can be turned to account as pasture only." They warned

"That to throw these open for conditional purchase would be no benefit whatever to the bona fide agricultural settler, but would lay the pastoral tenant open to ... extortion and persecution."<sup>18</sup>

The suggested amendments to the Land Laws in the Petition were made to appear as though they were to benefit the selector, but it is doubtful

---

<sup>17</sup> Petition to Legislative Assembly from Riverina, loc.cit.

<sup>18</sup> IBID. p. 669.

they would have had they been executed. One such suggestion if it had been adopted would have been of advantage to very few selectors, because of its condition of fencing within a limited period. They proposed that instead of a pre-emptive lease of an area thrice that of the land conditionally bought, the selector be given a 14 year lease, "with an absolute pre-emptive right over an area twice that conditionally bought." However, the land was to be "securely fenced within two years from the date of such selection,"<sup>19</sup> which, because of shortage of capital, would have been impossible for nearly all selectors.

Most suggested amendments in the Petition to the Land Acts bore directly on the security of the squatters' tenure. It was proposed to renew the Crown Tenants' leases at the expiration of the term granted by the Crown Lands Occupation Act, and to fix the rent by appraisalment "to be made periodically by arbitration." It was also proposed to continue making reserves, but that upon any reserve being alienated by conditional purchase or otherwise, the lessee should receive compensation.<sup>20</sup>

Most of the other clauses in the Petition were not specifically for the benefit of a particular class. They were of less concern for the squatters than the Electoral and Land Acts clauses, for they did not involve security. Instead, they represented a variety of local grievances, most of which the inhabitants of the district had complained

---

<sup>19</sup> IBID. p. 670.

<sup>20</sup> IBID. pp. 669-670.

about previously, and were to continue complaining about until they were redressed.

In 1858 there had been a "Petition from Deniliquin to Establish a Magistrates' Court" which pointed out

"That journeys to Goulbourn to carry out the law against criminals committed for trial prove seriously, and often times ruinously, expensive to prosecutors and witnesses in these districts."

Rather than undergo the "perils and expenses of a journey to Goulbourn," many people did not prosecute.<sup>21</sup> The Riverina Petition was another opportunity to demand that a "branch of the Supreme Court, with Judge, officers, and all its appendages, may be established at Deniliquin."<sup>22</sup> Whilst this would have inconvenienced the squatters, it was "not only an act of justice but of absolute necessity"<sup>23</sup> for the rest of the community. It mattered less to the squatters than the other classes that

"the majority of witnesses attending this Court travel these distances on foot over trackless plains and bridgeless rivers, with considerable risk and not infrequent loss of life."

Usually the squatters could afford to pay about £100 to travel to Goulbourn by way of Melbourne and Sydney, which was infinitely more comfortable, but a distance to and from of about 2,400 miles.<sup>24</sup>

The Pastoral Times had written in 1861 that although they were not "advocates of free selection," they

<sup>21</sup> 2 November 1858 V. & P. Vol. II, 1858, p. 71.

<sup>22</sup> loc.cit.

<sup>23</sup> IBID.

<sup>24</sup> IBID.



"really should like the working classes to have the opportunity of selecting town and suburban allotments on fair conditions. It is a disgrace to the Survey Office in Sydney and all connected with it, to see the continual delays and impediments in the way of our procuring a little land for cottages, gardens and paddocks."<sup>25</sup>

The Riverina Petition demanded "that a branch Land and Survey Office and Commissioner of Crown Lands Office, and all other public offices" be opened in Deniliquin,<sup>26</sup> which would appear to satisfy the Pastoral Times' complaint. In actual fact, when an office was opened, it enabled squatters to be on hand so as to have their applications for conditional purchase submitted ahead of the intending selectors' applications.

On the whole, the inconveniences and expense of transport were greater for the townspeople and farmers than for the squatters. The townspeople had to bring their stores to the district from Melbourne and the farmers transport their produce away. The distance from the city meant that the long time taken in travelling ruined perishable goods, and the cost of cartage was high. The squatters' stock could be driven in large mobs and wool could be taken by bullock-wagon and paddle steamer, and the length of time was not important. Complaints about the road between Deniliquin and Moama were frequent.<sup>27</sup>

At the beginning of 1861 a petition was sent to the Governor General from the people of Deniliquin and Moulamein, in favour of having a sum of money granted for clearing the River Edward for navigation. In common with many petitions it achieved nothing. In May the Pastoral Times

---

<sup>25</sup> P.T. 18 October 1861.

<sup>26</sup> loc.cit.

<sup>27</sup> Petition for Railway from Echuca to Deniliquin, 2 August 1866, V. & P. Vol. II, 1866, p. 393.

wrote: "Since that time we have heard nothing of the petition, and we would feel thankful for any information as to its whereabouts."<sup>28</sup>

There were demands throughout the period for clearing the districts rivers, so as to open them for navigation for more months of the year.

The Riverine Petition also gave voice to these demands, in the form

that "immediate and efficient steps may be taken for canalizing and clearing the Darling, and clearing the Murrumbidgee and Murray rivers, (precedence being given to the clearing and canalizing the Darling), and for erecting necessary public offices and other improvements."<sup>29</sup>

Petitions advocating the laying of a railway to Deniliquin, and other Riverina Towns, were got up and signed, frequently up to 1875, when work on the Deniliquin-Moama railway was commenced. The squatters' comparative indifference concerning the railway is illustrated in a letter, dated 28 October, 1863, from Henry Batchelor, Honourable Secretary of the Railway Extension Committee, to Dunmore Lang, requesting him to present the Committee's petition. The Committee

"was of opinion that as our member Mr. Landale had not taken any interest in the Railway Extension movement, the cause would be better served by not entrusting the petition to his care. Had Mr. Landale been asked to present the Petition probably he would have consented, but in agitations of this description the painful part is not to be trusted to even a luke warm friend."<sup>30</sup>

Demands for a railway were included in the Riverina Petition for an extension either from Sydney, or from the Victorian Line. Stock travelling to Moama meant that the road was continually in bad condition, and this, together with the economic link existing with Victoria, gave strong incentive for a railway extension from Moama.

---

<sup>28</sup> P.T. 3 May 1861.

<sup>29</sup> loc.cit.

<sup>30</sup> J.D. Lang's papers, p. 449. ML

The Border Customs Duties were another grievance which affected the townspeople and farmers far more than the squatters, and the Riverina Petition demanded their abolition. Mr. Rusden in the debate in the Legislative Assembly on the Riverina said that he thought the strongest point in favour of separation was in regard to the border duties.<sup>31</sup> Deniliquin was less affected by them than other towns, like Albury, which were right on the border and which had large numbers of agriculturists sending their produce to Melbourne. There the tobacco and wine growers, because of the duties, could not compete with Victorian producers.<sup>32</sup>

In 1855 the freedom of the Murray trade was conceded by Victoria at the request of N.S.W., and the practice of collecting duties upon goods imported into Victoria from N.S.W. was abandoned, the balance of trade being at that time in favour of N.S.W. Trade between the two colonies across the Murray remained free until May 1860 when N.S.W. demanded that "her legal right to the duties payable on goods consumed within her territory should be recognized."<sup>33</sup> In August 1864 Customs Houses were established at various points on the Murray, including Moama, to enforce the collection of duties on goods subject under the

---

<sup>31</sup> "The Riverina Question": Speeches in the legislative Assembly of N.S.W. — The Debate on the Riverina Petition. (Wilson & MacKinnon 1864) p. 13.

<sup>32</sup> Petition from Albury to Legislative Assembly on Border Customs Duties, 9 May 1865. V. & P. vol. I, p. 671.

<sup>33</sup> Minutes of the Proceedings of the Conference held at Sydney, on the 15th day of April, 1865, between the Governments of N.S.W. and Vic., upon the Border Duties Question. V. & P. Vol. I, 1865, p. 676.

N.S.W. tariff.<sup>34</sup> N.S.W. thought that by doing this she would obtain the trade of the border towns. Victoria was willing to settle the disputes by paying N.S.W. a fixed amount per annum equal to her duties on Riverina goods, for she was losing trade to S.A. because the Riverina people had to pay duties to both N.S.W. and Victoria on goods crossing the Murray. The proposal was never put to the N.S.W. legislative.<sup>35</sup> At a Conference upon the Border Customs Question in April 1865 between N.S.W. and Victoria, it was agreed that colonial produce should be allowed to pass duty free between the two colonies, and a bonded warehouse was established at Echuca.<sup>36</sup> Thus the population of Riverina did not have to pay double duties, but only according to the N.S.W. tariff.<sup>37</sup> The farmers living along the Murray who were trading with Victoria thought that all the border duties would eventually be abolished, without the need for separation from Sydney. They held these views until about 1872, and then they lost hope, and began talking of separation.

The Riverina Petition, in common with other petitions for new States, objected to taxes collected in the Riverina being spent on public works in Sydney. They objected to paying for railways they could never use, for "they neither export nor import nor transact any business whatever through the N.S.W. seaboard."<sup>38</sup> Even if the Riverina was not entirely

---

<sup>34</sup> Murray River Customs Duties. 18 August 1864. V. & P. 1864, p. 638.

<sup>35</sup> P.T. 15 October 1864.

<sup>36</sup> Minutes of the Proceedings of the Conference ... upon the Border Duties Question. loc.cit.

<sup>37</sup> S.M.H. quoted in PT. 12 August 1865.

<sup>38</sup> Petition to L.A. from Riverina, 1863. loc.cit. p. 694.

independent of Sydney, most petitioners would have been quite contented with the expenditure of their own revenue and a separate debt for local improvements. They requested that

"after providing for the support of local governmental and judicial institutions etc. and the payment of the fair quota of the cost of the postal service, and of the expense of the general government, and of the interest on the Colonial debt, the balance of the revenue of the Riverina province may be expended there in upon public works, under the supervision of local boards."<sup>39</sup>

The Pastoral Times could not "impress too strongly" on their readers that the Riverina was "not in debt", and that upon separating from N.S.W., they would not have to pay for debts contracted on their behalf.<sup>40</sup>

Complete separation from N.S.W. was not regarded as an end in itself by any class, but rather as a means of achieving certain ends. For a long while most wanted to remain permanently attached to Sydney, as a province of N.S.W. They wanted a Government Resident "to communicate with the Central Government to overlook the branch departments of public money." They also regarded it "necessary to define the district under his jurisdiction and liable for the local debt," and expedient to establish "this as a distinct district with defined boundaries, on the same footing as Port Phillip before separation, with a Superintendent, possessing however sufficient power to prevent the constant reference to headquarters which caused so much delay and discontent."<sup>41</sup> This desire to remain attached to N.S.W., or for annexation to Victoria probably stemmed from a feeling of insecurity and inferiority, and with it some sort of wish to escape responsibility.

<sup>39</sup> IBID.

<sup>40</sup> P.T. 14 February 1863.

<sup>41</sup> Petition to L.A. from Riverina, 1863. loc.cit. p. 694.

Thus the squatters' insecurity led them paradoxically to agitate for self-government, and at the same time avoid complete independence.

The petition was thus signed by people with different interests and different aims, the squatters at this stage being the only ones who seriously contemplated a separate form of government. It is doubtful whether they wanted improvements in the district at all. The Pastoral Times suggested this indirectly, by asking was it "likely any large number (of selectors) will settle down close to the town, unless they are provided with cheap carriage to the centres of population?"<sup>42</sup> The fact that transport costs made the price of stores high affected the squatters little, for at this time, "more than ever," they obtained their stores direct from Melbourne, "and even the few who deal with Deniliquin houses are charged Melbourne prices, with perhaps an agent's commission."<sup>43</sup>

The divisions within the movement, which even developed amongst the squatters, lost it support and ultimately caused its failure. Time was wasted on local bickerings and squabbles. To begin with the squatters was enthusiastic about this movement, one donating as much as £2,000 towards the Separation Fund.<sup>44</sup> Altogether about £10,000 were subscribed.<sup>45</sup> Enthusiasm waned as time wore on, their petitions were rejected and the Association seemed to accomplish little. Many squatters lived a long way from Deniliquin, the roads were bad, and they could ill-

---

<sup>42</sup> P.T. 11 February 1865.

<sup>43</sup> IBID.

<sup>44</sup> P.T. 27 September 1861.

<sup>45</sup> P.T. 7 May 1864.

afford the time away from their stations. Most were happy to leave the struggle for their security to a few energetic men like Gideon Lang. The Pastoral Times was largely right in its prediction that

"The greatest weakness, it is believed, will be found among the settlers themselves ... Can Mr. Lang inspire these with a little of his own patriotism? Can he make them step out of their privileged position and occupy a large amount of their time in public matters? ... We believe the best men who reside amongst us are so frightened at the spread of democracy that they shun public life, live as close as they can, make money as fast as they can, and leave as soon as they can."<sup>46</sup>

The first failure of the Association was anticipated to a certain extent, but it seemed to initiate a series of events which resulted in the death of the movement. In September, 1863, the Colonial Secretary replied to the Riverina Petition that the Government was "not prepared to recognize the necessity of defining any portion of the existing Colony of N.S.W. as a separate Province." It was of opinion that "the appointment of a Government Superintendent, to reside at Deniliquin, would rather impede than expedite the transaction of the public business by the Government departments," and that the establishment of a Registrar's Office, "besides being surrounded with difficulties which would seem insuperable, would be likely to complicate transactions which it is intended to assist. The Government also did not see sufficient reasons to sanction alterations in the Land Laws. It did promise to submit a proposal for a branch of the Supreme Court for Deniliquin to Parliament, and to establish a District Survey Office there, but these concessions were very minor."<sup>47</sup>

---

<sup>46</sup> P.T. 10 January 1863.

<sup>47</sup> 1 September 1863. V. & P. Vol. II, 1863-64. p. 690.

Quite early in the separation movement there were suspicions as to the real motives behind the squatters' agitation for separation:

"All kinds of selfish motives (were) attributed to the Council; the esteemed President was aiming at being 'Duke of Mungadal', and every squatter of the Council whom foolish men designated 'Lords' de facto, were seeking to become 'Lords' de jure."<sup>48</sup>

As far as Lang was concerned, the accusations were unjust, and his differing views caused the split to develop amongst the squatters in the Association. In December 1863 he wrote to the Sydney Morning Herald that

"There is no reason why these districts, with a local administration and separate debt, should not remain permanently attached to N.S.W., if railway communication were thus opened with Sydney. If governed properly, we have no desire for independent government - still less for annexation to Victoria."<sup>49</sup>

This letter announced "a sudden and altogether unexpected change of programme on the part of the Riverina petitioners,"<sup>50</sup> and resulted in Lang being called upon to resign the Presidency of the Riverine Council at a meeting on January 23.<sup>51</sup> It appears that Lang really held these views all along, using the threat of separation to put pressure on the Government. Others shared his views, and the Sydney Morning Herald reported at the end of the year that some of their moves were feigned,

<sup>48</sup> P.T. 9 January 1864.

<sup>49</sup> Quoted in P.T. 26 December 1863.

<sup>50</sup> Argus, 7 January 1864. quoted in P.T. 26 December 1863.

<sup>51</sup> P.T. 30 January 1864.



and they "entertained the notion that a less ambitious end might be accomplished by pretending to go in search of separation."<sup>52</sup>

The Pastoral Times continued to be optimistic, failing to see the consequences that this developing split would have.<sup>53</sup> Lang was preparing to leave for Sydney to promote the cause there, and Augustus Morris was soon to introduce the question of separation in the Legislative Assembly. On the other hand, letters from W.M. Virgoe and G.R. Caldwell to the Pastoral Times were more realistic. Caldwell pointed out that the funds of the Association were "being expended rather lavishly for any actual results that have as yet accrued." He hoped that Lang's journey to Sydney would terminate negotiations with the N.S.W. Government, for time was passing that was "valuable in the event of our appeal to the Imperial Government."<sup>54</sup>

In his speech introducing the Riverine question in Parliament Augustus Morris pointed out the necessity of Riverina having its own government, as there was "absolutely no social or commercial intercourse" with Sydney whatever.<sup>55</sup> However, the debate only seemed to convince the majority of the Legislative Assembly that the squatters' main concern was their land tenure.

William Forlonge was accused in the Argus with

<sup>52</sup> Quoted in P.T. 5 November 1864.

<sup>53</sup> P.T. 30 January 1864.

<sup>54</sup> PT. 6 February 1864.

<sup>55</sup> "The Riverina Question", 16 February 1864. p. 12.

"having disgusted the Members of Parliament favourable to the Riverina Petitioners, by having endeavoured to make Mr. Morris make all his resolutions subservient to that of securing tenure of runs to the squatters."<sup>56</sup>

It is interesting to note that Forlonge was the largest Crown Tenant in the Riverina, owning approximately 1,920,000 acres, in fifty runs.<sup>57</sup> At the Annual Meeting of the Riverina Association on 28 April 1864, the Council attempted to lay the blame on Morris for their failure. Reporting on the debate, it remarked its regret that he "introduced collateral matter and did not confine his address to the subject matter of the resolutions." They said this made it appear that the Riverina people "desired to impose their own views on the great majority of the colony, or to alter the constitution of N.S.W."<sup>58</sup> Dr. Dunmore Lang, who was at the meeting, criticized Morris on the same grounds, saying that in his belief it was never "the intention of the people of Riverina to have the elements of organic changes introduced in their agitation for separate government."<sup>59</sup> During the debate, the Hon. John Robertson had pointed out to the Assembly another reason for not granting Riverina independence;

"The whole idea of this Riverina must appear to everyone who knows anything of the country, to be a Deniliquin proposition."

<sup>56</sup> Reported in a telegram from G. S. Lang, dated 10 February, 1864. and read to a meeting, chaired by George Peppin, of the Riverina Council on 1 March, 1864. P.T. 5 March 1864.

<sup>57</sup> Return showing approximate Area held under lease by certain Crown Tenants in Western Pastoral Districts, Riverina. loc.cit.

<sup>58</sup> P.T. 30 April 1864.

<sup>59</sup> IBID.

He said that while produce went to Melbourne from Deniliquin, it went to Sydney from Fort Bourke. The latter, especially since the opening of the railway from Bathurst to Sydney, was nearer Sydney than Deniliquin, and yet Deniliquin wanted to be its seat of government.<sup>60</sup>

The Pastoral Times realized the failure in Sydney was due to the Riverine Council. It blamed the divisions within it, and the grasping members "of the Forlonge stamp."<sup>61</sup> It pointed out that "with the exception of the work done by two of the most active Delegates in Sydney ... these great men of Deniliquin" had effected nothing "save bringing the Council level with the dust."<sup>62</sup> It also said how "The body of the public" were excluded. It was becoming increasingly evident that the Riverine Association was one of squatters, and at the Annual Meeting, "there were 80 persons the value of whose aggregate possessions would amount to nearly seven millions of money."<sup>63</sup> The non-squatting population thought that, although this showed the wealth of the Riverina, its concentration in so few hands meant that the district was as yet unsuited for absolute separation.<sup>64</sup> The only hope for the movement was that

"With Mr. Hay and Mr. Lang as pilots, the good ship 'Independence' may yet weather the lee shore on which she has almost been driven by her mutinous and incompetent crew."<sup>65</sup>

<sup>60</sup> "The Riverine Question", 16 February 1864, p. 31.

<sup>61</sup> P.T. 5 March 1864.

<sup>62</sup> P.T. 9 April 1864.

<sup>63</sup> Bendigo Independent, quoted in P.T. 7 May 1864.

<sup>64</sup> IBID.

<sup>65</sup> P.T. 9 April 1864.

A letter to the Editor of the Pastoral Times signed "A Bushman" seems best to represent the attitude which the other classes were developing towards the movement, so I will quote most of it:

"The Riverine Council seems to be all squatters; they have had ample funds at their disposal and all the advantages their social position gives them; and now, after twelve months' run, what have they done? Just confessed the fact that all they cared about was to secure their runs.

Now it is only fair that a class having so much capital invested should be secured to a certain extent, but not at the sacrifice of the greater part of the population besides.

The population of this Riverina district at present is composed of three classes: the squatters, the bushmen they employ, and the tradespeople who supply their wants, including publicans, storekeepers etc..."

"Had they been less exclusive, had there been representatives from other classes in it, there would have been some hope that the object was the general good; but I believe their object is more selfish. The present system suits them, and a separate government would only confirm the present state of things; whereas under the present Government it is to be hoped a poor man in time will be able to select a bit of land for a home, for the present free selection is all a farce. There are as good opportunities for productive industry of every kind here as in others parts of the country. They say the land is not fit for cultivation. I say look at the fruit and vegetables of every kind, and of the finest quality, hawked about the streets of Deniliquin, and grown within thirty miles of it. Look at the immense stocks of good oaten hay in the town itself, all grown here ...

This separation movement is evidently too much of a class affair. The interests of the working classes are not thought of. The very exclusiveness of the Riverine Council has been its ruin, and had its members the reins of government tomorrow the land would be monopolized by them, and Riverina in the year 1900 would be just about the same as at present."<sup>66</sup>

With Lang's resignation as President of the Council many of the townspeople who still supported the movement withdrew disillusioned. Lang resigned on 28 April 1864 and G.P. Desailly was elected as President.<sup>67</sup> He favoured annexation to Victoria, it appears because of the less liberal land laws there. He was regarded with suspicion by the Deniliquin townspeople as being an "ultra-squatter", concerned only with his land tenure. On the other hand, Gideon Lang had "the confidence of the people" who knew that as long as he was head of the movement, "no unfair advantage will be taken in the settlement of the land question." He wrote to Dummore Lang in February 1864 that "the storekeepers in Deniliquin declare that I am the only link between them and the squatters, that if I retire there is no one they trust to take ~~their~~<sup>my</sup> place, and insist upon my being re-elected president, and holding office supported by a more popular Council."<sup>68</sup>

Lang had been first called upon to resign on the 23 January, 1864, because of his views concerning Riverina's permanent attachment to Sydney.<sup>69</sup> Whilst the townspeople supported Lang, generally they suspected and disliked those wanting his resignation, which included G.P. Desailly, Doctor Wren, and Thomas Robertson, solicitor. The Pastoral Times wrote that these men formed a "certain clique in the district," which had caused scenes and trouble at meetings of the Deniliquin hospital and Church of England, the school teacher to leave and the collapse of the masons.<sup>70</sup>

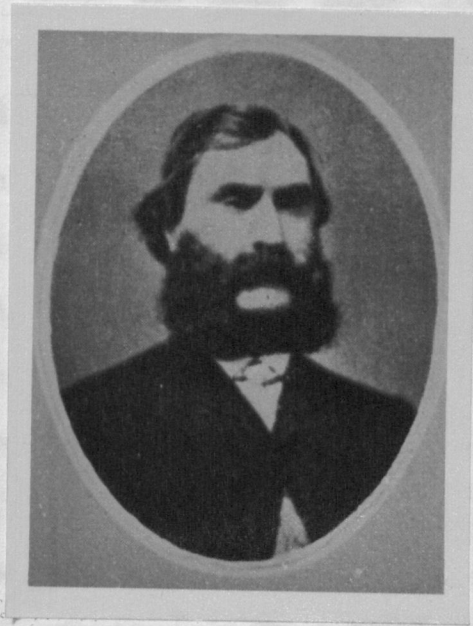
---

<sup>67</sup> P.T. 29 April 1865.

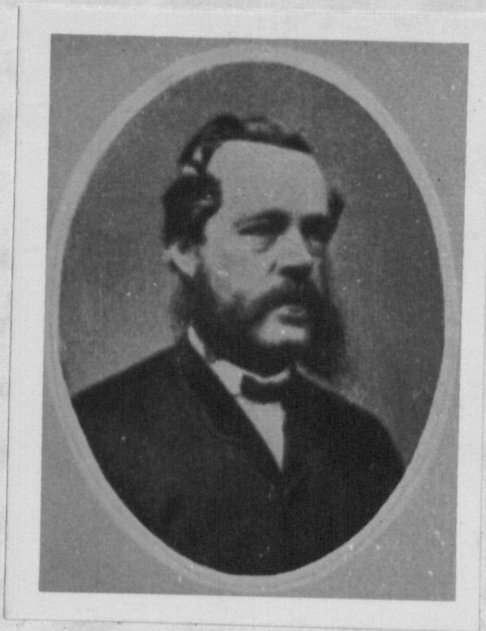
<sup>68</sup> J.D. Lang's Papers, 21 February 1864.

<sup>69</sup> P.T. 30 January 1864 and Argus 7 January 1864.

<sup>70</sup> P.T. 13 February 1864.



George P. Desailly.  
President of the  
Riverine Association.



Thomas Robertson.  
Solicitor.

Thus the very fact that Desailly was the new President alienated supporters of the movement, and "a further encroachment" in July 1864 lost more. In a letter to the Council he claimed dictatorial power, so that he could appoint his own Executive, he himself being responsible for their acts. More than a year later the public still did not know whether he had named his advisors, the activities of the Council being kept secret. Meetings were conducted behind locked doors, the press was excluded and only given a brief report to publish. Monthly circulars were forwarded to members of the Association, containing a "brief statement of what has been done at the meetings."<sup>71</sup>

More than ever it became apparent that the movement was being controlled by a clique, and "the public and many of the principle supporters of the cause "came to regard separation as lost. After Lang's retirement, the cause "sunk lower and lower", for he "infused into it a large amount of nationality." The people saw that the movement was "made subservient to a servile and unprincipled minority" and lost any enthusiasm they had."<sup>72</sup>

In the meantime, there was talk in Melbourne and Sydney on the prospects of Victoria purchasing Riverina. Mr. Lord, M.L.A. for Bogan, suggested selling the country south of the Lachlan to Victoria for £2,000,000, and using the capital to construct a railway to Fort Bourke. The proposal was received with indignation in Deniliquin, for the population objected to not being consulted about the proposed transfer, and

---

<sup>71</sup> P.T. 16 September 1865.

<sup>72</sup> P.T. 29 April 1865.

so being treated "as serfs, and subjects for barter." Some thought the idea might be "tinged with possibility" if the £2,000,000 were spent on extending the railway north of Echuca, not on an extension line west from Bathurst. They however feared that

"It will be at the mercy of the Parliament of the day, these 2m. and it will be used to reduce the public debt, or it will be squandered on the settled districts."<sup>73</sup>

The proposal was not adopted, but there were some residents who, in letters to the Editor of the Pastoral Times, gave the opinion that it would be a good idea, as the money could be spent in Riverina, and it would settle the problem of border duties. These, like most annexationists, were townspeople and farmers. Sydney decided it was in her interests to retain Riverina, but Victoria continued to regard the proposal as a good one, the Age considering £1,000,000 sufficient price.<sup>74</sup>

These proposals concerning Victoria's purchasing Riverina offended the local pride of the people. Articles in the Pastoral Times described how "the settlers are still between Scylla and Charybdis,"<sup>75</sup> that is, Sydney and Melbourne. Many squatters felt that, with the more democratic government there and the fact that they might not be annexed under their own terms, a political connection with Victoria might be even worse than one with Sydney.<sup>76</sup> Thus they preferred to let the movement take its own course, under a few still interested members. Whilst still wanting separation, they gave up agitating for it rather than risk the

---

<sup>73</sup> P.T. 23 July 1864.

<sup>74</sup> P.T. 7 January 1865.

<sup>75</sup> P.T. 29 April 1865.

<sup>76</sup> PT 2 March 1872.



possibility of annexation to Victoria.

Towards the end of 1864, the Council realized it could do nothing more at that stage in Australia, and decided to appeal to the Imperial Government. Cowper's Cabinet reviewed the Riverina Petition in the middle of the next year, with the purpose of advising the Imperial Government concerning it. The "Minute of the Cabinet upon the petitions for erecting a portion of N.S.W. into a separate Colony" began by saying the desire for independence originated amongst "certain wealthy and influential individuals, not very numerous, to secure to themselves, on terms inimical to the satisfactory settlement of the country, the Crown lands comprised within its boundaries." The Cabinet also pointed out that the proposed new colony was to contain 156,000 square miles for a scattered population, leaving only 167,430 square miles for a much greater population. Moreover, there was amongst this scattered population, "no middle class to any extent, the social relations of the community being only that of master and servant." The Cabinet also said that a new colony would not settle the border customs duties.<sup>77</sup>

The firm rejection of the petitions was partly due to the squatters' tenure recently being the subject of a lengthy debate in the Assembly. The house immediately refused to concede better terms to the squatters, and handed the petition to the Governor, who transmitted it to England with the Cabinet's reply. The petition being submitted to the House at this time lent weight to the belief that "the Riverina movement only cloaks the alleged design of the squatting party to possess themselves unduly

---

<sup>77</sup> 14 July, 1865. V. & P. Vol. I, 1865-66, p. 666-7.

of the public land, ~~con~~trary to the interests of the general public."<sup>78</sup>

On the 5 September 1865 the Riverine Council passed a resolution appointing F.A. Gwynne, W.A. Brodribb and Patrick Brougham, attended by Mr. Corbett as secretary, as delegates to England. The Pastoral Times advised that it would have been wiser to have included one delegate unconnected with squatting, as

"The appointment of three squatters must of necessity give a colouring to the assertion so loudly made that it is solely a squatters' movement."<sup>79</sup>

Meanwhile, the Secretary of State for the Colonies replied to the Governor, Sir John Young, that he had "been unable to advise Her Majesty that any steps should be taken for giving effect to the wishes of the Petitioners." He said that the inconveniences of the Riverina people were to a great measure removable, and that it would not be for "the present or future benefit of Australia" that Riverina should become a separate Colony.<sup>80</sup>

Actually, the refusal of the Imperial Government to grant the Petitioners separation was no surprise, and created little concern. The general opinion was that the Riverine Council had wasted time and, because of its lack of unity and the suspicious it aroused concerning its motives, had prejudiced the districts' chance of independence. In fact,

"With all the time and money spent in the past, all the Riverine Council have to show is a bridge over the Edward."<sup>81</sup>

Lang had retired from the Riverine Association, and, the Pastoral Times wrote,

<sup>78</sup> PT. 16 September 1865.

<sup>79</sup> IBID.

<sup>80</sup> 20 February 1866. V. & P. Vol. I, 1865-66, p. 663.

<sup>81</sup> P.T. 17 Sept. 1864.

"With him has gone more than half the Association, and, what is of far more consequence, with him has gone the sympathy of the public, who once took an interest in the progress of the Riverina cause."<sup>82</sup>

Thus the movement for separation had virtually failed before the refusal was received from the Imperial Government. It had been in existence too long, with little immediate hope of success most of the time, for it to retain the enthusiasm of its adherents. People were disgusted with the continued delays and bickerings of the Council, and one by one they lost faith. Lang's resignation from the Association lost the clique that controlled it their last support.

The movement was founded on the squatters' fear for their security, but in fact the end of this period saw the achievement of their security, under the Robertson Land Acts. The time from the commencement of agitation in 1858 until the beginning of 1866 when the Acts began to apply to Riverina was long for busy squatters to remain active in a single political movement. Gradually, too, they came to accept the Acts as inevitable, and although towards the end of 1865 as the Acts drew near there was more enthusiastic talk about separation, the squatters had seen the evasion of them in other districts. The Robertson Land Acts, by ironically giving the squatters security, made them want to remain under the Sydney Government.

---

<sup>82</sup> P.T. 19 August 1865.

CHAPTER IV

THE ACHIEVEMENT OF SECURITY

THE ACHIEVEMENT OF SECURITY

The opening of runs in the district round Deniliquin for conditional purchase under the Crown Lands Alienation Act was awaited by local inhabitants with interest, in many cases mingled with dread. Towards the end of 1865 the Land Acts were given considerable attention by the Pastoral Times and amongst many squatters there was renewed interest taken in the possibility of separation. Even others who suspected all along that the Acts would be unsuccessful in the Western Pastoral Districts in establishing small agricultural farmers, awaited the New Year with a considerable amount of concern. All wondered exactly what effects these laws which had been formulated by a democratic Parliament would have for them, and whether they still had enough political influence to gain certain concessions and achieve certain amendments of the laws. They feared that possibly the selectors influence might be strong enough for them to obtain amendments favourable to themselves, and to have the Acts interpreted to the detriment of the Crown Tenants.

The 1st January, 1866, the day when the Robertson Land Acts were first applied to most of the Riverina, and "for which thousands were said to be waiting to rush the lands" was rather an anti-climax to the excitement that was being aroused in the district. At the Deniliquin Land Office, there were only two applications for conditional purchase, neither of which were accepted as they were for land covered by water reserves. There seems to be a hint of disappointment over lost excitement in the Pastoral Times description:

"The terrible day that was to ruin squatters and divide their domains amongst the masses had passed almost unbeknown to the general public."<sup>1</sup>

Those who suspected the success of the Acts in the unsettled Districts were on the whole proved right. The Acts remained in force, with very few minor amendments, until 1884, but "the increase in the area of land under cultivation in N.S.W. during the dark days of agriculture - from the year 1842-1861 — was as rapid as the progress of agriculture during the twenty years from 1861-1881."<sup>2</sup> In 1861, out of a total population in N.S.W. of 751,468, 57% were in the cities and 41% on the land, so that after 20 years of the Robertson Land Acts the rural population was 12% less, out of the total population, than in 1861.<sup>3</sup> In the Deniliquin district less than half of the Crown Lands were alienated, by free selection and purchase by auction, over the whole period.<sup>4</sup> Most of the land fell into the hands of the large freehold estates, very little being used for agriculture. In the whole of N.S.W. in 1861, one acre in every fourteen of freehold land was under cultivation, and in 1880 only one in thirty-nine.<sup>5</sup>

---

<sup>1</sup> P.T. 6 January 1866.

<sup>2</sup> Mr. Reid. 11 October 1881, in L.A. P.D. vol. 5. 1882, p. 1,498.

<sup>3</sup> Mr. G.M. Griffiths. 13 February 1883, in L.A. P.D. vol. 8, pp. 381-2.

<sup>4</sup> P.T. 27 January 1883.

<u>County</u>	<u>Alienated (acres)</u>	<u>Unalienated (acres)</u>
Cadell	205,632	369,456
Townsend	725,982	1,261,218
Wakool	<u>1,186,704</u>	<u>1,134,479</u>
Total	<u>2,118,309</u>	<u>2,765,173</u>

<sup>5</sup> Mr. Reid, loc.cit.

In 1882 Augustus Morris and George Ranken conducted a **Royal Commission**, or "Report of Inquiry into the State of the Public Lands, and the Operation of the Land Laws," which was published in the N.S.W. Parliamentary Papers on 2 May 1883. The Report was biased in favour of the squatters, and inadequate because it attributed the selectors' failure far too much to moral reasons, almost ignoring the economic ones. However, it does produce evidence to show the failure of the Acts, particularly in pastoral districts, and it resulted in their amendment in 1884.

In the conflict between squatter and selector that was a part of the Robertson Land Acts, the squatter possessed certain advantages from the outset. To begin with, he was established on his run and had plenty of capital to help him. Before free selection was introduced, the banks consistently supported the pastoral industry, which was shown to be a good policy by their estimated profit of £2,000,000 from it.<sup>6</sup> There was no reason why the Banks should change their policy with the new land laws.

"Squatting, as a productive enterprise, had been, as it were, cemented into the commerce and banking of the Colony."

The Morris - Ranken Report asserted that the squatters were "carrying on the principle industry in the Colony" and thus "there was no consequence more certain than that the conservators of the national earnings, the Banks, would in their own interests, aid the lessees in their defence against selection."<sup>7</sup> The fact was, the Banks recognized the probable

---

<sup>6</sup> PT. 7 March 1862.

<sup>7</sup> Morris - Ranken Report: 2 May 1883, V. & P. Vol. II, 1883, p. 90.

failure of the Land Acts, so continued to give financial aid to the squatters, and not the selectors.

Although the squatters complained that the electoral distribution was unfair in giving only four members to the Western Pastoral Districts, in 1865 it was

"the boast of these representatives that they can command the sympathetic co-operation, on important occasions, of thirteen members of the Assembly, who are large holders of Crown Lands within the limits of the proposed new Colony."<sup>8</sup>

In July 1865 the members of Parliament who were lessees of runs in the Riverina were:

Legislative Council:-	Alexander Campbell James Chisholm Thomas Icely John Brown Watt
Legislative Assembly:-	William Forlonge John Hay John Hurley Joshua F. Josephson Robert Landale (and J. Robertson) Benjamin Lee George William Lord William MacLeay Thomas H. Mate John Morice P.H. Osborne James V. Phelps James White <sup>9</sup>

Squatters consistently represented the Pastoral Districts, and many times were returned unopposed, until the election of November 1877.

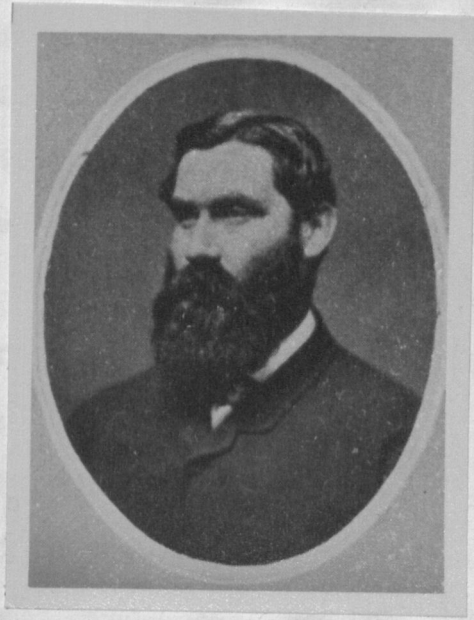
The candidates for Murray were Mr. R. Barbour, a successful free selector, and Mr. William Officer, of "Zara". The latter would probably have been

---

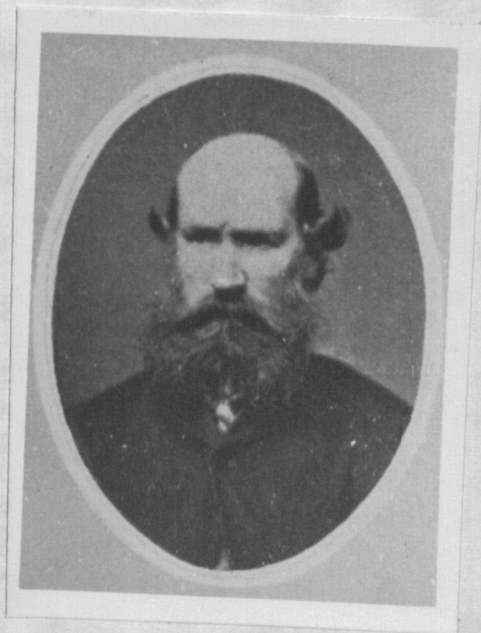
<sup>8</sup> Minutes of the Cabinet upon the Petitions for erecting a portion of N.S.W. into a Separate Colony, 14 July 1865, V. & P. Vol. I, 1865-66, p. 667.

<sup>9</sup> IBID. p. 686.





Robert Landale.  
M.L.A. for Murray.



Joseph J. Phelps.  
M.L.A. for Balranald.

elected even though Barbour commanded most of the selectors' and townspeoples' votes, but a couple of days before the election withdrew due to illness. Mr. Davison, the Mayor, stood representing the squatters, but lost largely because he did not have time to canvas his voters.<sup>10</sup> On the whole, however, squatters had little difficulty in being elected. Their influence in Parliament meant that the four amendments that were made to the land laws were favourable to the squatters, like the amendment in 1875 preventing the selection by minors under the age of sixteen years. Contrary to general opinion, it was the selectors who employed minors the most, squatters using them comparatively little.<sup>11</sup>

The Land Acts "offered for sale to one class of occupants, the same land which was simultaneously assigned under lease to another class."<sup>12</sup> This inevitably brought the two classes into conflict, and whilst the Acts were designed primarily for the selectors. it was the squatters who in the long run were favoured most. There were opportunities for both classes to evade certain conditions in the laws, but more particularly for the squatters, who in addition had money, influence, and a well-established base in the form of their runs to work from. The Morris - Ranken Report indicated that the land policy,

"while it threatened the pastoral lessee on the one hand, has, by its own provisions, supplemented by subsequent legislation, provided the means of defence against and retaliation upon the selectors who ventured to exercise their legitimate rights of encroachment and appropriation."<sup>13</sup>

---

<sup>10</sup> FT. 10 November, 1877.

<sup>11</sup> Crown Lands Regulations, 27 August 1875, V. & P. Vol. III, 1875-76, p.890.

<sup>12</sup> Morris - Ranken Report, loc.cit., p. 89.

<sup>13</sup> IBID., p. 91.

Under the Order in Council of 1847, the squatters were given a pre-emptive right of purchase over the whole of their run, at £1 per acre. Comparatively few ever made much use of it,<sup>14</sup> and the Robertson Acts limited the pre-emptive right to one square mile in every 25. The squatters nevertheless began using their pre-emptive right to "peacock" their runs and obtain the freehold of "the cases on which half the value of every station depends ... and these positions formed the centres from which schemes of systematic defence against selection were afterwards organized."<sup>15</sup>

"Peacocking" or "picking the eyes out" of a run was practised by squatter and selector alike, but more effectively by the squatter. It involved the purchasing, or reserving from sale, of all the choice spots of a run, including the water frontages so that the back blocks had no access to water. By "peacocking" the water supplies, a squatter could make the rest of his run useless to selectors. The law allowed the squatter to impound the selector's stock on unenclosed land,<sup>16</sup> making it impossible for the selector to drive his stock to water over the former's land. By this means, too, the squatter could impound the stock of any man who came to settle on his run, and finally drive him away by continually doing so.<sup>17</sup> Alternatively, the selector was not permitted to impound the lessee's stock.<sup>18</sup> It was also more difficult for him to "peacock" a run, because usually he did not know the country so well, and to effectively ruin a squatter, he had to unite with other selectors, or employ his children to select for him, as "dummies".

---

<sup>14</sup> S.M.H. 14 February 1861, p. 5. See chapter II, above.

<sup>15</sup> Morris-Ranken Report, loc.cit., p. 90.

<sup>16</sup> Crown Lands Alienation Act, 1861. loc.cit.

<sup>17</sup> "The Riverina Question", Mr. Harper, 23 February 1864, p. 132.

<sup>18</sup> Crown Lands Alienation Act, 1861. loc.cit.

The Land Acts did provide the pastoral tenants with a legitimate protection, if they could show that they were "liable to suffer from encroachment." The Minister could allow land to be put to auction at the request of the lessee,<sup>19</sup> who was then able, having sufficient capital, to purchase large areas of his run. There was an association formed of Riverina squatters who agreed not to bid against each other in an auction. They also agreed that if the bidding exceeded £2/6 per acre, the extra amount was to be paid out of the funds of the association.<sup>20</sup> Selections which were forfeited were auctioned, and squatters usually succeeded in buying them.

From 1875 the squatters were also allowed to purchase their land under an improvement clause in the Acts, by notifying their "intention" to improve the waste lands of the Crown.<sup>21</sup> The revenue received from 1875 from auction and improvement purchases was the principle item in the Treasury receipts.<sup>22</sup> The squatters encircled their extensive purchases with a cordon of pre-leases, which, in the pastoral districts, were 5 year leases over thrice the area purchased. The squatters found this so efficient, that by 1882

"whole runs have been brought under the tenure, and the squatting lease virtually abandoned, or retained only

<sup>19</sup> Morris - Ranken Report, loc.cit., p. 90.

<sup>20</sup> R. Barbour, 20 February 1883. P.D. Vol. 8. p. 508.

<sup>21</sup> Petition to Sir Hercules Robinson, Governor, on visit to Deniliquin, from Murray District Selectors' Association. P.T. 2 December 1876.

<sup>22</sup> Morris - Ranken Report, loc.cit., p. 91.

so far as to maintain control over the reserves. Some of these pre-leases have been granted in areas reaching 87,000 acres, under one application."<sup>23</sup>

Volunteer Land Orders "provided the pastoral lessee with the best weapon he could have to resist and injure the selector."<sup>24</sup> They were given to each member of the Defence Force who had served five years, enabling him to take up fifty acres of Crown Lands. There were no conditions as to improvements or residence, and as he could sell these at any time, the squatters purchased them whenever they could.<sup>25</sup> They also took out mineral purchases, which they could do regardless whether or not mining was carried on, or minerals thought to exist there.<sup>26</sup> Figures given in the Morris - Ranken Report for Division II of N.S.W. of which the Deniliquin district forms a part, illustrate the relative importance of these methods of alienation of Crown Lands. The Division "contains 86,019,868 acres. Of this there have been alienated 25,156,612 acres.

By conditional purchase	12,114,082 a.
By auction and after	9,260,274 a.
By virtue of improvements	1,954,812 a.
By volunteer Orders	107,600 a.
Alienated before 1862	1,481,000 a.
Under pre-emptive right	238,844 a.

---

<sup>23</sup> IBID. p. 92.

<sup>24</sup> IBID. p. 91.

<sup>25</sup> W. Epps, "Land Systems of Australasia," (London 1894), pp. 28-29. ML

<sup>26</sup> Morris - Ranken Report, loc.cit. 91.

10,476,000 acres are held under pre-leases, 14,395,529 are reserved, and 36,000,000 are for the most part leased under the Occupation Act of 1861 to 994 registered lessees, who represent the owners of runs."<sup>27</sup>

A letter from J.F. Mayger to Sir Henry Parkes dated 6 October 1873 gives an example of how the squatters could demand an auction in order to secure certain land. He complained that Robert and Alexander Landale, who already owned "some 25,000 or 30,000 acres close to the town" were having "some 2,800 acres of our temporary commonage ground measured and sold, in spite of protestations from the council and community." The Landales wanted the land sold then, when there would be no competition and they could buy at the upset price of suburban blocks.

Mayger described how

"There is no demand now for such areas here, but in the course of 18 or 20 months, there probably will be - why cannot that land wait - the Government don't want money, and we want people; why cannot the transfer, when it is made, be allowed to fit into the requirements of each?"<sup>28</sup>

This is probably rather an extreme case but it does show the influence the squatters held.

The Pastoral Times referred to Robertson's reserves of 1866 as "the salvation of the squatting interest."<sup>29</sup> Instead of buying parts of their runs to keep out conditional purchases, the squatters could have certain areas reserved from sale. By 1883 any unalienated land that was

<sup>27</sup> IBID. p. 88.

<sup>28</sup> Letter from J.F. Mayger, Church Office, Deniliquin, 6 October 1873. Parkes' Papers, M.L.

<sup>29</sup> PT. 4 March 1876.

"fit for any purpose" in the sub-District of Deniliquin<sup>30</sup> was reserved. Areas were reserved for Travelling stock routes and camps, for access to water, and as timber reserves along the Murray. By 1882,

"One half of the whole territory has gone into the great pastoral freehold estates, one-fourth consists of these reserves; and the remaining one-fourth is made up of selections, fag ends of land yet unsold, and poor country, of which there are in the county of Wakool 30,000 acres of mallee."<sup>31</sup>

The Morris - Ranken Report gave a return showing the extent of land reserved from sale, of which there were 1,370,674 acres in the sub-district of Deniliquin:

<u>Country</u>	<u>Area</u> (acres)	
Cadell	79,430	
Caira (part)	86,436	
Townsend	566,065	
Wakool	638,743	32

The lessee of a run had exclusive right of way over reserved land, and thus the exclusive use of it for grazing. Generally, reserves were made around water, but they were also made in strips right through the run. This secured access to water for the back blocks, if the front block should be sold to someone else.<sup>33</sup> It was difficult for a selector arriving in Deniliquin to find out exactly what land was open for conditional purchase, for the boundaries of the reserves were very vague,

---

<sup>30</sup> Consisting of the counties of Cadell, Townsend and Wakool, with part of Caira.

<sup>31</sup> Morris - Ranken Report, loc.cit., p. 119. See appendix D on Reserves made from Conditional Purchase on the runs of Crown Lessees.

<sup>32</sup> Ibid. p. 247.

<sup>33</sup> Reserves under Crown Lands Alienation Act - Minutes of Evidence taken before the Select Committee on P.F. Adams, 334-5. 5 March 1860 V. & P. Vol. III, 1865-66. p. 105.

and often he had to forfeit his block when it was selected as a reserve.<sup>34</sup> In 1865, on one of George Peppin's stations, Wanganella, there were reserves made "containing a large amount of land then possessed by the run itself."<sup>35</sup> The Pastoral Times considered that in the long run the reserves were of benefit to the whole population, for they prevented the water frontages and best land from being taken up by speculators in land.<sup>36</sup> Actually, much of the reserved land would otherwise have formed part of the large freehold estates, and though the squatters would have been poorer for awhile eventually they would probably have been better off.

Squatters "surreptitiously" acquired the freehold of parts of their run by employing "dummies" to select for them, by conditional purchase as a mineral selection and "by purchase right out from the original selector."<sup>37</sup> They found they could select in the names of their overseers or servants, "dummies", and usually, because there were few inspectors, fulfil no conditions of residence or improvement; thus this means of acquiring land was very profitable.<sup>38</sup> Land could also be taken up in fictitious names, and when forfeited, purchased at auction.

---

<sup>34</sup> Progress Report from the Select Committee on the Administration of the Land Laws, evidence of A. Jameson, Deniliquin selector, 20 November 1873, V. & P. Vol. III, 1873-74, p. 923.

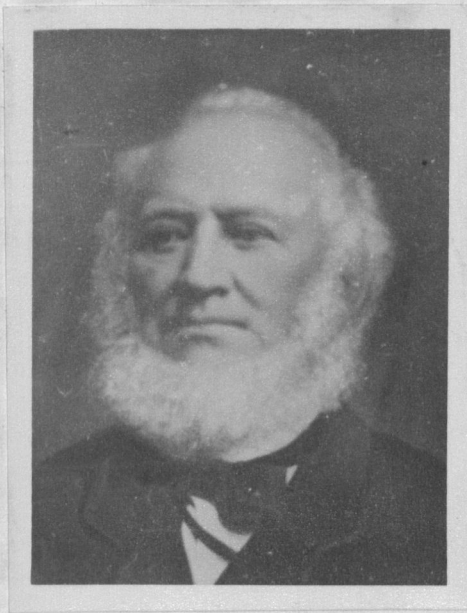
<sup>35</sup> Ibid. Evidence of J.F. Hayger, Deniliquin selector, 31 November 1873, p. 942.

<sup>36</sup> P.T. 4 March 1876.

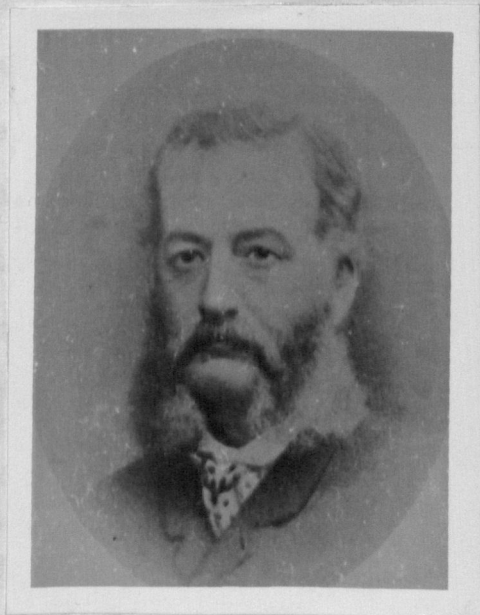
<sup>37</sup> P.T. 26 August 1882.

<sup>38</sup> Progress Report from the Select Committee ... loc.cit. Evidence of W. Hay, M.P., 1 October 1873, p. 904.





George Hall Peppin.



William Lang.  
Brother of G.S. Lang.

Sometimes, to fulfil the residence and improvement conditions, "flying huts" were erected, which could be quickly dismantled and moved to another selection on the run. A. Jameson, a Deniliquin selector, described how on his way from Deniliquin to Moama he was shown several huts on the Moira Run: "Those huts are denounced as dummy huts, and they consist of a few sheets of bark tied down upon a few uprights with a ridge-pole."<sup>39</sup> Other "improvements" were wells which only contained salt water, and mere bush sheep-yards.<sup>40</sup>

A. Jameson and J.F. Dayger, when giving evidence to the Select Committee on the Administration of the Land Law in November, 1873, gave as an example, selection by dummies for Landale brothers on Lower Deniliquin, and Patrick Jennings, on Warbreccan. Fourteen blocks of land close to the town, of 320 acres each, five on Lower Deniliquin and nine on Warbreccan, were advertised for sale by auction. A fortnight before the sale, David Aitken, the Landale's overseer, selected four blocks, one in his name and the others in fictitious names, and Alexander Landale later selected three other blocks, also in fictitious names. Patrick Jennings took out dummy selections for the nine blocks on Warbreccan.<sup>41</sup> Jameson also said that on 6 November 1873 he had "every reason to believe that there were no less than 26 selections taken up by the Messrs. Peppin brothers," under fictitious names.<sup>42</sup> He went on to say that from 7 October to 6

---

<sup>39</sup> Ibid. 20 November 1873. p. 930.

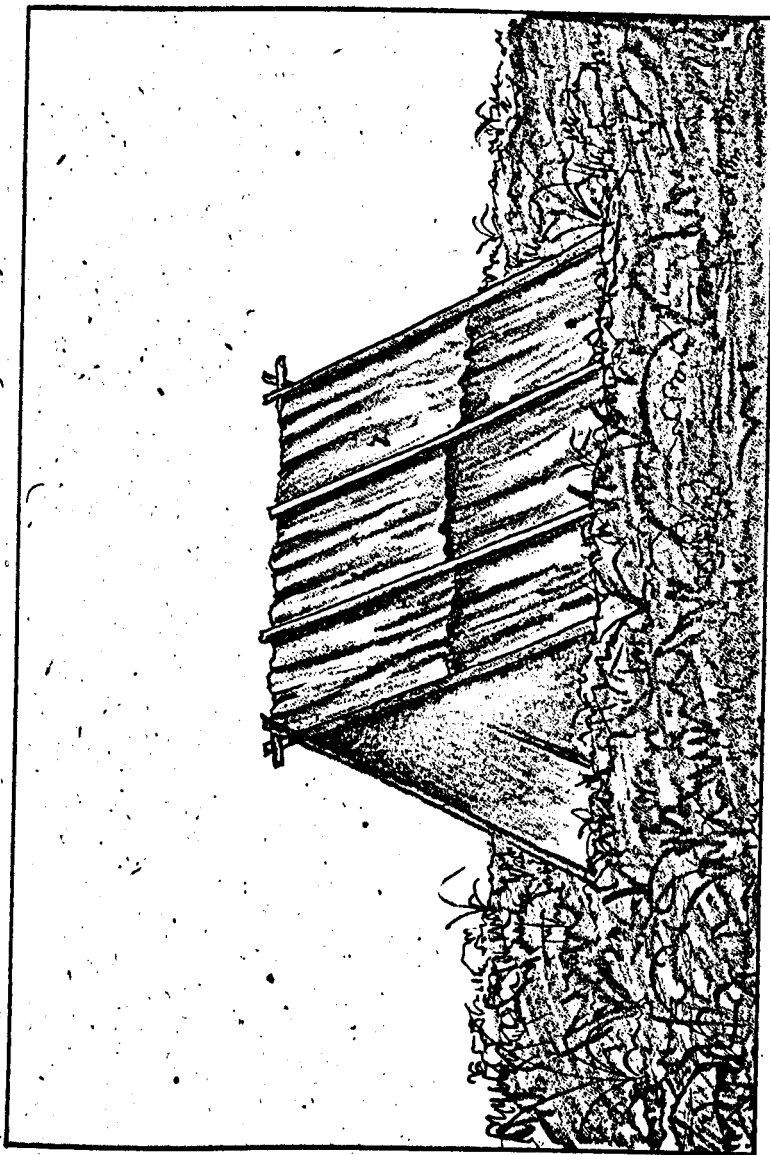
<sup>40</sup> From a petition of the Murray Free Selectors' Association to premier Parkes. In S.M.H. 4 September 1874, quoted in P.T. 19 September 1874.

<sup>41</sup> Progress Report from the Select Committee, loc.cit. 20 November 1873, p. 925, and 21 November, 1873, p.943.

<sup>42</sup> Ibid., 20 November, 1873, p. 927.

De

*(To Mr. Mayger's Evidence 24 Nov, 1873)*



*Residence on one of four Conditional Purchases on  
Mr. O'Shanassy's Moira Run.*

*(Sig. 104)*

November, 1873.

"there were 396 applications for land at Deniliquin under the 13th clause of the Land Act, and these 393 applications comprised nearly 100,000 acres; 216 applications were from the squatters, either by themselves or their agents, and the land taken up by them under free selection amounts to upwards of 52,626 acres. There were 180 bona fide free selectors who took up land to the extent of 46,890 acres. The revenue derived from that office during the last quarter was, I think, about £28,000."<sup>43</sup>

Nevertheless, dummying was not confined to the squatters.

A petition from some Deniliquin squatters in 1873 concerning "certain abuses" of the Crown Lands Alienation Act of 1861 objected to dummying and conditional selections in the names of minors.<sup>44</sup> Patrick Jennings said that "residents of the towns and speculators, who have more capital and want more land - hotel keepers, professional men, and business men generally" employed dummies to select land. He had heard of a Deniliquin hotelkeeper who stated at a public meeting "that he had taken up 17 selections through his family; - he had 8 or 9 children and his servants."<sup>45</sup> Hence both selectors and squatters had cause to complain about the other class employing dummies.

It seems that most dummy selections taken up by selectors were in the names of their children. This was an incentive to have more children,<sup>46</sup> for they did not have to be paid to be dummies, imper-

<sup>43</sup> Ibid.

<sup>44</sup> Ibid. Appendix. 9 October 1873, p. 1,000. Petition from W.A. Brodribb, James Cochran, Widgiewa; J.M. Gibbs, Cobran; W.R. Virgo, Mathoura; John Elyth, Tuppal, J. Blackwood and C. Ibbotson, Wanganella North; and John O'Shanessay, Moira; etc.

<sup>45</sup> Ibid. 4 December 1873. p. 972.

<sup>46</sup> FR. 6 July 1878. On 35th Clause of Mr. Farnell's Land Bill - provisions for family selections.

tant to selectors with little capital. Usually the children did not fulfil the conditions of residence, though sometimes, if there was to be an inspection, they were left in huts on their selections overnight.

On William Hay's run,

"an old lady selected in the name of her youngest daughter. If she had selected in the name of her husband, he might have died without a will, and the property would have gone from her; so she did it in the name of her youngest daughter."<sup>47</sup>

Perhaps the most celebrated case of selection by minors was that of Joachim versus O'Shanassy. Joachim took up selections in his own and his children's names on Moira. Sir John O'Shanassy, the lessee, "contended that the selection was not made according to law, and proceeded to treat the land as though still in his rightful possession." Joachim brought an action for trespass and managed to secure a verdict, together with damages of £50. O'Shanassy appealed against the decision, asking for a new trial on the grounds that the selections were not described properly, and the written application was unintelligible and "void for uncertainty."<sup>48</sup> The real issue in the case was that of selection by minors, and the result was in favour of Joachim, unusual in that he was a selector. The Crown Solicitor wrote to the Under Secretary for lands on the subject, that he did not "see any objection thereto," and added that "An infant is, however, incapable of selling any interest he has in land."<sup>49</sup> In 1875 the squatters secured an amendment to the land acts by

---

<sup>47</sup> Progress Report from The Select Committee ... loc.cit. 1 October, 1873. p. 904.

<sup>48</sup> PT. 7 April 1877.

<sup>49</sup> Joachim v. O'Shanassy, letter dated 21 August 1868. V. & P. Vol. III, 1875, p. 367.

which selection by minors under the age of 16 was not permitted.<sup>50</sup>  
 By that time it had become so common that one selector was discovered having selected in the name of an unborn child.

The organisation and workings of the land office favoured the squatters and hindered the selectors. It gave the selectors almost no information, because not only did it protect the squatter, but it was "totally ignorant of any lands that are for sale, and also ... of any lands which have been sold."<sup>51</sup> Thus it is not only difficult to discover what land was open for selection, but also what had previously been selected. Continual delays of the survey office in dealing with conditional purchases were a source of expense and vexation to the selectors.<sup>52</sup> The department was too small and inefficient to deal with all the applications, and the squatter was usually wealthy enough to suborn the surveyor. Every delay in the survey department frustrated closer settlement.<sup>53</sup>

The Deniliquin land office was "crowded with squatters and their spies,"<sup>54</sup> who waited, often with a heap of application forms

<sup>50</sup> Crown Lands Regulations. 27 August 1875. V. & P. Vol. III, 1875-76, p. 890. Members who were crown lessees voted in favour of the amendment in the L.A., 3 June 1875. V. & P. Vol. I, 1875. p. 409.

<sup>51</sup> Progress Report from The Select Committee ... loc.cit. Evidence of A. Jamieson, 20 November, 1873, p. 923.

<sup>52</sup> Mr. ~~Reid~~<sup>1497</sup>, 11 October 1881. P.D. Vol. 5. He rose to move that a searching inquiry into the workings of the land bill be called for, and proposed a Royal Commission. The Morris - Ranken Report was the outcome, followed by the amendment of the Land Acts.

<sup>53</sup> D.W.A. Baker, "The Robertson Land Acts," op.cit., p. 2-3.

<sup>54</sup> Progress Report from the Select Committee ... loc.cit., p. 927.

already filled out, for a would-be selector to fill out an application for a block on their run. Then they would immediately submit their application form for the same land, in advance of the selector.

Jameson described how three selectors from Victoria arrived in Deniliquin, and asked the land agent for application forms for conditional purchase. They intended settling on Warbreccan, but the lessee, Patrick Jennings, "from information given to him by persons purposely placed at the office to give information, got wind of what was going on."

Before the selectors could fill out their applications and hand them in, he submitted his own applications, which were already written out. They consisted of nine blocks in the name of Murray and his family, and two more later, and they were arranged in a "sort of zig-zag fashion," so as to "block out the other selectors."<sup>55</sup>

Not only were there provisions in the Acts which worked against the selector, but economic factors did too. Lack of capital went far towards causing the failure of free selection. Inadequate transport facilities to take agricultural produce to market helped ruin the prospects of agriculture. Railways were not opened to the interior until towards the end of the free selection period. During the period, too, farm techniques were insufficiently developed to deal with Australian conditions.

Perhaps the economic factor that most defeated the selectors formed a part of the Land Acts. The selectors were allowed to take up 320 acres of land, with an additional 960 acres as a pre-emptive grass-

---

<sup>55</sup> Ibid. p. 923, Reserves were also taken up in this manner.

right. This grass right was difficult to obtain, and its tenure insecure, for others could select upon it.<sup>56</sup> The general opinion was that selection of 640 acres with no grass right would be much better for the selectors, and sufficient for them to make a living on.<sup>57</sup> When the Land Acts were under discussion John Hay had suggested confining free selection to certain specified areas.<sup>58</sup> The Riverina Petitioners had advocated the same thing, and so had many others. Australia's interior was then, (without the use of irrigation), unsuited to agriculture, especially when carried out on a small scale with no grazing land to help. In 1873 when quite large numbers of conditional purchasers were reaching Deniliquin, W.A. Brodribb warned that they would "all come to grief the first dry season," and their land "ultimately fall into the hands of capitalists." He was certain that they could not succeed without a large area, as in his opinion "a family would do well on 40 or 50 square miles, but not less, and they will require capital - £3,000 or £4,000 - to develop even that."<sup>59</sup>

Even close to the town of Deniliquin, farms were being offered for sale at prices far below what they had originally cost. The Pastoral Times pointed out that "these facts prove that farming, even in practical

<sup>56</sup> Ibid. William Hay, 1 October 1873. p. 901.

<sup>57</sup> Petition to L.A. from Riverina, loc.cit. and also Ibid. Evidence of P.A. Jennings, 4 December 1873, p. 74.

<sup>58</sup> PT. 4 June 1864.

<sup>59</sup> Progress Report from the Select Committee ... loc.cit., 9 October, 1873. p. 914.



hands, is not a very desirable occupation for making money."<sup>60</sup> At the end of 1867 it wrote:

"Within a radius of 20 miles from Deniliquin there are not a score of free selectors who have profitably utilized the land; 20% of these are dummies, and we write, subject to correction, when we say that there is not one free selector in the district of Deniliquin who is earning a livelihood by operating on his land."<sup>61</sup>

The Surveyor's District of Deniliquin, comprising 4,000,000 acres, was the only one where an accurate return concerning conditional purchases was obtained. 1,424 resident selectors purchased 558,705 acres, but by 1882 only 244 remained, and many of these are still parting with their homes." Of the remaining, 61 owned over 1,000 sheep, and 54 over 500 and less than a 1,000, or in all 215,497 sheep amongst 115 conditional purchasers. These held about 190,000 acres of land, the remaining 10,000 acres being held by 129 persons.<sup>62</sup> The Morris - Ranken Report said that the bulk of the remaining land was in the hands of Melbourne proprietors and non-resident speculators.<sup>63</sup> Most selectors found they were forced to graze sheep on their selections, and some combined sheep and agriculture. In 1883 there were 83 selectors in the Deniliquin district who owned more than 500 sheep, making a total of 321,380 sheep.<sup>64</sup>

The selectors were the only class that consistently opposed the Land Laws. They wanted larger selections, selections by minors, and the amendment of provisions favourable to squatters or which enabled

---

<sup>60</sup> P.T. 30 June 1866.

<sup>61</sup> P.T. 28 September 1867.

<sup>62</sup> Morris - Ranken Report, loc.cit. p.95 and p. 119.

<sup>63</sup> Ibid. p. 43.

<sup>64</sup> R. Barbour, 20 February 1883. P.D. Vol. 8 p. 507.

squatters to turn the Acts to their own advantage.<sup>65</sup> They sent petitions against the 1875 amendment clauses of the Land Acts, in particular the clauses not permitting selection by minors.<sup>66</sup> Before the elections in 1877 meetings of free selectors were held throughout the colony in order to bring political influence to bear "in favour of an amendment to the land law."<sup>67</sup> There were also conferences of selectors, concerning the land laws, held in Sydney every year after 1877.<sup>68</sup> A numerous signed petition from the Riverina selectors was sent to the Minister for Lands in 1880, asking for the abolition of interest upon the unpaid balances still owing to the Crown.<sup>69</sup>

All this is not to say that the Robertson Acts were entirely unsuccessful in establishing agricultural freeholders. As far as the Settled Districts were concerned, where the country was more suitable,

"In providing homes for working men, and little properties on which they could lay out their earnings, the Act deserves every credit."<sup>70</sup>

In the pastoral districts, there were selectors who did profit very well. They usually were lucky in selecting a good block of land, and

<sup>65</sup> From S.M.H. 4 September 1874, on a petition to Parkes from Murray Free Selectors, quoted in P.T. 19 September 1874.

<sup>66</sup> Crown Lands Amendment Bill. V. & P. Vol. II, 1871-72. p. 37.

<sup>67</sup> S.M.H., quoted in P.T. 28 August 1877.

<sup>68</sup> Morris - Ranken Report, loc.cit., p. 153.

<sup>69</sup> P.T. 5 June 1880.

<sup>70</sup> W.H.L. Ranken, "The Squatting System of Australia", (Edinburgh 1875), p. 22.

having a good season to begin with. Most of these also took out selections in the names of their family, and so could secure freehold estates of 3,000, 4,000 or 5,000 acres, exclusive of pre-lease. Numbers of Victorians settled in Riverina with their families before 1875. Nearly all sold to the lessee of the run when their pre-leases were cut up, and then selected more land further north. The Morris - Ranken Report gave the example of one man who

"sold about 3,000 acres of selection to the lessee at 38/- per acre. The money we had expended on the land was only the 5/- deposit and 20/- improvements, so that he cleared 13/- per acre profit on land which is still indebted to the Crown for most of the purchase money. With the sum he thus netted, he secured further north 5 sections of 640 acres with 9,600 pre-lease and this second purchase will no doubt be dealt with in like manner."<sup>71</sup>

Thus the sale of conditional purchases is not necessarily an indication of failure but sometimes indicates that greater profits may be gained by speculation.

Another successful selector who took up land in the name of his children, gave his opinion that no-one, without family selections, could purchase a sufficient area to live on.<sup>72</sup> Some disposed of their blocks having accumulated some capital, and became Crown lessees in the Back Blocks, particularly in the Albert District. Edward Killen was a Deniliquin selector who became an Albert "squatter." He purchased four blocks, covering 256,000 acres. The Pastoral Times pointed out how the selectors turned conservative once they were "squatters".<sup>73</sup>

---

<sup>71</sup> Morris - Ranken Report, loc.cit., p. 118.

<sup>72</sup> Ibid. Letter from a successful conditional purchaser at Deniliquin, p.119.

<sup>73</sup> P.T. 6 August 1881.

A few squatters in the Deniliquin district were ruined or forced to sell by the effects of free selection. W.A. Brodribb was one of the first who could not contend with it, and he sold Wanganella and moved further out.<sup>74</sup> He had made up his mind he would never have a dummy selection and he never did.<sup>75</sup> Possibly had he fewer moral principles, and had he evaded the effects of the Acts like other squatters, he might have retained Wanganella.

Nevertheless, the overall effects of the Robertson Land Acts were to secure the squatter's tenure to him, by converting his large leasehold runs into freehold ones. Volunteer Land Orders, Auction, improvement and mining purchases all helped the squatter in his struggle with free selection, and ultimately he was better off than he ever had been. Also, during this period pastoral techniques were improving generally. Merinos, like those of the Peppins, were being bred more to suit the country, and from about 1875 the price of medium wool approached that of fine wool.

The squatters had feared for their security under a democratic government, and the Robertson Land Acts seemed at first to embody a democracy that was to ruin them. On the contrary, they discovered later, the Acts gave them economic security, which, with the political influence they had not after all lost, took away their motives for separation, which were a fear of democracy and a feeling of insecurity.

---

<sup>74</sup> Morris - Ranken Report, loc.cit. "Evidence of a Squatter of varied Experience." p.153.

<sup>75</sup> Ibid. p.154.

CONCLUSION

CONCLUSION

After a long and difficult struggle, the squatters in the late 1860's won the security they and their families had come to Australia, in search of. In the beginning, the environment was strange and unpredictable and the land laws before the order in Council of 1847 were uncertain. Later the Gold Rushes threatened their interests, together with the resultant granting of responsible government to the Colonies and ultimately the passing of an Electoral Reform Bill in 1858.

In Australia, more than in England, social position was based on income, especially landed income. The squatters had not held their position for long enough to feel certain of it and self-confident. Thus they became very conservative, in favour of the rights of property and limited political institutions. A government elected by universal manhood suffrage posed as a serious threat, especially when it appeared inevitable it would pass land legislation adverse to squatting interests. The response of certain squatters in the Riverina was to try and separate from a Government which would, it seemed, gradually undermine their position.

In spite of this, very few wanted complete independence. A few squatters were in favour of annexation to Victoria, but most feared the democratically elected Parliament there as much as they feared the democracy of Sydney. They wanted a Provincial Government, with power to legislate for themselves, especially concerning the land laws. Neither they nor those advocating annexation possessed the self-confidence to advocate complete independence. Thus a paradox appears, where on the

one hand a feeling of insecurity leads to a desire for self-rule, and on the other hand to a desire to remain safely attached to a larger and stronger state, thereby avoiding complete responsibility. The squatters' real aim was for a conservative government consisting of men of their own class, elected by property owners, and without the influence of the towns. If this could not be achieved, then, and only then, did they want a small unit of government.

Contrary to expectations, the period of free selection, which was expected to ruin the squatters, secured to them both their land tenure and their position as the dominant class. They managed to convert large areas of their runs into freehold, and by 1871 the Pastoral Times was writing that, largely as a result of the land Acts,

"The very men who agitated for Independence (which only meant local government and a land law suited to the country) - The Crown Tenants are the very ones who now bind the country to Sydney. All other sections have almost, to a man, desired some great political change."<sup>1</sup>

In 1873 Anthony Trollope described the squatters as forming "an established aristocracy with very conservative feelings."<sup>2</sup> They had found that, in spite of the Electoral Act, their political influence was still strong, and they could "command the sympathetic co-operation, on important occasions, of thirteen members of the Assembly."<sup>3</sup> Parliaments were unpaid before 1889, which excluded any one without a considerable invested income,

---

<sup>1</sup> P.T. 21 October, 1871.

<sup>2</sup> A. Trollope, *Australia and New Zealand* (Melb. 1873) p. 21.

<sup>3</sup> *Minute of the Cabinet upon the Petitions for erecting a portion of N.S.W. into a separate Colony*, loc.cit. p. 667.

and until 1868 the qualification for membership of the Council was the possession of freehold property to the value of £5,000. It was then reduced, but still the

"possession of freehold or leasehold property or specified academic or professional qualifications limited the electorate to only a fraction of the Assembly electorate." <sup>4</sup>

This gave the squatters political security, and so enabled them to ensure the security of their interests. They could thus turn their energies towards running their stations, leaving the responsibility of ruling to the few members of their class who were interested.

In the opinion of the Pastoral Times, as a whole they were "too indolent to give that serious attention to political matters which their importance demands." <sup>5</sup> At the same time,

"The scattered nature of their avocations has always acted detrimentally to an unity of action in the squatting class," <sup>6</sup>

and towards prolonged political action. In spite of this, though, the Pastoral Times is implying that the squatters had achieved all they wanted, so there was no need for them to spend time devoted to politics as far as their own interests were concerned.

That security was really the main aim of the squatters and that they achieved it is made evident by their abandoning their agitation before many of the demands of the Riverine Petition had been granted. <sup>7</sup> A "prominent

---

<sup>4</sup>R. Gollan, "Radical and Working Class Politics: A study of Eastern Australia," (Melbourne, 1960). p. 52.

<sup>5</sup>P.T. 6 November, 1880. Written before an election.

<sup>6</sup>P.T. 16 September, 1865

<sup>7</sup>P.T. 22 December, 1866.



feature" in the demands of the Petition was that

"There should be in some central locality here a Government Resident of some high standing, and possessed of plenary powers - such powers, for instance, as a resident judge ought to possess."<sup>8</sup>

The Pastoral Times pointed out in 1870 that the request was never granted, though the need was there. Similarly, the N.S.W. Government never granted funds for a railway to Deniliquin. Eventually, in 1874, it yielded to demands to allow a private company to be formed to finance a railway between Deniliquin and Moama. The townspeople and farmers persuaded nearly all the squatters in the district to sign the petition, but little political pressure was done by squatters. The railway commenced operations on 15th June 1876, and the opening ceremony took place on 4th July 1876.<sup>9</sup> The cost of the "D. & M." railway, as it came to be known, was about £3,000 a mile.<sup>10</sup> A railway bridge was opened over the Murray in 1878<sup>11</sup>, and, although demands for a bridge were included in the Riverina Petition, there was none erected for the public. Actually, they tore down the barriers on the railway bridge, and have used it ever since.<sup>12</sup>

In spite of the demands in the Riverina Petition for the abolition of border customs duties, the question was not finally settled until Federation, for which it won support in the districts along the Murray. The Deniliquin people did not "so much feel the pressure of the Border Customs,

---

<sup>8</sup> P.T. 19 March 1870

<sup>9</sup> P.T. 6 July 1876. The Government was opposed even to a private company constructing the railway, for it feared more trade from Riverina would find its way to Victoria. The railway continued to be run by the company, until 1923, when it was taken over by the Victorian Government, and run under the Border Railway Agreement.

<sup>10</sup> Riverine Herald, 6 July 1876, cited in Ronald, op.cit., p. 34.

<sup>11</sup> Ronald, op.cit., p. 34.

<sup>12</sup> Riverine Herald. 4 March 1878. cited Ronald, op.cit., p. 37.

and the people generally (did) not seem to interest themselves about it" as those in towns on the Murray, like Moama, Albury and Wentworth.<sup>13</sup> The duties were re-imposed at the beginning of 1873.<sup>14</sup> and early in the next year the Albury inhabitants declared there was nothing left for them but separation. The Pastoral Times nevertheless warned that the time was past to talk of a movement which might have been successful ten years earlier, as "the mass of Riverina people (were) by no means disposed to give ear" either to Independence or Annexation then, however "disgusting" and opposed to "the doctrines of common sense" as the border customs were.<sup>15</sup> In actual fact, the small freeholders, the tradespeople, the industrial classes and the labouring classes of Deniliquin objected to the border duties, their revenues being alienated,<sup>16</sup> and they were "weeping, and wailing, and

<sup>13</sup> P.T. 22 December 1866. The inhabitants of the Albury district had never shown "any active desire to move themselves or to unite with "The Riverine Association, (P.T. 9 July 1864), the majority of the population being farmers in favour of free selection. However, in April and May 1865 they sent petitions to the L.A., objecting to the imposition of border duties on wine and tobacco, not included at the Conference on 15 April 1865 in the free transit to Victoria, and threatening separation if the duties were not abolished. (V. & P. Vol. I 1865 pp. 669-671). An agreement was reached between the two colonies on 12 January 1867, by which for a period of 5 years goods and stock could pass over the Murray without paying duties. Included was the arrangement that Victoria was to pay N.S.W. £60,000 per annum for the goods imported from N.S.W. over the Murray, "after giving credit to Victoria for the duties payable on goods imported into that colony from N.S.W." (Memorandum of Agreement ... 3 July 1867, V. & P. Vol. II, 1867-68, p. 305).

<sup>14</sup> A similar agreement was reached to the previous one, whereby Victoria payed N.S.W. £54,500 a year. She broke the agreement, though, because N.S.W. changed some of her tariffs. (Border Customs - Convention with Victoria and S.A. relative to Murray River. 1873. V. & P. Vol. II, 1873-74. p. 889)

<sup>15</sup> P.T. 4 April 1874.

<sup>16</sup> P.T. 21 October 1871.

bemoaning" their lot under the Land Acts,<sup>17</sup> which had "created a non-squatting power unquestionably hostile to the Sydney Government."<sup>18</sup> It was further proof of the squatters' influence that this new agitation for separation was not even sufficiently well-organized to petition Parliament. Nor did it have the support of the Pastoral Times which had given so much publicity to the squatters' movement. Victoria and Queensland have made the only two movements for separation that have been successful. Of the many others, this one of certain Riverina squatters in the 1860's has been one of the most nearly to succeed. However, most of its supporters found they preferred to remain attached to Sydney, having already accomplished most of what they set out to. Many who had supported the separation movement and those who were still unsatisfied with their position later joined movements, like that of the Australian Natives' Association, which supported federation. Federation found strong support in the Riverina from all classes, for it seemed to many to offer much the same advantages as separation, particularly in regard to the border trade.

There have been movements for a new state of Riverina in the twentieth century, notably in the early twenties, early thirties and after the second World War. Many of the old arguments in its favour have been used, but whatever its chances of success otherwise, as in the 1860's, the Riverina people have been insufficiently dissatisfied with their position or too busy making their livings to concern themselves enough with the movement to ensure its success.

---

<sup>17</sup> P.T. 8 July 1871

<sup>18</sup> P.T. 21 October 1871

SELECT BIBLIOGRAPHYI CONTEMPORARY SOURCESA. Official and Semi-Official Sources.

Votes and Proceedings of the L.A. of N.S.W., 1858-1875; 1883.

Votes and Proceedings of the L.A. of Vic. 1940.

N.S.W. Parliamentary Debates, 1878-1884.

The Riverina Question: Speeches in the L.A. of N.S.W. —  
"The Debate on the Riverina Petition," Sydney 1864.

Statistical Register, N.S.W., 1860-1883.

Clark, C.M.H., Select Documents in Australian History 1788-1850,  
 Sydney, 1950.

Clark, C.M.H., Select Documents in Australian History 1851-1900,  
 Sydney, 1955.

B. Newspapers

Sydney Morning Herald, 1858-1863.

Pastoral Times, 1859-1883.

C. Manuscripts

Alienation Land Agents: Correspondence to from Land Office. (ML)

Lang, Reverend J.D., Papers, vol. 7, 1855-1877. (M.L.)

Parkes, Sir Henry, Correspondence, (M.L.)

Peppin, George, Diary, 1859. (M.L.)

D. Printed Sources

Brodribb, W.A., Recollections of an Australian Squatter, Sydney,  
 1883. (ML)

Hector, J.H., Australian Dictionary of Dates and Men of the Time,  
 Sydney 1879.

D. Continued.

Heydon, L.F., The Morris - Ranken Land Report, Sydney, 1883. (ML)

Lang, J.D., Historical and Statistical Account of New South Wales, etc., 2 vols., London 1834.

Lang, J.D., Our Boundaries, in Illustrated Australian Magazine, March 1851, p. 164. (ML)

Parkes, Sir Henry, Fifty Years in the Making of Australian History, London, 1892.

Ranken, W.H.L., Bush Essays by Capricornus, Edinburgh 1872. (M.L.)

Ranken, W.H.L., The Squatting System of Australia, Edinburgh, 1875. (M.L.)

Ranken, W.H.L., The Dominion of Australia, London, 1874. (M.L.)

Richards, T., An Epitome of the Official History of N.S.W., from the foundation of the colony, in 1788, to the close of the first session of the 11th Parliament under Responsible Government, in 1883. Compiled chiefly from the Official and Parliamentary Records of the Colony. Sydney, 1883.

Trollope, A., Australia and New Zealand, Division II. N.S.W., Melbourne, 1872. (ML)

II LATER SECONDARY SOURCESA. Theses

Duly, L.C., Land Selection Acts of Victoria, 1859 to 1869, Unpublished M.A. Thesis, Melbourne 1959.

Moore, E.R., The Causes of the Agitation, after 1901, for the Establishment of a New State in Northern N.S.W., Unpublished M.A. thesis, New England, 1953.

Watson, John M.C., Selectors and Squatters in the Hamilton District in the 1860's. Unpublished M.A. thesis, Melbourne, 1957.

B. Books and Articles

Austin, H.B. The Merino. Sydney. 1943

B. Continued

- Baker, D.W.A., The Origins of Robertson's Land Acts, H.S.A.N.Z., vol. 8, no. 30., May 1958.
- Baker, D.W.A., The Robertson Land Acts, Address to the Canberra and District Historical Society, delivered 2 May 1961, published 17 January 1962. (N.S.W. Parliamentary Library).
- Barnard, A., The Australian Wool Market 1840-1900, Melbourne, 1958.
- Barnard, A., The Simple Fleece, Melbourne, 1962.
- Butlin, N.G., "Company Ownership" of N.S.W. Pastoral Stations, 1865-1900, H.S.A.N.Z. Vol. 4, Nos. 14, May 1950.
- Collier, James, The Pastoral Age in Australasia, London, 1911.
- Crawford, K.M., An Australian Perspective, Melbourne 1960.
- Ellis, U.R., New Australian States, Sydney. 1933.
- Epps, W., Land Systems of Australasia, London 1894, (ML)
- Gollan, R., Radical and Working Class Politics: A study of Eastern Australia, 1850-1910 Melbourne 1960.
- Goodwin, A., The European Nobility in The Eighteenth Century, London 1953.
- Henderson, A., Early Pioneer Families of Victoria and Riverina, Melbourne, 1936.
- Henderson, A., Australian Families, Melbourne 1941.
- Houghton, W.B., The Victorian Frame of Mind 1930-1870, Yale 1959.
- Kiddle, M., Men of Yesterday, Melbourne 1962.
- King, C.J., An Outline of Closer Settlement in N.S.W., Part I. The Sequence of the Land Laws, 1788-1956, Dept. of Agriculture, N.S.W., 1957. (N.S.W. Parliamentary Library).
- Morris, A.H., Echuca and The Murray River Trade, H.S.A.N.Z., Vol. 4., No. 16, May 1951.
- Nadel, G., Australia's Colonial Culture. Melbourne 1957
- Neale, R.G., The New State Movement in Queensland, H.S.A.N.Z., vol. 4, No. 15, November 1950.
- Ogier, S.C.H., Original Official Boundary between N.S.W. and Victoria, Vic. Geographical Journal, Vol XX, 1902. (ML)

B. Continued.

Ogier, S.C.H., The Riverina, Vic. Geographical Journal, vol. XXIX, 1912. (M.L.)

Page, Earle, Australian Subdivision, Sydney, 1920. (ML)

Peck, H.H., Memoirs of a Stockman, 1942.

Reeves, W.F., State Experiments in Australia and New Zealand, London 1902.

Roberts, S.H., History of Australian Land Settlement, 1788-1920 Melbourne, 1924.

Roberts, S.H., The Squatting Age in Australia. 1835-1847, Melbourne, 1935.

Ronald, R.B., The Riverina: People and Properties, Melbourne 1960.

Sizer, N.F., Gideon Scott Lang, R.A.H.S. Journal, vol. 47, part 3, July 1961.

Ward, R., The Australian Legend, Melbourne, 1962.

APPENDIX A.**The Riverina Association - Office bearers and members of the Council.**

"Formed for the purpose of securing the Political Advancement and independence of the inhabitants of the pastoral territory of the Murray, Murrumbidgee, Lachlan, and Darling, and known as the Riverine Districts."

**President**

Gideon Scott Lang, Esq., J.P. Mungadal.

**Vice President**

George Peppin, Esq., J.P., Wanganella.

**Treasurer**

George Miller, Esq., Bank of N.S.W., Deniliquin

**Hon. Sec., pro.tem.**

Francis A. Corbett, Esq., Deniliquin.

**Bankers**

Bank of N.S.W.

**Members of Council who have accepted office.**

George P. Desailly, Esq., J.P. Bundure.  
 Samuel Wilson, Esq., M.L.A., Yanko.  
 Robert Landale, Esq., J.P., Deniliquin.  
 George Kirk, Esq., M.L.A., Peticoota.  
 William Forlonga, Esq., J.P., Lachlan and Darling Rs.  
 F.A. Gwynne, Esq., J.P., Murgah, Edward R.  
 Thomas Lang, Esq., J.P., Wanganella.  
 Alex. McCullouch, Esq., Deniliquin.  
 J.N. Alexander, Esq., J.P. Deniliquin.  
 P. Brougham, Esq., J.P., Hartwood.  
 Joseph J. Phelps, Esq., Tarcoola and Albermarle, Darling R.  
 Thomas Robertson, Esq., Solicitor, Deniliquin.  
 G.A. Jeffrey, Esq., solicitor, Deniliquin.  
 William Love, Esq., Deniliquin.  
 F.R. Godfrey, Esq., J.P., Pevensey.  
 D.G. Jones, Esq., Deniliquin.  
 Edward Firebrace, Esq., J.P., Toogimbie.  
 N. Chadwick, Esq., J.P., Canally, Balranald.  
 R. Caldwell, Esq., J.P. Thule.  
 John Kennedy, Esq., J.P., Jerilderie.  
 Herbert Jeffreys, Esq., J.P., BoomaWomana, Murray R.  
 George B. Fletcher, Esq., Wentworth.



APPENDIX A. (Continued)

E.J. Hogg, Esq., Mathoura.  
 James Cochrane, Esq., Widgiewa, Colombo Ck.  
 Edward Bloxham, Esq., Fort Bourke.  
 Silvester O'Sullivan, Esq., J.P., Cudgelligo.  
 W. Officer, Esq., Zara.  
 John Macrae, Esq., Calimo.  
 James Tyson, Esq., J.P. Lower Lachlan.  
 George W. Perry, Esq., Wentworth.  
 John Phillips, Esq., J.P. Mathoura  
 I.A. Jennings, Esq., Warbreccan.  
 Thomas Darchy, Esq., J.P., Murrumbidgee.  
 Erasmus Wren, Esq., M.D., Deniliquin.  
 A. McLaurin, Esq., J.P., Deniliquin.  
 F.A. Thomson, Esq., Wagga Wagga.  
 Deniliquin, 6th August, 1863.

Printed S.M.H., 19 December 1963.

APPENDIX B.

Return showing Approximate Area held under lease by Certain Crown Tenants  
In Western Pastoral Districts. (Riverina).

V. & P. Vol. I, 1865, '66. p. 671

<u>Lessee</u>	<u>No. of Runs.</u>	<u>Approx. Area.</u>
William Forlonge, M.P.	50	1,920,000
Trust & Agency, Co.	28	1,440,000
Charles W. Ligar	23	1,280,000
William H. Suttor, late M.P.	20	1,200,000
Hugh Glass	20	1,184,000
Hugh Glass and Don. Ferguson	12	758,000
F.W. & G.P. Desailly	20	1,180,000
A.D. Macleay & W. Taylor	19	1,088,000
Joseph Smith	17	1,088,000
Nicolas Chadwick	19	1,049,000
John Crozier	15	960,000
D. & S. O'Sullivan	14	896,000
Kirk and Goldsbrough	14	864,000
John Peter	19	816,000
John Filson	13	768,000
J.J. Phelps M.P.	13	736,000
George W. Lord, M.P.	19	672,000
John Macintosh	20	672,000
Richard Youl	12	640,000
Peter Tyson	12	608,000
W.L. & R.T. Reid	12	512,000
James Tyson	13	544,000
William Lee	8	512,000
S.K. Salting	8	512,000
James McLeod	10	480,000
John Eales	11	352,000
George Forrester	10	320,000
J.H. Osborne	9	288,000
Thomas A. Smith	8	256,000
<b>Total</b>	<b>486</b>	<b>24,725,000</b>

Crown Lands Office  
Sydney, 10 July 1865.

A.O. Moriarty,  
Chief Commissioner of Crown Lands.



APPENDIX C.

Area of land alienated and unalienated from the Crown in the Counties of Cadell, Townsend and Wakool, 1865-75, and 1883.

Returns from Statistical Register of N.S.W.

Year	Cadell		Townsend		Wakool	
	Alienated	Unalienated	Alienated	Unalienated	Alienated	Unalienated
1865	2,607	492,863	7,441	1,592,659	17,288	1,758,712
1866	4,685	490,785	14,895	1,585,205	28,786	1,747,214
1867	6,383	489,087	17,040	1,583,060	30,337	1,745,663
1868	11,748	483,722	21,540	1,578,560	33,137	1,742,863
1869	14,337	481,133	33,207	1,556,893	36,432	1,739,568
1870	14,761	480,709	36,929	1,553,171	36,432	1,739,568
1871	15,310	480,160	38,727	1,531,373	40,753	1,735,847
1872	19,600	475,870	46,301	1,523,799	43,630	1,732,970
1873	49,974	445,494	96,899	1,473,201	58,038	1,718,562
1874	75,332	420,138	194,100	1,376,000	91,002	1,685,598
1875	107,138	388,332	313,595	1,256,505	103,863	1,672,737
1883	282,313	280,887	1,289,990	819,450	795,689	1,047,271

APPENDIX D.

Reserves made from Conditional Purchase on the runs of Crown lessees during the period from 1st January 1865 to 11th January 1866, mainly in the Counties of Cadell, Townsend and Wakool.

These figures of course do not represent the total area of land reserved, but are meant just to illustrate the amount that was reserved in a short period. Unless otherwise stated, the acreage represents one block.

Run	Lessee	Area (Acres)
Moira	Henry Sagers & Lewes	4 blocks of 160
"	"	320
Belubla	P. Hennessy	1,920
Narrabulla	"	2 blocks of 1,920
Morecco	J. McLaurin & Sons	2 blocks of 1,920
Cernalla	"	1,920
Moira	H. S. Lawes	7,040
Tat/Yail	Kirk & Goldsbrough	3,200
Perricoota	"	3 blocks of 3,200
Toorangabby	C.M. Bagot	3,200
Barham	A. Sutherland & B. Lee	2 blocks of 2,560
Gorm	John Capell	2,560
Murray Downs	S.H. Officer	3 blocks of 1,920
Poon Boon	Trust & Agency Co.	5,120
"	"	5,760
"	"	3,840
"	"	1,920

173,440 acres:- Counties of Boyd, Mitchell, Urana and Townsend, on Yanko and Colombo Ck. The Crown Lands within 1 mile of the Yanko Ck., from the Murrumbidgee R. To its junction with the Billabong Ck., and within one mile of the Colombo, from its out flow from the Yanko Ck. To its junction with the Billabong Ck.

Murray Downs  
& Willakool S.H. Officer 2,560

179,200 acres:- Counties of Urana, Townsend and Wakool. The Crown Lands within one mile of the Billabong Ck., from the confluence of the Colombo, downwards to its confluence with the Kyalite or Edward River - excluding Jerilderie, Conargo, Wanganella and Moulamein.

APPENDIX D.  
(Continued)

Run	Lessee	Area (acres)
Uratta	Clarke & Macleay	1,920
"	"	2,240
Moira Run Extension	H.S. Lewes	6,400
" " "	Westerly. H.S. Lewes	4,480
Mathoura	E.J. Hogg	19,200
Warbreccan & Gebran	Mr. Shanahan, P.H. and Mr. A. Jennings & C.R. Caldwell	32,000 3,520
Tanturan	E.J. Hogg	5,120
"	C.R. Caldwell	
Beremegad	E.S. Splatt	5 blocks of 640
Jeegar	J. Hay	2,560
"	"	3 blocks of 1,280
"	"	2 blocks of 1,920
"	"	3,200
"	"	2 blocks of 3,840
"	"	4 blocks of 640
Merago	T.A. Chane	4 blocks of 4,480
"	"	15 blocks of 640
Mathoura	E.J. Hogg	296
Mathoura	E.C. Pearson	640
Melcol	S.H. Officer	2 blocks of 2,560
Willakoal	"	2 blocks of 3,200
Murray Downs	"	1,280
"	"	1,920
"	"	640
Barham	A. Sutherland & B. Lee	4 blocks of 640
"	" "	2,240
"	" "	1,920
"	" "	2 blocks of 1,440
Red Plains	P. Breighan	2 blocks of 1,480

APPENDIX D.  
(Continued)

Run	Lessee	Area (acres)
N.R. Curra- bunganung	John Brougham	1,600
"	"	2,880
"	"	6,400
Barhan Run Extension	A. Sutherland & B. Lee	1,600
Northerly	"	2 blocks of 1,280
Gorm Extension Northerly	J. Capel	640
"	"	1,280
"	"	2 blocks of 1,920
Metool Ext. Northerly	S.H. Officer	960
"	"	640
Willakool Ext.Nthly.	"	960
Poon Boon	Trust & Agency Co.	2,560
"	"	3,840
"	"	1,440
Wannock	J. McDonnell	960
Moroco	J. McLaurin & Sons	480
Moira	H.S. Lewes	1,280
Mathoura	E.J. Hogg	11,360
"	"	3,680
" & Paradise Blk.	"	10,560
"	"	7,040
Yalama	—	3,840
"	—	3,680
N. & S. Gunambil	J.B. Barnett & E. Klingender	7,680
Gunambil & Bunangong	C.H. Barber & F.T. Moore	7,680
"	" " & J. Wilson	8,960
"	" " "	7,680

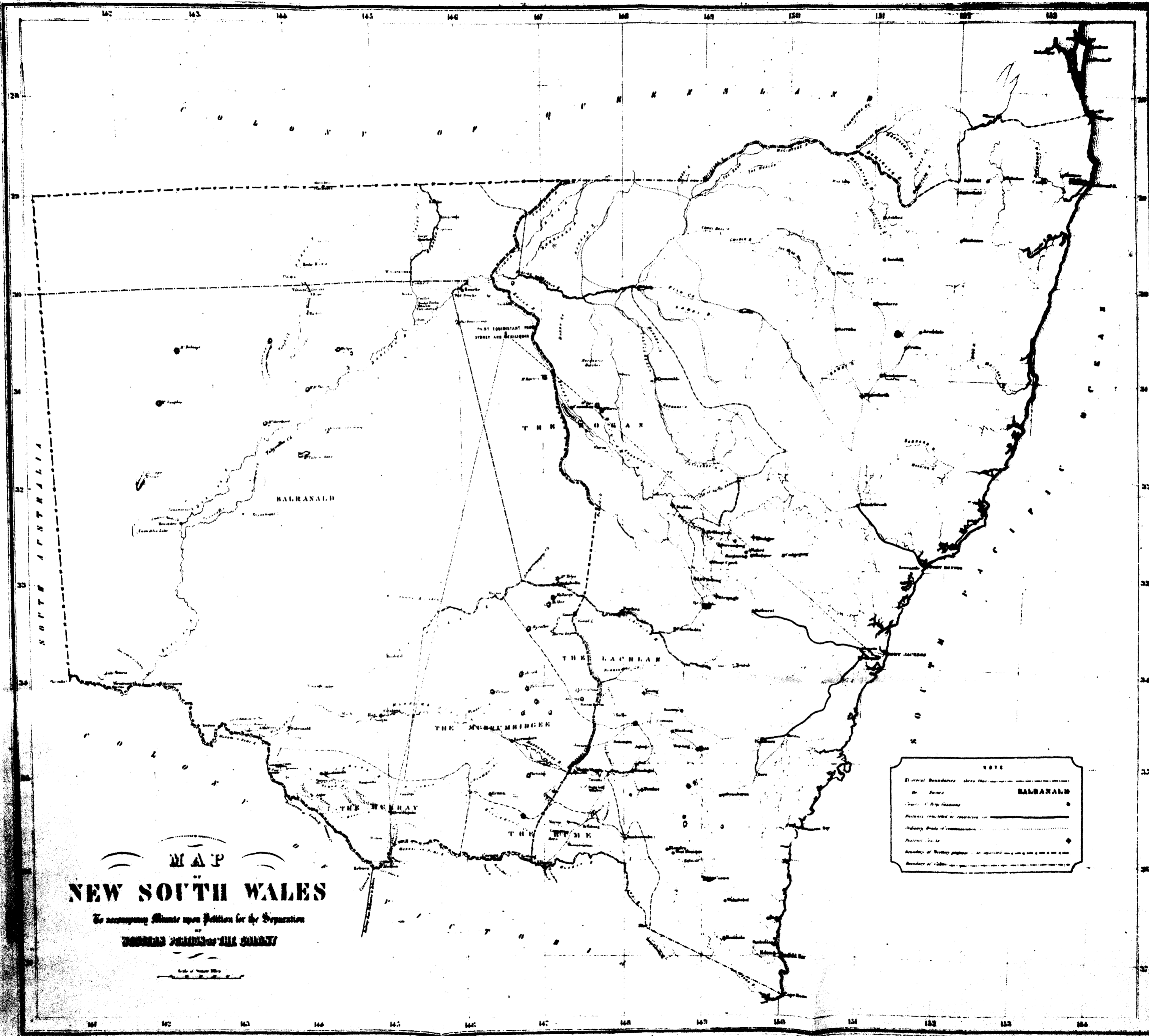
APPENDIX D.  
(Continued)

<u>Ran</u>	<u>Lessee</u>	<u>Area (acres)</u>
Four Mile Creek	G. Day	1,280
"	"	2 blocks of 960
"	"	480
Lower Deniliquin	J. Tyson	7,680
"	"	3,840
"	"	2,080
Deniliquin	"	2 blocks of 10,880
Moolamein or Mooloomon	J. Robertson & R. Landale	2 blocks of 6,720
"	" "	10,240
"	" "	6,720
Warbreccan	M. Shanahan, P.A. & Mr. A. Jennings	7,040
"	" "	8,000
"	" "	5,280
Moira	H.S. Lewes	30,240
Beramegad	E.L. Splatt	3 blocks of 2,720
"	"	5,760
"	"	2,880
"	"	1,760
Bunangong	J. Wilson	3 blocks of 3,200
Nyang	R. Learmonth	2 blocks of 3,840
"	"	800
"	"	1,440
"	"	1,600
"	"	2,560
Bk. Block of N.th. Wanganella	Trust & Agency Co.	640
Bk. Block of Wanganella	Trust & Agency Co.	640
Poon Boon, Bur- rawang, Tararie	"	5,760
Deniliquin	J. Tyson	6,000
Billabong	Trust & Agency Co.	2,240

APPENDIX D.  
(Continued)

Run	Lessee	Area (acres)
Billabong	Trust & Agency	7,680
"	"	3,520
"	"	800
Windouran	L. McBean	6,080
"	"	5,120
"	"	2,560
Woorocma	L. McBean	500
"	"	3,360
"	"	1,120
"	"	10,080
"	"	2,080
"	"	1,600
"	"	1 280





**MAP**  
**NEW SOUTH WALES**

To accompany Minute upon Petition for the Separation  
 of the COUNTY OF BALLARAT

Scale of Statute Miles

**NOTE**

County Boundaries shown by a dashed line

County of Ballarat **BALLARAT**

County of New South Wales

Railways shown by a solid line

Highway shown by a dotted line

Water shown by a wavy line

Boundaries of other counties shown by a dashed line

BARR SMITH LIBRARY  
UNIVERSITY OF ADELAIDE

Thesis by: J. S. CRAIG

Permission to read this thesis is given by the University of Adelaide on condition that the author's literary rights are respected. . A reproduction of all or part of the thesis, or an extensive quotation or close paraphrase, may be made only with the author's consent. If the user obtains any help from the thesis in preparing his own work he must acknowledge it.

Special conditions:

The persons whose signatures appear below accept these conditions.

Signature of reader	Date	Signature of reader	Date
	16/5/75 3.12.75 9.10.79		